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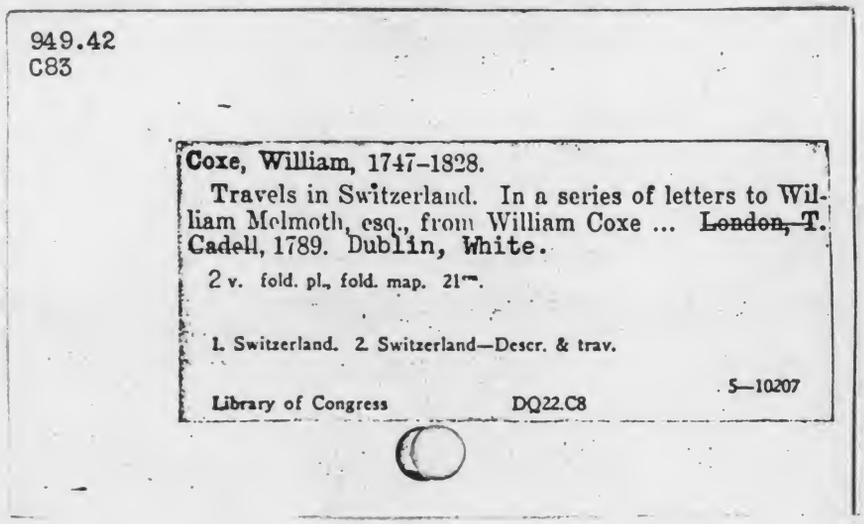

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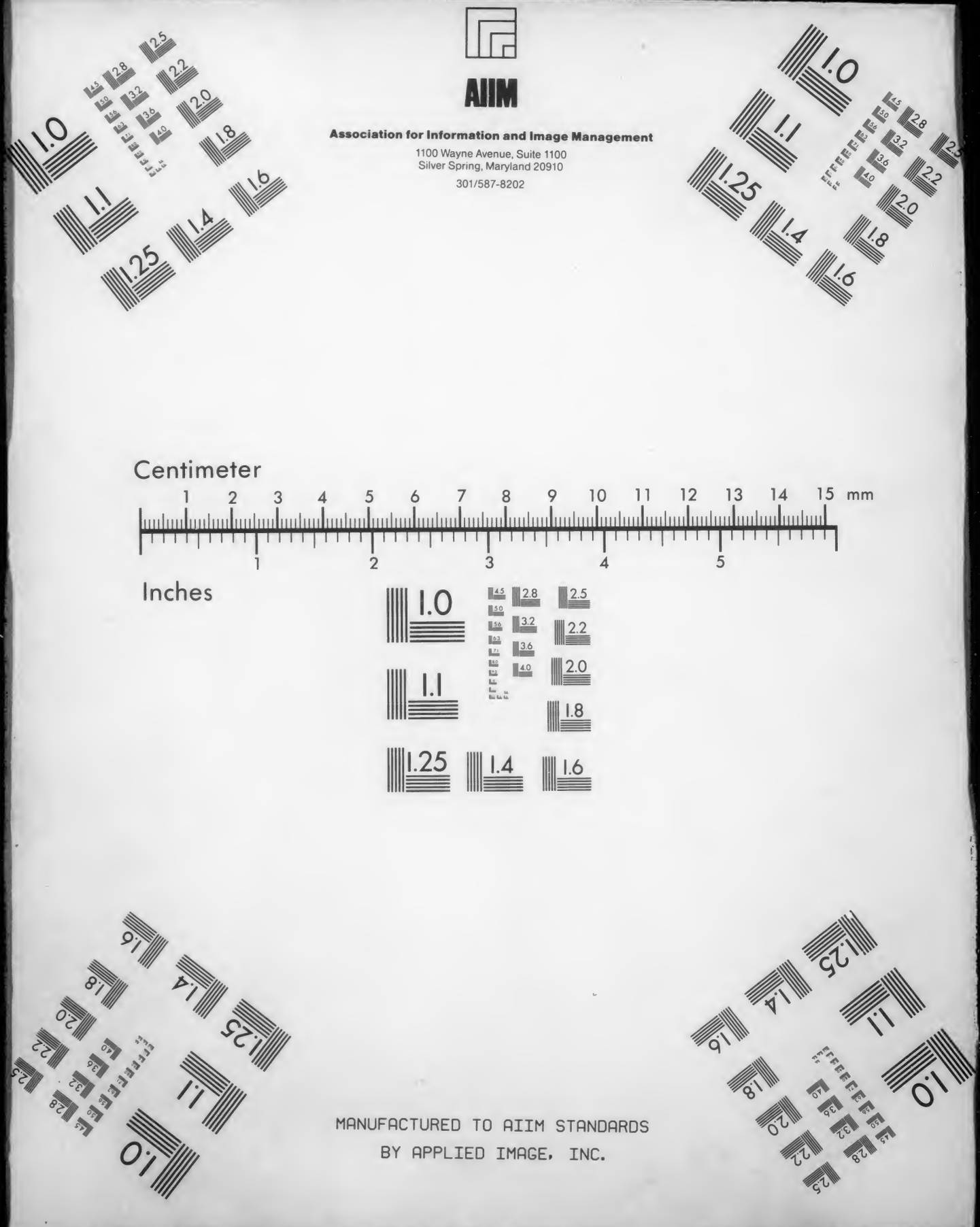
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TRAVELS IN SWITZERLAND.

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS

TO

WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq.

FROM

WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON; MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL OECONOMICAL SOCIETY AT ST. PETERSBURGH, OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AT COPENHAGEN, AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR MESSRS. L. WHITE, P. BYRNE, GRUEBER & M'ALLISTER, T. HEERY, J. JONES, J. MOORE, AND W. JONES.

M DCC LXXXIX.

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Là habite un Peuple ſimple, bienfaiſant, brave, ennemi du faſte, ami du travail, ne cherchant point d'eſclaves, et ne voulant point de maitres.

De Mehegan,

Tableau de l'Hiſtoire Moderne.

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TO THE

COUNTESS

OF

PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY,

BARONESS HERBERT, &c. &c.

Madam,

THE following letters relating to Switzerland naturally claim your Ladyſhip's protection; for they were originally written while I had the honour of accompanying Lord Herbert upon his travels. I feel myſelf highly flattered, therefore, in having the permiſſion of inſcribing them to your Ladyſhip, and of thus publicly acknowledging that I am, with great reſpect, and gratitude for obligations

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received from the Earl of Pembroke and your Ladyſhip,

MADAM,

Your Ladyſhip's

moſt obedient and

obliged humble ſervant,

WM. COXE.

PRE-

PREFACE.

TEN years have elapſed ſince I gave to the public a volume of Letters, under the title of, "*Sketches on the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Switzerland.*" The favourable reception of that work induced me, in 1779, to make a journey though the country of the Griſons, a part of Switzerland hitherto little known. Having, in 1785 and 1787, opportunities of reviſiting the ſame ſpots which I had before deſcribed, I was anxious to reviſe and augment my former publication. With this view I compared my deſcriptions at the very places, which I attempted to delineate; attentively peruſed the criticiſms of ſucceeding travellers; and in many

of

of the principal towns, I entreated ſeveral perſons, of political or literary eminence, to correct any errors, or to ſuggeſt any improvement, with reſpect to thoſe particular parts, with which, from ſituation, they were moſt converſant.

The materials collected from theſe and other ſources, increaſed by my own obſervations and reſearches, encourage me to hope, that the preſent improved account of ſo intereſting a country as Switzerland. will not be unacceptable to the public, and will be conſidered as a new work.

It may be proper to appriſe the purchaſers of the former editions, that it was my intention to have ſeparately printed the corrections and additions, for their convenience; but it is preſumed, that a compariſon of the preſent publication

publication with the former editions, will ſufficiently prove, that the deſign was impracticable.

Bemerton, Feb. 20, 1789.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN regard to the former publication on Switzerland, the Author acknowledges his obligations to Colonel Floyd, for the uſe of the accurate journal which he kept during their joint tour, and to the judicious animadverſions of the elegant writer to whom theſe Letters are addreſſed. For this improved work he holds himſelf no leſs indebted for various communications from Thomas Pennant, Eſq. and David Pennant, Eſq.; and to the kind aſſiſtance of Dr. Pulteney, the Rev. Thomas Martyn, Profeſſor of Botany in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and the Rev. Richard Relhan.

As it was inconſiſtent with the nature of letters, to interrupt the reader by perpetual references to authorities, I have ſubjoined, in an appendix to the ſecond volume, a catalogue of the principal works which I have occaſionally conſulted in the courſe of this publication.

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LETTER

LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.

Route through the Black Foreſt — Source of the Danube.

Doneſchingen, July 21, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I AM now at Doneſchingen, in my way towards Switzerland; a country long celebrated for the peculiarities of its different governments, and for the ſingular beauties conferred upon it by nature. If it will not be treſpaſſing upon your patience, I propoſe to trouble you with ſome account of my tour. For I am perſuaded, that I ſhall travel with much greater profit to myſelf; as the reflection that my obſervations are to be communicated to you, will render me more attentive and accurate in forming them.

We quitted Straſburgh yeſterday, and croſſed the Rhine to Kehl, formerly an important fortreſs belonging to Straſburgh when an imperial city. It was alſo ſtrongly fortified by the French, who took poſſeſſion of it in 1648: being ceded to the Empire at the peace of Ryſwic, the Emperor conſigned it to the houſe of Baden, reſerving, however, to himſelf the right of a garriſon. Since that period, it has been twice attacked by the French: and as during the laſt ſiege, in 1733, the works were conſiderably damaged, the imperial garriſon has been withdrawn. At preſent, there are only the ruins of the ancient fortifications; and by way of garriſon, a few invalids belonging to the Margrave of Baden. From thence we proceeded to Offenburgh, a ſmall imperial town; and ſoon after, entered the beautiful valley of Kinſing: we paſſed through Gengenbach, another ſmall imperial town, finely ſituated; and continued our journey by the ſide of the ſmall river Kingſin; riſing gradually for ſeveral leagues together, until we found ourſelves in the midſt of the Black Foreſt. As we aſcended, the country became more wild and romantic, and the river more rapid; on each hand mountains, whoſe acclivities were finely cultivated, and whoſe tops were richly covered with a continual foreſt. Several ſmall ſtreams of the cleareſt water rolled down the ſides of the mountains, in numberleſs caſcades; and uniting, fell into the Kinſing. The views were ſo exceedingly diverſified; the villages ſo delightfully ſituated; and the cottages ſo extremely pictureſque, that we almoſt ſeemed to have anticipated the romantic beauties of Switzerland.

Doneſ-

Doneſchingen is the principal reſidence of the prince of Furſtenberg: in the court-yard of his palace, the Danube takes its riſe. I am this moment returned from viſiting the ſpot; the deſcription of which may be compriſed in a few words. Some ſmall ſprings bubbling from the ground, form a baſon of clear water, of about thirty feet ſquare: from this baſon iſſues the Danube, which is here only a little brook. And though the two ſmall rivers of Bribach and Brege, uniting below the town, are far more conſiderable than this ſtream, which flows into them ſoon after their junction; yet the latter has the honor of being called the ſource of the Danube. After we had gone through the ceremony of ſtriding acroſs the ſtream, in order to ſay, that we had *ſtepped* over the Danube, we ſoon ſatisfied our curioſity; the object itſelf being in no reſpect extraordinary, but deriving its principal conſideration from being the ſource of ſo noble a river. Indeed, it was this circumſtance alone that induced us to enter Switzerland by the way of Suabia.

I am, dear Sir,

very affectionately yours

WILLIAM COXE.

LETTER 2.

Arrival in Switzerland — Shaffhauſen — Fall of the Rhine.

Shaffhauſen, July 22.

I FEEL great delight in breathing the air of liberty: every perſon here has apparently the mien of content and ſatisfaction. The cleanlineſs of the houſes, and of the people, is peculiarly ſtriking; and I can trace in all their manners, behaviour, and dreſs, ſome ſtrong outlines, which diſtinguiſh this happy people from the neighbouring nations. Perhaps it may be prejudice and unreaſonable partiality; but I am the more pleaſed, becauſe their firſt appearance reminds me of my own countrymen, and I could almoſt think, for a moment, that I am in England *.

* On again entering Shaffhauſen, the 18th of July, 1785, I was not ſo much ſtruck with its neatneſs as in 1776. The reaſon is obvious. In my former expedition I emerged from the wilds of Suabia, on the latter occaſion I had juſt quitted the cultivated parts of Bavaria.

Shaff-

Shaffhauſen, a tolerably well-built town, ſituated upon the northern ſhore of the Rhine, is the capital of the canton, and owes its origin to the interruption of the navigation of that river by the cataract at Lauffen: huts being at firſt conſtructed for the convenience of unloading the merchandize from the boats, by degrees increaſed to a large town. Shaffhauſen was formerly an imperial city, and governed by an ariſtocracy: it was mortgaged in 1330, by the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, to the Dukes of Auſtria, and was releaſed from its dependency by the Emperor Sigiſmond, when Frederic Duke of Auſtria was put under the ban of the empire. In 1501, it was admitted a member of the Helvetic confederacy; and is the twelfth canton in rank. Of all the cantons, it is the leaſt in ſize, being only five leagues in length and three in breadth: its population is ſuppoſed to amount to thirty thouſand ſouls; of which, the capital contains about ſix thouſand.

The whole number of citizens or burgeſſes (in whom the ſupreme power ultimately reſides) is about ſixteen hundred. They are divided into twelve tribes: and from theſe are elected eighty-five members, who form the great and little council. To theſe two councils combined, the adminiſtration of affairs is committed: the ſenate, or little council of twenty-five, being entruſted with the executive power; and the great council, compriſing the ſenate, finally deciding all appeals, and regulating the more important concerns of government.

The revenues of the ſtate are not very conſiderable, as will appear from the ſalary of the burgomaſter,

gomaſter, or chief of the republic; which barely amounts to £.150 *per ann.* The reformation was introduced in 1529: the clergy are paid by the ſtate, but their income is ſcarcely ſufficient for their maintenance; the beſt living being only about £.100, and the worſt £.40 *per ann.* The profeſſors of literature alſo, who are taken from the clergy, are paid by government; and a ſchool is ſupported at the public expence. Sumptuary laws are in force here, as well as in moſt parts of Switzerland; and no dancing is allowed, except upon particular occaſions. The principal article of exportation is wine; of which a large quantity is made, the country abounding in vineyards; and as the canton furniſhes but little corn, it is procured from Suabia in exchange for wine. In the town there are a few manufactures of linen, cotton, and ſilk.

It will perhaps give you ſome idea of the ſecurity of the Swiſs republics, when I inform you, that Shaffhauſen, although a frontier town, has no garriſon; and that the fortifications are but weak. The citizens mount guard by turns; and the people of the canton being divided into regular companies of militia, which are exerciſed yearly, are always prepared to act in defence of their country. This canton has ſome troops in France, Sardinia, and Holland; the only foreign ſervices into which the ſubjects of the Proteſtant cantons enliſt.

Before I take leave of this town, I muſt not omit mentioning the bridge over the Rhine; juſtly admired for the ſingularity of its architecture. The river is extremely rapid, and had already deſtroyed ſeveral ſtone bridges of the ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt conſtruction; when a carpenter of Appenzel offered to throw a wooden bridge, of a ſingle arch, acroſs the river, which is near four hundred feet wide. The magiſtrates, however, required that it ſhould conſiſt of two arches, and that he ſhould for that purpoſe employ the middle pier of the old bridge. Accordingly, the architect was obliged to obey; but he has contrived to leave it a matter of doubt, whether the bridge is ſupported by the middle pier; and whether it would not have been equally as ſafe if formed ſolely of one arch.

It is a wooden bridge, of which the ſides and top are covered, and is what the Germans call a *hængewerk*, or hanging bridge; the road, which is almoſt level, is not carried, as uſual, over the top of the arch; but, if I may uſe the expreſſion, is let into the middle of it, and there ſuſpended. The pier is not in a right line with the buttreſſes; as it forms with them a very obtuſe angle pointing down the ſtream, being eight feet out of the rectilinear direction. The diſtance of this middle pier from the ſhore that lies towards the town, is a hundred and ſeventy-two feet, and from the other ſide, a hundred and ninety-three; in all, three hundred and ſixty-four feet; making in appearance two arches of a ſurpriſing width, and forming a beautiful perſpective when viewed at ſome diſtance. A man of the ſlighteſt weight feels it almoſt tremble under him; yet waggons heavily laden paſs over without danger. It has been compared to a tight rope, which trembles when ſtruck, but ſtill preſerves its firm and equal tenſion. I went under this bridge, in order to examine its mechaniſm; and could not

avoid

avoid being highly pleaſed with the ſimplicity of the architecture: I was not capable of determining whether it reſts upon the middle pier, but many judges agree that it does not.

On conſidering the greatneſs of the plan, and the boldneſs of the conſtruction, it is matter of aſtoniſhment that the architect was originally a carpenter, without the leaſt tincture of literature, totally ignorant of mathematics, and not verſed in the theory of mechanics. The name of this extraordinary man was Ulric Grubenman, a native of Tuffen, a ſmall village in the canton of Appenzel. Poſſeſſed of uncommon natural abilities, and a ſurpriſing turn for the practical part of mechanics, he raiſed himſelf to great eminence in his profeſſion; and may juſtly be conſidered as one of the moſt ingenious architects of the preſent century. This bridge was finiſhed in leſs than three years, and coſt ninety thouſand florins *.

This

* About £. 800 ſterling.—Mr. Andreæ, in his Letters upon Switzerland, has given two engravings of this bridge, to which he has added a very accurate deſcription of its mechanical conſtruction, communicated by Mr. Jetzler of Shaffhauſen. In this deſcription he repreſents it as conſiſting of two arches, and reſting upon the middle pier. Several perſons well ſkilled in architecture, maintained a contrary opinion; and in the former editions I was induced to adopt it, from the following reaſons. The architect himſelf conſtantly maintained, that the bridge was not ſupported by the pier; his nephew, who was employed in its conſtruction, confirmed the ſame aſſertion; and as, at firſt, it did not even touch the pier, it muſt therefore, at that time, have been conſidered as forming but one arch. I muſt, however, candidly own, that in my ſubſequent viſits to Shaffhauſen in 1785 and 1786, I had reaſon to change my opinion. At thoſe periods the bridge was ſupported on piles, in order to undergo

This morning we rode about a league, to the Fall of the Rhine at Lauffen. Our route lay over the hills which form the banks of the river: the environs are pictureſque and agreeable; the river beautifully winding through the vale. Upon our arrival at Lauffen, a ſmall village in the canton of Zuric, we diſmounted; and advancing to the edge of the precipice which overhangs the Rhine, we looked down perpendicularly upon the cataract, and ſaw the river tumbling over the ſides of the rock with amazing violence and precipitation. From hence we deſcended till we were ſomewhat below the upper bed of the river, and ſtood cloſe to the fall; ſo that I could almoſt have touched it with my hand. A ſcaffolding is erected in the very ſpray of this tremendous cataract, and upon the moſt ſublime point of view:

undergo a thorough repair. Mr. Spengler, a native of the town, and lately returned from Ruſſia, where he had paſſed many years in the capacity of an architect, fortunately diſcovered, that much ill-ſeaſoned wood having been employed in its conſtruction, many of the timbers were abſolutely decayed; and that one ſide had greatly ſwerved from its original direction. This ingenious artiſt, after having expatiated on the ſimplicity and boldneſs of the deſign, informed me, that the bridge undoubtedly conſiſts of two arches; and that although Grubenman, of whoſe abilities he ſpoke with deſerved encomium, affected to place the timbers in ſuch a manner as to reſemble but one arch, and always aſſerted that it was not ſupported by the pier; yet that the whole fabric would undoubtedly have fallen, if that pier had been taken away. He obligingly ſhewed me his plan for repairing the bridge, and for ſtrengthening it by means of additional timbers, in order to render it able to ſupport its own weight, when the piles ſhould be removed.

Vid. *Briefe aus der Schweiz nach Hannover geſchrieben.* Zuric, 1776.

—the

—the ſea of foam ruſhing down—the continual cloud of ſpray ſcattered to a great diſtance, and to a conſiderable height—in ſhort, the magnificence of the whole ſcenery far ſurpaſſed my moſt ſanguine expectations, and exceeds all deſcription. Within about an hundred feet of the ſcaffolding, two crags riſe in the middle of the fall: the neareſt is perforated by the continual action of the river; and the water forces itſelf through in an oblique direction, with inexpreſſible fury, and an hollow ſound. After having contemplated the awful ſublimity of this wonderful landſcape, we deſcended; and croſſed the river, which was extremely agitated.

Hitherto I had only viewed the cataract obliquely; but here it opened by degrees, and diſplayed another picture, which I enjoyed at my leiſure, as I ſat down upon the oppoſite bank. The moſt ſtriking objects were, the caſtle of Lauffen, erected upon the very edge of the precipice, and projecting over the river; near it, a church and ſome cottages; a clump of cottages cloſe to the Fall; in the back ground, rocks, planted with vines, or tufted with hanging woods; a beautiful little hamlet upon the ſummit, ſkirted with trees; the great body of water, that ſeemed to ruſh out from the bottom of the rocks; the two crags abovementioned boldly advancing their heads in the midſt of the Fall, and in the very point of its ſteepeſt deſcent, their tops ſprinkled with ſhrubs, and dividing the cataract into three principal branches. The colour of the Rhine is extremely beautiful, being of a clear ſea-green; and I could not but remark the fine effects of the tints, when blended with the white foam

foam in its deſcent. There is a pleaſing view from an iron foundery cloſe to the river, which is dammed up, in order to prevent its carrying away the works and neighbouring cottages: by means of this dam a ſmall portion of the river is diverted, turns a mill, and forms a little ſilver current, gliding down the bare rock, and detached from the main cataract. Below the fall the river widens conſiderably into a more ample baſon; at the Fall, the breadth ſeemed to be about three hundred feet. As to its perpendicular height, travellers differ: thoſe who are given to exaggeration reckon it a hundred feet; but I ſhould imagine about fifty or ſixty feet will be nearer the truth. I ſtood for ſome time upon the brink of the cataract; beheld with admiration; and liſtened in ſilence; then croſſed the river; remounted my horſe; and returned to Shaffhauſen.

Some writers have aſſerted that the Rhine precipitates itſelf in one ſheet of water; and, as I before obſerved, from a perpendicular height of a hundred feet. In former ages this account might be agreeable to fact; as it is probable that the ſpace between the two banks was once a level rock, and conſiderably higher; that the river has inſenſibly undermined thoſe parts, on which it broke with the utmoſt violence: for, within the memory of ſeveral inhabitants of this town, a large rock has given way, that has greatly altered the view. Indeed I am convinced that the perpendicular height of the fall is diminiſhed every year, by the continual friction of ſo large and rapid body of water; and have no doubt but that the two crags, which now riſe in the midſt

midſt of the river, will in time be undermined and carried away. The Rhine, for ſome way before the fall, even near the bridge, daſhes upon a rocky bottom, and renders the navigation impoſſible for any kind of veſſel.

I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER 3.

Iſle of Reichenau—Conſtance—Genevan Eſtabliſhment—Iſle of Meinau—Lake of Conſtance.

Conſtance, July 24.

YESTERDAY morning we quitted Shaffhauſen, and croſſed the Rhine at Dieſſenhoffen, a ſmall town in Thurgau; a country dependant upon the eight ancient cantons: from thence to Stein the road lay by the ſide of that river. Stein is an independent town under the protection of Zuric, but governed by its own laws and magiſtrates. At this place we took a boat to carry us to Conſtance. A little above the town of Stein the river widens conſiderably, and forms the inferior lake of Conſtance, or the *Zeller See*; which is divided into two branches: from Stein to Conſtance is about ſixteen miles, and from the latter to Zell, its greateſt breadth, about ten.

A fine breeze ſoon carried us to the iſland of Reichenau, which belongs to the Biſhop of Conſtance: it is about three miles long, and one broad; contains about ſixteen hundred inhabitants, all Catholics; three pariſhes; one village; and a rich abbey of Benedictines, of which the biſhop

biſhop of Conſtance is abbot. The ſuperior was exceedingly civil, and ſhewed us all the relics and curioſities of the convent: among the latter, was a carious tooth of Charles Le Gros. That monarch, who was emperor and king of France, and who poſſeſſed dominions as extenſive as thoſe of Charlemagne, lived to want the common neceſſaries of life, and to depend for his ſubſiſtence upon the charity of an archbiſhop of Mentz. He was publicly depoſed in 887, at a meeting of the principal French, German, and Italian barons, whom he himſelf had ſummoned: after having languiſhed a year, in extreme want and miſery, he died at a ſmall village near Mentz, in Germany, and his remains were conveyed to this convent. The next remarkable curioſity, was an emerald, as it is called, of an extraordinary ſize, which, according to the annals of the convent, was a preſent from Charlemagne. Take its dimenſions, and then judge whether it can be an emerald: it has four unequal ſides; the longeſt of which is near two feet, and the broadeſt about nine inches; it is one inch thick, and weighs about twenty-nine pounds. The ſuperior valued it at £.4500; but if it is, as I conjecture, nothing more than a tranſparent green *ſpath-fluor*, its value will be reduced to a few ſhillings. Upon our return to the inn, where we dined, we found a preſent from the ſuperior, more valuable than all the relics and curioſities of his convent; two bottles of excellent wine, the growth of the iſland, which is almoſt a continued vineyard.

In the evening we arrived at Conſtance; the ſituation of which upon the Rhine, between the two lakes, is moſt delightful. I was much affected with the ſolitary appearance of a town once

once ſo flouriſhing in commerce, and ſo celebrated in the annals of hiſtory. A dead ſtillneſs reigns throughout; graſs grows in the principal ſtreets; in a word, it wears the melancholy aſpect of being almoſt totally deſerted; and ſcarcely contains three thouſand inhabitants This city has endured a ſad reverſe of fortune: it was formerly in alliance with Zuric and Baſle; and, ſupported by their aſſiſtance, had expelled the biſhop, and embraced the reformation. But the Proteſtant cantons being worſted in 1351; and the league of Smalcalde, of which Conſtance was a member, being defeated by Charles V. the town was obliged to ſubmit to the emperor, and to re-admit the Catholic religion. From this period it loſt its independence; and being neglected by the houſe of Auſtria, fell by degrees into its preſent almoſt annihilated ſtate; exhibiting to ſome of the neighbouring Swiſs cantons, an inſtructive contraſt, which muſt ſenſibly endear to them their own invaluable happineſs, in the commerce and liberties which they enjoy.

We paid a viſit to the chamber where the council of Conſtance was held in 1415, and had the honour of ſitting in the two chairs, in which ſat pope John XXIII *. and the emperor Sigiſmond; if any honour can be derived from a turbulent eccleſiaſtic, and a perjured ſovereign. It was by a ſentence of this council, that the celebrated reformer John Huſs (having embraced the doctrines of our Wickliffe, and truſting to the protection of the emperor, who violated his word) was burnt as an heretic. The houſe is ſtill ſhewn where he was ſeized, upon which is fixed his

* He was depoſed in this council.

head,

head, carved in ſtone, but now almoſt defaced; with an inſcription under it in German. Jerome of Prague, his diſciple, had the weakneſs to recant before the ſame council; but this weakneſs was amply compenſated by the greatneſs of ſoul with which he again retracted this recantation, and by the calm and intrepid magnanimity which he diſplayed in his laſt moments at the ſtake. From the top of the cathedral we had a ſuperb view of the town, and of the two lakes; with the rugged Alps of Tyrol and Appenzel, their tops covered with perpetual ſnow.

Conſtance may again become a commercial town, through the permiſſion granted by the emperor, to the emigrants from Geneva, of ſettling and carrying on their trade and manufactures, with very conſiderable privileges. Meſſrs. Roman and Meilly, watchmakers of Geneva, were the firſt perſons, whom the troubles of their native republic drove to Conſtance. They received from the emperor the following immunities for themſelves and countrymen.

The right of purchaſing or building houſes; free exerciſe of religion, entirely independent of the Catholic clergy; the power of erecting a tribunal for the purpoſe of deciding all affairs relative to their manufactures and commerce; exemption from ſerving in the militia and quartering ſoldiers; from all contributions during the ſpace of twenty years; from duties on their tools and utenſils; and the ſtandard of the gold and ſilver employed in their manufactures to be invariably fixed. Theſe favourable terms, ſigned on the 30th of June, 1785, attracted many ſettlers to Conſtance; and in my ſecond viſit to this place, on the 25th of October, 1787, I found that the new

new colony of Genevans conſiſted of ſeventy families, compriſing three hundred and fifty perſons; among theſe were fifty-four watchmakers, who had introduced the different branches of manufacture which belong to their trade. Four hundred watches were already finiſhed, and above fourteen hundred more were preparing.

The emperor has alſo granted to Mr. Macaire the convent of Dominicans lately ſecularized, towards eſtabliſhing a manufacture of printed linens and cottons. The refectory is appropriated for the chapel of the new colony.

I did not omit viſiting a ſmall dungeon, about eight feet long, ſix broad, and ſeven high, in which John Huſs was confined, and wherein I obſerved the very ſtone to which he had been chained. I entered it however with very different ſenſations from thoſe which I experienced in 1776, when this convent was the aſylum of monkiſh ſuperſtition. It is now the ſeat of trade and induſtry: and it muſt ſuggeſt a pleaſing reflection to a philoſophic mind, that a ſucceſſor of Sigiſmond, who violated his word, ſhould have conſigned to a reformed eſtabliſhment that very convent in which the Bohemian divine was impriſoned, and from which he was triumphantly led to the ſtake; and that the moſt enlarged principles of toleration ſhould be manifeſted in the ſame place, where perſecution was inculcated by precept and example. It is the triumph of reaſon and religion over bigotry and intolerance.

I am juſt returned from a pleaſant expedition to the ſmall iſland of Meinau, in a bay of the ſuperior lake: this iſland, about a mile in circumference, belongs to the knights of the Teutonic order. The bailif ſhewed us the houſe of the

commander, which is prettily ſituated, and has a fine proſpect of the lake, but contains nothing remarkable but the cellars, which are well ſtocked with wine; an article from which the chief revenue of the commandery ariſes. Our good friend the bailif was very free in offering it; and we, not to appear inſenſible of his civility, were conſtrained to taſte ſeveral different ſorts, which he ſucceſſively preſented, always praiſing the laſt as the oldeſt and moſt exquiſite. The wine was indeed excellent, the glaſſes large, and a moſt formidable row of enormous caſks ſtill remained untaſted; ſo that, after having duly extolled ſeveral ſpecimens, we found it expedient to decline the farther ſolicitations of our generous hoſt: for, had we performed the whole ceremony, we muſt have taken up our abode in the caſtle for the night.

July 25.

We ſet ſail about two hours ago from Conſtance. This ſuperior lake, or, as it is ſometimes called, the *Boden See*, is about fifteen leagues in length and ſix in its greateſt breadth: it is one of the great boundaries that ſeparate Switzerland from Germany. The borders on each ſide conſiſt of gently riſing hills; on the left hand Suabia, and on the right Thurgau, with a variety of ſcattered towns, villages, and monaſteries: the form of the lake inclines to an oval, and the water is of a greeniſh hue. I am now writing aboard the veſſel; and have been for ſome time in vain attempting to diſtinguiſh (what ſome travellers have affirmed to be diſcernable) the waters of the Rhine from thoſe of the lake: though indeed I was before almoſt convinced

convinced of the impoſſibility. For the river in its courſe from the ſuperior lake, being exactly of the ſame beautiful greeniſh colour as the inferior lake into which it flows; it is evident that the one can never be diſtinguiſhed from the other. Probably, upon its firſt entrance into the ſuperior lake it is troubled, and conſequently, for ſome way, its current may eaſily be traced: but it purifies by degrees, and becomes an indiſtinct part of the great body of water.

This lake, like all the other lakes of Switzerland, is conſiderably deeper in ſummer than in winter; a circumſtance owing to the firſt melting of the ſnow from the neighbouring mountains: it abounds in fiſh of all ſorts. Yeſterday evening, in our expedition to Meinau, there was ſcarcely a breeze ſtirring, and the lake was as ſmooth a cryſtal: a briſk gale has now raiſed a fine curl upon the ſurface; and the ſurrounding landſcape forms an aſſemblage of the moſt beautiful objects. In ſhort, the ſeveral views which preſent themſelves are ſo truly enchanting, as to make me regret every moment that my eyes are called off from the delightful ſcenes. You will not wonder, therefore, if I am tempted to bid you adieu ſomewhat abruptly.

Yours, &c.

P. S. The following deſcription of the great trout, which frequents all the Swiſs lakes, but more particularly abounds in the lake of Conſtance, was communicated by Thomas Pennant, Eſq. This ſpecies of trout is called in this neighbourhood *Illankin*, and by Linnæus, *Salmo Lacuſtris*. The head is conical, and larger in proportion than that of a ſalmon. The dorſal

fin has twelve rays; pectoral, fourteen; ventral and anal, twelve each. The under jaw, in full-grown fish, ends in a blunt hook. The colour, as low as the lateral line, of a deep blue, brightening as it approaches the line; beneath that, of a silvery white; all the upper part is spotted irregularly with black. This kind grows to the weight of forty or forty-five pounds.

These fishes quit the deeps of the lake in April, and go up the Rhine to depofit their spawn. The inhabitants of the shores form wears across the river, in which they take them in their passage. They are also caught in nets. The fishery lasts from May to September; the fishermen avoid taking any on the return, as they are then very lean and quite exhausted. In spring and summer their flesh is of a fine red, and very delicate; but after they have spawned, it turns white, and becomes very indifferent. They feed on fish, worms, and insects; and are particularly destructive to the graylings. Their great enemy is the Pike, which will attack an Illankin four times as large as itself. For a further account, the reader may consult the elegant Icthyologie by Mr. Block, vol. iii. p. 155, who is the first naturalist that has given a satisfactory account of this gigantic species.

LET-

LETTER 4.

St. Gallen—Canton of Appenzel.

July 26.

I WRITE to you from the midst of the Alps, under the shade of a grove of beeches, while a clear stream of water, flowing at my feet, forms a natural cascade down the rock. I have just made a hearty meal upon some bread and cheese; which I found to be a most delicious repast, after walking six miles over the mountains of Appenzel.

We this day quitted St. Gallen, and walked to Appenzel. The country is singularly wild and romantic; consisting of a continued series of hills and dales, vallies and mountains, the tops of which are crowned with most luxuriant pastures. I could not have conceived it possible, without having been an eye-witness, that any district within the same compass could have exhibited so numerous a population; the hills and vales being strewed thickly with hamlets, scattered at a small distance from each other; and exactly placed in the very spots which a man of taste would have chosen. The picturesque mountains, the forests, the currents which we crossed, over bridges resembling those I have observed in some of the best landscapes, added to the beauty of

of the ſcenes, and diverſified every ſtep with the moſt pleaſing objects. After having repoſed for a ſhort time in this delightful ſpot, I cannot employ myſelf more to my ſatisfaction than by continuing my journal.

In my laſt letter I took my leave of you upon the lake of Conſtance: we landed at Roſhach, a ſmall burgh in the dominions of the abbot of St. Gallen, agreeably ſituated in the midſt of a bay at the edge of the lake, and at the bottom of a riſing hill, richly covered with wood and paſturages. From Roſhach we went to St. Gallen, the whole territory whereof does not exceed a mile and a half in circumference; and including the town contains near eight thouſand inhabitants. There every thing was alive; all perſons wore the appearance of induſtry and activity; exhibiting a ſtriking oppoſition to Conſtance, which we had juſt quitted.

The abbot and town of St. Gallen are both allies of the Swiſs cantons, and each enjoys the privilege of ſending deputies to the general diet. The abbot of St. Gallen is titular prince of the German Empire, and is choſen by the ſeventy-two Benedictines, who compoſe this chapter. He formerly poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of the town; but the inhabitants ſhook off his authority, and became independent: and the various diſputes which, ſince that period, have ariſen between the two rival parties, have been compromiſed by the interpoſition of the Swiſs cantons. The town is entirely Proteſtant, and its government ariſto-democratical: the ſubjects of the abbot (whoſe territory is very extenſive) are moſtly Catholics. It is remarkable, that the abbey in which the prince reſides, is ſituated cloſe to the

the town, and in the midſt of its territory; as the latter is alſo entirely ſurrounded by the poſſeſſions of the prince.

The town owes its flouriſhing ſtate to the uncommon induſtry of the inhabitants, and to a very extenſive commerce, ariſing chiefly from its manufactures of linen, muſlin, and embroidery. In a place ſo entirely commercial, I was aſtoniſhed to find the arts and ſciences cultivated, and literature in the higheſt eſteem. In the library there are thirteen volumes in folio, containing manuſcript letters of the firſt German and Swiſs reformers. Luther ends a letter to Melancthon as follows:

Peſtis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, Papa.

Theſe letters would probably throw much light on the hiſtory of the reformation.

The library belonging to the abbey is very numerous and well arranged; and, among a number of monkiſh manuſcripts, contains ſeveral of the claſſic writers, which engaged my chief attention. To this library we owe Petronius Arbiter, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, and Quintilian, copies of which were found in 1413: it was formerly very rich in curious manuſcripts; but ſeveral being borrowed, during the council of Conſtance, by the cardinals and biſhops, were never returned.

The tranſition from the abbot of St. Gallen to the canton of Appenzel will not appear abrupt, as the latter once belonged to the former: the inhabitants, however, being loaded with exorbitant and oppreſſive taxes, revolted in 1400; and maintained their independence with the deſperate

perate courage of a ſpirited people, who fight for their liberties. In 1452 they entered into a perpetual alliance with ſome of the neighbouring Swiſs republics; and in 1513 were admitted into the Helvetic confederacy: they hold the laſt rank among the thirteen cantons.

Before the reformation the whole canton was under one government; but ſince that period, part of the inhabitants having embraced the Proteſtant religion, and the other part continuing Catholics, violent diſputes were kindled between them; which, after much conteſt, were at length compromiſed. By an agreement in 1597, the canton was divided into two portions; *Rhodes Exterior*, and *Rhodes Interior*: it was ſtipulated, that the former ſhould be appropriated to the Proteſtants, and the latter to the Catholics. Accordingly the two parties finally ſeparated, and formed two republics; their government, police, and finances, being totally independent of each other. Each diſtrict ſends a deputy to the general diet: the whole canton, however, has but one vote, and loſes its ſuffrage if the two parties are not unanimous. In both diviſions the ſovereign power is veſted in the people at large; every male, who is paſt ſixteen, having a vote in their general aſſembly, held yearly for the creation of their magiſtrates and the purpoſes of legiſlation: and each voter is obliged to appear armed on that particular occaſion. The Landamman is the firſt magiſtrate: in each diſtrict there are two, who adminiſter the office alternately, and are confirmed yearly. They have each a council, which poſſeſſes juriſdiction in civil and criminal cauſes, has the care of the police, the management of the finances, and the general adminiſtration

adminiſtration of affairs. The Landamman regent preſides; and the other, during the year in which he is out of office, is banneret or chief of the militia.

The *Rhodes Exterior* is much larger, and more peopled in proportion, than the *Interior*; and the Proteſtants are in general more commercial and induſtrious than the Catholics.—The former are ſuppoſed to amount to thirty-ſeven thouſand; the latter to twelve thouſand: an extraordinary number in ſo ſmall a canton, entirely mountainous, and of which a great part conſiſts of barren and inacceſſible rocks. But the induſtry of the inhabitants amply compenſates for any diſadvantages of ſoil: for, the people are frugal and laborious; their property is ſecured; and they are exempted from all burdenſome and arbitrary taxes. Theſe circumſtances, joined to the right of partaking of the legiſlation, and of electing their magiſtrates, inſpire them with ſuch animated ſentiments of their own importance and independence, as excite the moſt active and vigorous induſtry: and thoſe neceſſaries, to which this induſtry is not ſufficient, are abundantly ſupplied by their neighbours, in exchange for manufactures and other articles of domeſtic commerce. The chief part of the habitable country conſiſts of rich paſtures; and of courſe their principal exports are cattle and hides, together with cheeſe and butter. Their manufactures are coarſe callicots and muſlins in great quantities, which are entirely made in the houſes of the inhabitants. The cotton is ſpun with the common wheel. The web is bleached at home; and afterwards ſent to be printed in the neighbourhood of Neuchatel. The greateſt bleachery

I ſaw

I saw in the Alps was near Appenzel, which extended over three or four acres of ground. Part of the river Sitler is diverted to turn the mill, which is of the simplest construction. A large wheel on the outside works a long cylinder within; on which are fixed a number of cogs to raise the hammers which beat the webs. In the same place are the boilers and other conveniences for the business.

The only mills for spinning the cottons by water, which I saw in Switzerland, were near Neuchatel and Geneva; but greatly inferior in size and ingenuity of machinery to those of England.

The flourishing state of the cotton manufactory has rendered many persons in the Protestant districts easy in their circumstances, and even wealthy; if wealth is to be estimated from the general state of the natives, and not from the comparative view of distant and greater opulence in large commercial cities. The villages of Trogen and Undevil announce, by their superior neatness, the well-being of their inhabitants.

This canton contains no enclosed towns, but only two or three open burghs, of which Appenzel is the largest in the Catholic, Trogen, Undevil, and Herisau, in the Protestant district, and a few villages: indeed the whole country, except amongst the barren rocks, is almost a continued village, being thickly covered with excellent cottages. Each cottage has its little territory, or a field or two of fine pasture ground, which are frequently skirted with trees. The mountains are for the most part beautifully wooded; and the canton is supplied with water in such exuberance,

exuberance, that we could hardly walk two hundred paces without seeing a spring bubble from the ground, or a torrent rush down the sides of a rock.

In our way to Appenzel, we entered several houses, which are all built of wood; neatness and convenience being the principal object of the owners: such a remarkable cleanliness prevailed throughout, as afforded a most striking proof of the general attention which the people pay to that essential article. A continued chain of these cultivated mountains, richly clothed with wood, and thickly studded with hamlets, which appear to have been placed by the genius of taste in the very spots where they would form the most striking effect, exhibit a series of landscapes inexpressibly pleasing: it seemed as if they belonged to independent clans; independent but social, uniting for the great purposes of legislation, and for the general preservation of their liberties.

Among the chief part of the inhabitants, the original simplicity of the pastoral life is still preserved; and I saw several venerable figures with long beards, that resembled the pictures of the antient patriarchs. The natives of this canton, in common with the inhabitants of democracies, possess a natural frankness, and peculiar tone of equality, which arise from a consciousness of their own independence. They also display a fund of original humour, and are remarkable for great quickness of repartee, and rude sallies of wit, which render their conversation extremely agreeable and interesting.

In our way to Appenzel we passed through Tuffen, the birth-place of Ulric Grubenman, whom

whom I mentioned in a former letter * : he has been dead ſome years : but his abilities and his ſkill in practical architecture are, if I may uſe the expreſſion, hereditary in his family. We inquired for one of the ſame name, who was either his brother or his nephew, whom we found at the alehouſe ; his uſual place of reſort when he has no particular employment. He is a heavy, coarſe-looking man, dreſſed like a common peaſant ; has a quick and penetrating eye, and a ſurpriſing readineſs of converſation. We told him that we were Engliſhmen, who were making the tour of Switzerland ; and that we could not paſs through Tuffen without deſiring to ſee a man who was ſo much celebrated for his ſkill in architecture. He ſtruck his breaſt, and replied in German, "Here you ſee but a boor." Upon our talking with him about the bridge of Shaffhauſen, in the building of which he was employed, he aſſured us, that it does not reſt upon the middle pier, but is in reality a ſingle arch. Near Appenzel we obſerved an old man with venerable white hair hanging over his ſhoulders, who looked like a ſubſtantial farmer : he inquired with a tone of authority, but with perfect civility, who we were ; and upon our aſking the ſame queſtion reſpecting himſelf, of our guide, we were informed, that he was the *Landamman*, or chief of the republic. Happy people, the nature of whoſe country, and the conſtitution of whoſe government both equally oppoſe the ſtrongeſt barriers againſt the introduction of luxury !

* See p. 8.

P. S. Doctor

P. S, Doctor Girtanner, of St. Gallen, found in great abundance, on the top of the Appenzel mountains, the *Draba Pyrenaica* of Linnæus, not mentioned by Haller in his catalogue of the Swiſs plants.

Appenzel, July 27. Yours, &c.

LET.

LETTER 5.

Valley of the Rhine—The Lake and Town of Wallenſtadt.

Salets, July 27.

WE are this moment arrived at the village of Salets; where we propoſe paſſing the night: while ſupper is preparing, I will continue my journal. We could procure but three horſes at Appenzel, and as one of them was appropriated to the baggage, I preferred walking. After having traverſed a league in the canton, over a continued range of mountains, enriched with beautiful meadows, and dotted with cottages, I arrived at its boundary; here the ſcene ſuddenly changed into a wild foreſt, conſiſting chiefly of pines, without the leaſt appearance of any habitation. The road is in moſt parts not more than three feet broad; and is either paved with large uneven pieces of rock, or formed of thick ſtakes laid cloſely together: but as the ground is in many parts ſofter than in others, theſe ſtakes in ſome places ſink deeper, and by this means form a ſucceſſion of uneven ſteps. The mountain by which we deſcended into the plain, is very ſteep; which circumſtance, added to the unevenneſs of the

the ſtakes, makes the aſcent and deſcent exceedingly difficult for horſes. Thoſe who are pleaſed with an uniform view, may continue in the plain; while others, who delight in the grand and the ſublime, and are ſtruck with the wantonneſs of wild, uncultivated nature, will prefer this road to the ſmootheſt turnpike in Great Britain.

I walked ſlowly on, without envying my companions on horſeback: for I could ſit down upon an inviting ſpot, climb to the edge of a precipice, or trace a torrent by its ſound. I deſcended at length into the *Rheinthal*, or Valley of the Rhine; the mountains of Tyrol, which yielded neither in height or in craggineſs to thoſe of Appenzel, riſing before me. And here I found a remarkable difference: for although the aſcending and deſcending was a work of ſome labour; yet the variety of the ſcenes had given me ſpirits, and I was not ſenſible of the leaſt fatigue. But in the plain, notwithſtanding the ſcenery was ſtill beautiful and pictureſque, I ſaw at once the whole way ſtretching before me, and had no room for freſh expectations: I was not therefore diſpleaſed when I arrived at Oberried, after a walk of about twelve miles, my coat ſlung upon my ſhoulder like a peripatetic by profeſſion. Here we fortunately procured a narrow cart; in which, the roads being rough and ſtony, you will readily believe we were not much at our eaſe. The evening however being fine, and the moon exceedingly bright, our journey was not altogether diſagreeable; as it led us through a delightful country abounding in vines, fruit-trees, flax, and paſturage.

The

The Rheinthal is a bailliage belonging to Appenzel and the eight antient cantons, which alternately appoint a bailif. The people are of both religions, but the Proteſtants are the moſt numerous.

Wallenſtadt, July 28.

We quitted Salets this morning, in the ſame cart in which we arrived; and it would have afforded matter of ſome ſpeculation, to obſerve how we contrived to arrange ourſelves, our ſervants, a large Newfoundland dog, and the baggage, in ſo narrow a compaſs: indeed we were ſo wedged in, that, after we had once fixed ourſelves in our ſeveral places, it was almoſt impoſſible to ſtir. The day was ſultry, and the ſun powerful, the road bad, and the cart went barely at the rate of three miles an hour; but the country ſtill continued ſo pictureſque and mountainous; and our attention was ſo entirely engaged with the perpetual variety of objects it preſented to our view, as to make us forget the inconveniences of our equipage, and the exceſſive heat of the weather. From Trivabach, a ſmall village upon the Rhine, we walked to Sargans, the capital of a bailliage of the ſame name, belonging to the eight antient cantons.

Let me here remark, that in Switzerland there are two ſorts of bailliages: the one conſiſting of certain diſtricts, into which all the ariſtocratical cantons are divided; and over theſe a particular officer, called a *bailif*, is appointed by government, to which he is accountable for his adminiſtration: the other ſort are the territories that do

do not make part of the diſtricts of the cantons, but are ſubject to two or more of them, who by turns appoint a bailif. This officer, when not reſtrained by the peculiar privilege of certain diſtricts, has the care of the police, juriſdiction in civil and criminal cauſes with ſome limitations; and enjoys a ſtated revenue ariſing in different places from various duties and taxes. In caſe of exaction or mal-adminiſtration, an appeal always lies from the bailif to the cantons, to which the bailliage belongs: and the place, the time, and the members who receive the appeal, are regulated with the utmoſt exactneſs. With reſpect to this of Sargans, and the others belonging to the eight ancient cantons conjointly; at the concluſion of the general diet held annually at Frauenfield in Thurgau, the deputies of theſe cantons reſolve themſelves into a Syndicate, examine the accounts of the public revenues as delivered by the bailifs of the reſpective diſtricts, and receive and judge all appeals; in ſome caſes, finally; but in the more important cauſes, an appeal lies from this aſſembly to the ſuperior tribunal of each canton. The theory of this inſtitution, has a plauſible appearance of impartiality: but how far the practice accords with the theory, I cannot pretend to determine. Whether a bailif, who is guilty of extortion, is eaſily brought to juſtice, or more eaſily ſcreened? how far the members of the Syndicate are liable to influence, or open to corruption? how far the expence of appeals renders them in many caſes impracticable to the poorer inhabitants? are queſtions which cannot be anſwered but by a perſon well informed concerning theſe courts of juſtice.

We arrived late at the town of Wallenſtadt: it is incorporated into the bailliage of Sargans, but enjoys ſeveral diſtinct privileges. This little town derives its exiſtence from the paſſage of the merchandiſe tranſported from Germany through the Griſons to Italy. This communication occaſions the frequent reſort of Italian merchants; and that language is underſtood by many of the inhabitants. Our landlord ſpeaks Italian, and has been very accurate in his anſwers to my queſtions relating to the number of the inhabitants, the government of the town, its dependence upon the bailif, and it privileges. Nor is this a matter of wonder: for the innkeepers in Switzerland are moſtly *burghers*, and are frequently members of the ſovereign council; and, from the very nature of their governments, the Swiſs in general are well informed of their particular conſtitutions. I have alſo held a long converſation with a native of Glarus, who has furniſhed me with much information in relation to that canton: which we purpoſe viſiting tomorrow. I endeavour to aſcertain the truth of theſe informations, by procuring as many as I can from different perſons of all ranks; and then comparing them with the written accounts.

Weſen, July 29.

The lake of Wallenſtadt is about twelve miles in length, and two in breadth: it is entirely bounded by high mountains, except to the eaſt and weſt. From this ſituation, a breeze generally blows from thoſe two quarters, beginning at break of day, and continuing for ſome hours; then

then changes from weſt to eaſt till ſun-ſet: this breeze is very convenient for the tranſportation of the merchandiſe. Sometimes however a violent north-wind ruſhes down from the mountains, and renders the navigation dangerous. We were aſſured by the inhabitants, and by the watermen who rowed us from Wallenſtadt to this place, that the breeze abovementioned was generally conſtant: but we cannot atteſt it from our own experience; as we ſet out this morning about eight, and the wind was directly contrary the whole way, blowing from weſt to eaſt. The weather, it is true, was heavy, overcaſt, and rainy, which might cauſe perhaps this occaſional variation.

The ſcenery of the lake is uncommonly wild and pictureſque, and affords a perpetual variety of beautiful and romantic ſcenes. On the ſide of Glarus, the mountains which form its borders, are chiefly cultivated; enriched with wood or fine meadows; and ſtudded with cottages, churches, and ſmall villages; the Alps of Glarus riſing behind, their tops covered with ſnow. On the other ſide, for the moſt part, the rocks are groteſque, craggy, inacceſſible, and perpendicular: but here and there a few cultivated necks of land are formed at the very edge of the lake, and at the bottom of theſe very rocks; exhibiting a beautiful contraſt to the barrenneſs above and around them. Numberleſs water-falls, occaſioned by the melting of the ſnows, fall down the ſides of the mountains from a very conſiderable height, and with an almoſt inconceivable variety; ſome of them ſeeming to glide gently in circular directions; others forming vaſt torrents, and ruſhing into the lake with

noiſe and violence: all of them changing their form and their poſition as we approached or receded from them. The lake is exceedingly clear, deep, and cold, and, as we were informed, is never frozen.

There is nothing remarkable in this place; being a ſmall village ſituated almoſt upon the point where the Mat iſſues from the lake of Wallenſtadt: that little river is joined by the Linth, and both united fall, under the name of Limmat, into the lake of Zuric.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 6.

The Canton of Glarus.

Glarus, July 29.

THE canton of Glarus was formerly ſubject to the abbeſs of the convent of Seckinguen in Suabia: the people however enjoyed very conſiderable privileges and a democratical form of government, under the adminiſtration of a mayor, appointed by the abbeſs, but choſen among the inhabitants. Towards the latter end of the thirteenth century, the emperor Rodolph I. obtained the excluſive adminiſtration of juſtice; and not long afterwards his ſon Albert, having purchaſed the mayoralty, which had gradually become hereditary, re-united in his perſon the whole civil and judicial authority. Accordingly that prince, and his immediate deſcendents the dukes of Auſtria, oppreſſed the people, and ruled over them with an abſolute ſway. In 1350 Schweitz, aſſiſted by Zuric, Lucerne, Uri, and Underwalden, expelled the Auſtrians from the canton of Glarus, and re-eſtabliſhed the democracy.

mocracy. Glarus then entered into a perpetual alliance with its deliverers, and was received into the Helvetic confederacy with ſome reſtrictions, which were not aboliſhed until 1450. At that time it was the ſixth canton, but is now the laſt in rank of the eight *antient* cantons, as they are called; being ſo diſtinguiſhed, becauſe, from the acceſſion of Zug and Berne in 1352, more than a century elapſed before a new member was admitted. Theſe *antient* cantons have alſo ſeveral privileges ſuperior to the five others; the latter having ſubmitted to ſome particular reſtrictions, upon their reception into the Helvetic league.

The people of Glarus enjoyed their liberties unmoleſted till 1388, when the Auſtrians made an irruption into the canton, with a force ſufficient, as they arrogantly thought, totally to ſubdue it; pillaging the country, and maſſacring the inhabitants. It was then that three hundred and fifty troops of Glarus, aſſiſted by thirty Switzers, reſiſted the whole ſtrength of the Auſtrian army: the former were poſted advantageouſly upon the mountains, and the latter, to the number of fifteen thouſand, at a village called Næfels. In this ſituation the Auſtrians began the attack; but were ſoon compelled to retreat with great precipitation, by a ſhower of ſtones poured upon them from the heights: in this moment of confuſion, the inhabitants ruſhed down upon the enemy with ſuch redoubled fury, that they broke their ranks; and, after an immenſe ſlaughter, forced the remainder to retire from the canton. Theſe ſurpriſing victories, gained by a handful of men againſt an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number (inſtances of which are by no means

means rare in the hiſtory of Switzerland) render the wonderful combats of Marathon and Platæa, when the Greeks repulſed the numerous hoſts of the whole Perſian empire, perfectly credible. The ſame love of independence, the ſame dread of ſlavery, and the ſame attachment to their country, animated the reſpective nations to the ſame deeds of heroiſm; and in both inſtances victory was followed by the ſame glorious conſequences: for the Swiſs, as well as the Greeks, owe the riſe and preſervation of their liberties to that magnanimous and determined valour, which prefers death to living under the ſervile domination of an arbitrary deſpot. The people ſtill celebrate the anniverſary of this victory, which inſured their independence: and I ſaw near the village of Næfels ſeveral ſtones, with no other inſcription than 1388: an inſcription which no more requires explanation, to an inhabitant of the canton, than the glorious æra of 1688, to an Engliſhman.

In the ſixteenth century, the reformation was introduced into this canton, but not excluſively: both religions are tolerated, and the two ſects live together in the greateſt harmony: an union the more remarkable, when we conſider the fatal quarrels that have been kindled in Switzerland on account of religious tenets; and that in Appenzel the diviſion between the two ſects is diſtinctly marked by their inhabiting different diſtricts, and living under ſeparate governments. In ſeveral parts of this canton, the Proteſtants and Catholics ſucceſſively perform ſervice in the ſame church; and all the offices of ſtate are amicably adminiſtered by the two parties. During the preſent and preceding century, the Proteſtants

tants have increaſed conſiderably in number; and their induſtry, in every branch of commerce, is greatly ſuperior: an evident proof how much the tenets of the Roman Catholic church fetter the genius, and depreſs the powers of exertion.

The government is entirely democratical: every perſon at the age of ſixteen has a vote in the *Landſgemeind*, or general aſſembly, which is annually held in an open plain. This aſſembly ratifies new laws; lays contributions; enters into alliances; declares war; and makes peace. The *Landamman* is the chief of the republic, and is choſen alternately from the two ſects; with this difference, that the *Proteſtant* remains three years in office, the *Catholic* only two. The manner of election is as follows: five candidates choſen by the people draw lots for the charge. The other great officers of ſtate, and the bailifs, are taken alſo by lot from a certain number of candidates propoſed by the people. The executive power is veſted in the council of regency, compoſed of forty-eight Proteſtants, and fifteen Catholics: each ſect has its particular court of juſtice; and, when there are any law-ſuits between two perſons of different religions, the caſting voice among the five or nine judges, who are to determine the cauſe, is always of the ſame religion as the defendant.

Cattle, cheeſe, and butter, conſtitute the principal commerce of the canton. The cattle are fed in ſummer upon the Alps: and it is computed that ten thouſand head of large cattle, and four thouſand ſheep, are paſtured during that ſeaſon upon the mountains belonging to the canton.

The inhabitants alſo manufacture linen and muſlins.

Among the exports a conſiderable article is ſlate; with which the canton abounds. The principal quarry is in the valley of Sernſt, where large ſlates are dug up that ſerve for tables. Theſe quarries, as I am informed by Mr. David Pennant, once furniſhed Great Britain with ſlates for writing, or accomptants ſlates; but this trade is entirely loſt. Of late they have been prepared from the great ſlate quarries in Caernarvonſhire, the property of Lord Penryn; and with ſuch ſucceſs, as bids fair to extend this article of commerce over moſt part of Europe.

July 30.

I am juſt returned to Glarus, after having made an excurſion towards the extremity of the canton: it is entirely encloſed by the alps, except towards the north; and there is no other entrance but through this opening, which lies between the lake of Wallenſtadt and the mountains ſeparating this canton from that of Schweitz. Paſſengers indeed may in ſummer traverſe theſe alps to the Griſons on one ſide, and to Uri on the other: but theſe paths are in winter abſolutely impracticable. At the entrance abovementioned, the canton reaches, from the banks of the Linth to the fartheſt extremity of its alps, about thirty miles; forming a valley, which becomes narrower as you advance, and is ſcarcely more than a muſket-ſhot in breadth at the burgh of Glarus. It afterwards opens by degrees; and about a league from the laſt-mentioned burgh, is divided by the Freyberg mountains: at the point of

of this diviſion the two rivers, Linth and Sernſt, unite.

We continued through the largeſt of theſe vallies; which, though very narrow, is exceedingly populous. You have been at Matlock in Derbyſhire, and I remember your admiration of its beautiful and romantic ſituation: the ſcenery of this valley is of the ſame caſt, but infinitely more picturesque, more wild, more varied, and more ſublime. The Linth is much broader and more rapid than the Derwent; and the hillocks of the Peake are mere mole-hills to the alps of Glarus. The ſtupendous chains of rocks are abſolutely perpendicular, approach one another ſo near and are ſo high, that the ſun may be ſaid to ſet, even in ſummer, at four in the afternoon. On each ſide are numbers of thoſe water-falls we ſo much admired during our paſſage over the lake of Wallenſtadt; one in particular, near the village of Ruti, that foamed down the ſteep ſides of a mountain, from the midſt of a hanging grove of trees. I was ſo captivated with theſe enchanting ſcenes, that I could not help ſtopping every moment to admire them: and our guide, not conceiving it poſſible that theſe delays could be owing to any other cauſe than the lazineſs of his horſe, never failed to ſtrike the poor beaſt; and continually awakened me out of my rapturous contemplations; and it was ſome time before I could make him comprehend that I ſtopped by choice, and wiſhed to continue my own pace. After having rode about ten miles, we quitted our horſes and walked. Near Leugelbach, a conſiderable rivulet is formed by two ſtreams, burſting from the ground at the foot of a mountain, which after a few paces unite, and fall

fall into the Linth: beſide theſe two principal branches, ſeveral ſmaller ſprings, and numberleſs little fountains, guſh from the rock.—The clearneſs of the ſtreams; their rapidity and murmuring ſound; the trees that hang over the point from whence they iſſue; the rude rocks above; the rich meadows and ſcattered hamlets—all together form an aſſemblage of the moſt lively and pleaſing objects that ever entered into a beautiful landſcape.

I am informed by David Pennant, Eſq. that ſalmons force their way annually from the ſea as high as this river, to depoſit their ſpawn. Their progreſs is up the Rhine, and out of that noble river up the Aar, and through the lake of Zuric into the Linth; a courſe of many hundred miles. They are taken in theſe diſtant parts in September and October, and about the ſize of ſeventeen or twenty pounds weight.

We croſſed the Linth ſeveral times, which ruſhes with all the violence of a torrent; and came at length to an amphitheatre of mountains, where the valley ended: on our right-hand a fall more conſiderable than any we had yet ſeen, tumbling down perpendicularly over a bare rock in a large body of water; the alps on each ſide crowned with inacceſſible foreſts, and covered with everlaſting ſnow; before us a pyramidical mountain, bare and craggy; and the glaciers of Glarus cloſing the view. Here the valley, and the habitable part of the canton, terminate. We then quitted the plain, and aſcending through a wild foreſt of beech and pines, continued more than an hour mounting a very ſteep and rugged path, till we came to the Panten-Bruck, a bridge over the cataract that forms the Linth, which is here

here called the Sand-bach: it roars from the glacier down the ſteep mountain in one unbroken fall; and, a little way before its arrival under the bridge, works itſelf a ſubterraneous paſſage through the rock, where it is loſt only to appear again with increaſed violence and precipitation. The bridge is a ſingle arch of ſtone, of about ſeventy feet in length, thrown over a precipice of above three hundred feet in depth. It ſerves as a commuication with the upper alps, and is the paſſage for the cattle which are fed there during the ſummer months; on the other ſide ſome goats came jumping around us, and ſeemed to welcome us to their dreary habitations. Theſe mountains are covered with a great variety of rare plants, which made me regret that I had not purſued my botanical ſtudies. As I leaned upon the parapet of the bridge, and looked down into the chaſm beneath, my head almoſt turned giddy with the height. The rock, down which the Sand-bach drives, is compoſed of ſlate. After we had continued ſome time admiring the ſublime horror of the ſcenery, we deſcended into the valley, and made a hearty meal upon ſome excellent bread, honey, butter, and milk, which a neighbouring cottage ſupplied. As the canton almoſt entirely conſiſts of rich meadows, the milk and butter are delicious; and the honey of thoſe mountainous countries is moſt exquiſite. Nothing delights me ſo much as the inſide of a Swiſs cottage: all thoſe I have hitherto viſited, convey the livelieſt image of cleanlineſs, eaſe, and ſimplicity; and cannot but ſtrongly impreſs upon the obſerver a moſt pleaſing conviction of the peaſant's happineſs.

If

If I had never ſeen theſe little democratical ſtates, I could have formed no idea of the general equality and indiſtinction that prevails among the inhabitants. All the houſes, like thoſe of Appenzel, are built of wood; large, ſolid, and compact, with great penthouſe roofs that hang very low, and extend beyond the area of the foundation. This peculiar ſtructure is of uſe to keep off the ſnow; and, from its ſingularity, accords ſurpriſingly with the beautiful wildneſs of the country. The houſes of the richer inhabitants in the principal burghs, are of the ſame materials: the only difference conſiſts in their being larger.

If that ſort of government be confeſſedly the beſt, which conſtitutes the greateſt good of the greateſt number in the community; theſe little ſtates, notwithſtanding the natural defects of a democratical conſtitution, may juſtly claim a large ſhare of our approbation. General liberty, general independence, and an exemption from arbitrary taxes, are bleſſings which amply compenſate for a want of thoſe refinements that are introduced by opulence and luxury. However, it is only in theſe ſmall republics, and in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, that this kind of general democracy can have place. And although the machine of government is conſiderably clogged by the variety of wheels required to put it into motion; yet it is not neceſſary that its deciſions ſhould be ſudden and expeditious: for, as there is no fear of an invaſion, and as the people have no conqueſts either to make or to defend; their principal policy conſiſts in maintaining their independence, and in preſerving the public tranquility.

The

The police is well regulated throughout Switzerland; and even in theſe democratical ſtates, liberty does not often degenerate into licentiouſneſs: we may except, perhaps, the day of their general aſſemblies, when it is impoſſible to prevent ſome degree of confuſion in a meeting where there is ſcarcely any diſtinction of perſons; and where every peaſant conſiders himſelf as equal to the firſt magiſtrate.

Our hoſt is an open-hearted, honeſt Swiſs: he brings his pint of wine, ſits down to table with us, and chats without the leaſt ceremony. There is a certain forwardneſs of this kind which is inſupportable when it apparently is the effect of impertinent curioſity, or fawning officiouſneſs; but the preſent inſtance of frank familiarity, ariſing from a mind conſcious of its natural equality, and unconſtrained by arbitrary diſtinctions, is highly pleaſing; as the ſimple demeanour of unſophiſticated nature is far preferable to the falſe refinements of artificial manners.

I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER 7.

The Abbey of Einſidlin—Rapperſchwl.

Einſidlin, July 31.

WE could not paſs through this part of the country, without making a pilgrimage to Einſidlin, and paying our reſpects to this celebrated ſhrine: an object of much devotion among the Catholics. Einſidlin, or *Notre Dame des Hermites*, is a rich and magnificent abbey of Benedictines in the canton of Schweitz, which owes its celebrity to the miraculous image, as it is called, of the Virgin Mary. The ridiculous tales they relate of the origin and aggrandizement of this abbey, are ſo many melancholy inſtances of the credulity of the darker ages: that they are ſtill believed in the preſent enlightened century, muſt be attributed to the force of habitual prejudice; and at the ſame time proves, how difficult it is for the human mind to ſhake off thoſe ſuperſtitious errors, which it has early imbibed under the name of religion.

In the ninth century a certain hermit called Meinrad, was the firſt who retired to this place, where he built a chapel, and was aſſaſſinated by robbers.

robbers. But ſhall I tell you, or, (what is more to the purpoſe) will you believe me if I tell you, that this murder was diſcovered by two crows, who followed the aſſaſſins to Zuric, where they were ſeized and executed? Soon after, the dead body of St. Meinrad of courſe works miracles; and all the world pilgrimiſes to his bones. The ſanctity of this place being thus eſtabliſhed, ſome one (for whether it were St. Benno or St. Eberhard, or what other ſaint I cannot preciſely determine) conſtructed another chapel, which he dedicated to the Virgin, and laid the firſt foundation of the abbey; having bequeathed for that purpoſe his whole fortune: and the pious fund was ſoon conſiderably augmented by ſubſequent donations. Shall I tell you alſo, that in 948, Conrad, biſhop of Conſtance, as he was going to conſecrate the chapel, heard a voice from heaven, aſſuring him, that God himſelf had conſecrated it? Whatever was its origin, and whoever was its founder; crouds of pilgrims reſort hither from all quarters to adore the Virgin, and to preſent their offerings; and it is computed, that upon the moſt moderate calculation, their number amounts yearly to 100,000. The circumjacent country was formerly a continued foreſt, which ſince the erection of the abbey has been gradually converted into rich paſtures and beautiful meadows: and this is a miracle which the Virgin, in a certain ſenſe, may be truly ſaid to have performed.

Auguſt 1.

I have juſt been viſiting the abbey, the chapel of the Virgin, and her immenſe treaſures. The church of the abbey is a large and magnificent building,

building, but exhibits a remarkable ſpecimen of falſe taſte, by being loaded with bad paintings, and ſuperfluous ornaments. In the aile not far from the entrance, is a ſmall and elegant marble chapel of the Corinthian order: this is the celebrated ſhrine of the Virgin, to which the pilgrims reſort. On the outſide an angel ſupports the following inſcription:

Hic eſt plena remiſſio peccatorum omnium a culpâ et pœnâ.

Over the door is a plate of ſilver with five holes, into which I ſaw ſeveral perſons thruſting their fingers, and praying at the ſame time with great fervour: upon inquiry I found, that the credulous people believed theſe holes to be the marks of God's fingers. In the inſide of this chapel is the image of the Virgin, which vies with the lady of Loretto in *beauty* of countenance; her face, as well as that of the child ſhe hold in her arms, being black. She is richly apparelled, and changes her garment every week; her wardrobe conſiſting of fifty-two different ſuits.

The riches of the treaſury are immenſe; containing numberleſs offerings of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, arranged in the moſt ridiculous manner; alſo ſkulls and bones ſumptuouſly ornamented; whole ſkeletons of ſaints in maſquerade, and of ladies with ruffles, fly-caps, and ſplendid apparel as if dreſſed for a ball. What a wretched inſult upon poor human nature! I could not help conſidering them with a mixture of pity and indignation, as the offerings of ignorance before the ſhrine of bigotry and ſuperſtition. The miracles which the Virgin has wrought in this country are infinite, if we may

judge from the numerous figures of ears, eyes, legs, arms, heads, &c. presented by those, who fancied themselves respectively cured in those several members, by the power of this wonder-working image.

I was glad however to find, in the midst of this superstitious trumpery, a good library, which contained some fine editions of the classics.

In this place there is a considerable traffic in rosaries, crosses, and little images; and there are rows of shops, where nothing is to be purchased but these necessary appendages of the Roman Catholic religion: it has all the appearance of a fair. There is also a room in the abbey, where the same kind of merchandise is exposed to sale; and one of the friars attends to receive your money, and very gravely assures you, that the several articles have touched the sacred image. Among other curiosities of this kind, I purchased two ribands for two pence each, with the following inscription upon them: *Ce Ruban entier, est la longueur; jusqu'au trait est l'epaisseur, de l'image de notre dame des hermites. Il a touché l'image miraculeuse.*

This abbey is very rich, and has considerable revenues in the canton of Zuric. The abbot, who is titular prince of the German empire, is elected by sixty Benedictines, that form the chapter.

As I walked to this celebrated convent, I found the whole way furnished with stalls, provided with cakes, whey, and other refreshments for the numerous pilgrims then on their road. I saw several hundreds, in groups of different numbers. Some consisted of a whole parish, attended by their spiritual pastor. More than once,

once, I observed some grievous sinner driven from the flock, and walking at a distance counting his beads, bare-footed and bare-headed, doing full penance for his crimes. I also saw several bevies of merry damsels, who seemed to enjoy the pilgrimage as much as Welsh lasses relish a wake. They often turned into the little chapels which lay open on the way, and wantonly sprinkled each other with holy water.

This day's journey reminded me of Chaucer's Tales, in which he exactly describes this pilgrimage, in his account of that to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury:

From every place the pious ramblers stray,
But most to good Einsidlin bend their way;
There, at the martyr's shrine, a cure they find
For each sick body, and each love-sick mind.

Rapperschwyl, August 2.

The evening, yesterday, being fine and cool, I walked from Einsidlin to this place. After we had ascended about three miles, a view of the lake of Zuric, and of the adjacent country, opened upon us at once. The prospect was extensive and beautiful: the solemn stillness of the evening, the calmness of the lake, and the tints of the setting sun, which glowed around the horison, very much improved its charms. When we arrived at the lake, the moon began to rise; and, throwing its beams across the water, formed another scene, more mild indeed, but not less affecting. We then crossed the bridge of Rapperschwyl, built over the narrowest part of the lake: it measured near 1700 paces. The town is pleasantly situated upon a neck of land or promontory.

montory. It formerly threw itſelf under the protection of Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, and Glarus, with a reſerve of all its privileges: but theſe cantons ſhamefully oppreſſing the inhabitants, and encroaching upon their liberties; Zuric and Berne took poſſeſſion of the town in 1712, and reſtored its antient immunities. From that period Rapperſchwyl has continued under the protection of Zuric, Berne, and Glarus; the latter having preſerved its right by its neutrality. By this treaty the town having recovered its former prerogatives, the inhabitants, in teſtimony of their gratitude, placed the following inſcription over the gates: *Amicis Tutoribus floret libertas.*

This ſmall republic is governed by a great and little council, conſiſting of forty-eight members. The town contains two hundred burghers, and about a thouſand inhabitants, all Catholics. Its territory is about a league in circumference, and comprehends three pariſhes.

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 8.

Town and Canton of Zuric.

Zuric, Auguſt 3.

YESTERDAY we dined luxurioufly with the Capuchin friars at Rapperſchwyl, who ſeldom treat their gueſts in ſo ſumptuous a manner. It was one of their great feaſt-days; and they regaled us with every variety of fiſh, with which the lake and the neighbouring rivers abound. The convent ſtands upon the edge of the water, and commands an agreeable proſpect: the library is by far the pleaſanteſt apartment, though not the moſt frequented. The cells of the monks are ſmall, and yet not inconvenient; but cleanlineſs does not ſeem to conſtitute any part of their moral or religious obſervances. Indeed the very habit of the order is ill calculated for that purpoſe, as they wear no ſhirt or ſtockings, and are clothed in a coarſe kind of brown drugget robe, which trails upon the ground. Strange idea of ſanctity! as if dirt could be acceptable to the Deity. I reflected with particular ſatisfaction, that I was not born a member of the Roman Catholic church; as perhaps the commands of a

parent,

parent, a ſudden diſappointment, or a momentary fit of enthuſiaſm, might have ſent me to a convent of Capuchins, and have wedded me to dirt and ſuperſtition for life.

After dinner we took leave of our hoſts, and departed for Zuric by water: the lake is near ten leagues in length, and one in breadth. This body of water is of an oblong form, and not near ſo large as that of Conſtance; but the borders are ſtudded more thickly with villages and towns. The adjacent country is finely cultivated and well peopled; and the ſouthern part of the lake appears bounded with the high ſtupendous mountains of Schweitz and Glarus: the ſcenery is pictureſque, lively, and diverſified.

Zuric was formerly an imperial city, and obtained from the emperor Frederic II. very conſiderable privileges; which were acknowledged and augmented by ſeveral of his ſucceſſors. The civil war between the magiſtrates and the people, in 1335, nearly reduced the city to ruins; but the former being baniſhed, the citizens, in 1337, eſtabliſhed a new form of government, which was confirmed by the emperor Louis of Bavaria. The exiles, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, were at length re-admitted; but it being diſcovered that they had engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the citizens, they were put to death. In conſequence of this tranſaction, the nobles in the neighbourhood took up arms againſt the town: the latter, after having ineffectually applied for aſſiſtance to the emperor Charles IV. formed an alliance with Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, and was admitted a member of their confederacy. This event happened in the year 1351. The four cantons yielded the pre-eminence to Zuric:

... a privilege

a privilege it enjoys at preſent; being the firſt canton in rank, and the moſt conſiderable in extent both of territory and power next to Berne. In the ſame year Zuric was aſſiſted by the four cantons againſt Albert duke of Auſtria, who beſieged the town, and was repulſed with great loſs.

Zuric was the firſt town in Switzerland, that ſeparated from the church of Rome; being converted by the arguments of Zuingle. Of all the reformers (the mild and elegant Melancthon alone excepted) Zuingle ſeems to merit peculiar eſteem: he poſſeſſed, to a great degree, that ſpirit of meekneſs, moderation, and charity, which are the characteriſtics of true Chriſtianity; and, amid all the diſputes between the Lutherans and the reformed churches, was a conſtant advocate for peace and reconciliation. He appears indeed to have been perfectly free, as well from that narrow bigotry which makes no diſtinction between points of the mereſt indifference, and objects of the greateſt importance; as from that overbearing pride, which, while it violently condemns the opinions of others, aſſumes to itſelf infallibility with reſpect to its own. In a word, it was his perſuaſion, that, provided Chriſtians agree in the moſt eſſential articles; they ought meekly to bear with any difference upon ſubjects leſs uncontrovertible, and which do not neceſſarily influence morals.

Ulric Zuingle was born Jan. 1, 1484, at Wildhauſen, a ſmall village in the Tockenburgh; and, in the twentieth year of his age, was appointed miniſter of Glarus. Even before the publication of the ſale of indulgences by Leo X. which was the more immediate cauſe of the reformation,

formation, Zuingle had expoſed at Glarus ſeveral ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome; and he gained additional credit, by preaching at Einſidlin againſt vows, prilgrimages, and offerings. After the publication of the ſale of indulgences; while Luther was undermining the fabric of papal authority in Germany, Zuingle was no leſs ſucceſsful in Switzerland. By his zeal and intrepidity, and by the irreſiſtible force of truth, he gained ſo many converts at Zuric where he had been invited to preach) that in 1524 the magiſtrates aboliſhed the maſs, and other Catholic ceremonies, and introduced the reformed religion. Zuingle had taken ſuch wiſe precautions, and acted with ſuch extreme moderation, that the diſputes between the two ſects were carried on with more temper than is uſual in religious controverſies. The change, which had been ſome time in agitation, was finally determined by a plurality of voices in the ſovereign council: and the people readily and cheerfully obeyed the deciſion of their magiſtrates. The example of Zuric was ſoon followed by Berne, Scaffhauſen, Baſle, with part of Glarus and Appenzel; the other cantons continuing to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors. From this period the two perſuaſions have been eſtabliſhed in Switzerland; but that harmony, which had hitherto ſubſiſted between the cantons, has been occaſionally interrupted. In 1531, religious diſputes broke out with ſo much violence and animoſity, as to occaſion a civil war; in which the Proteſtants were defeated, and Zuingle loſt his life, in the forty-eighth year of his

his age, at the battle of Cappel *. Since that period two other religious wars have been kindled; one in 1656, in which the Catholics gained the advantage; and the other in 1712, when the Proteſtants proved victorious. The peace of Arau, which terminated theſe unhappy diſputes, has, it is to be hoped, finally compoſed all religious animoſities. By that treaty, which may be conſidered as a code of toleration among the Swiſs; the treatment of the Proteſtants and Catholics in the common bailliages, is regulated. The firſt article ſtipulates, that in all the provinces, which are ſubject to cantons of different religion, there ſhall be a perfect equality between the two ſects, and that they ſhall both enjoy the ſame privileges; to which is added an expreſs prohibition to each party, not to uſe any terms of raillery or contempt, in ſpeaking of their reſpective worſhips.

The canton of Zuric abounds in corn, wine, and excellent paſture. The proportion of grain to the other productions of the earth, will appear from the following calculation. There are 217,424† acres laid out in grain, 14,466 in vines, 94,553 in meadows, 42,549 in paſturage, and 103,772 in foreſt.

As

* It has been urged againſt Zuingle, as a proof of his perſecuting principles, that he was perſonally engaged in this war againſt the Catholics. To this it may be anſwered, That he had uſed every argument in his power to reconcile the contending parties; that he even openly arraigned the impatient and turbulent zeal of his fellow-citizens; that he acted in obedience to one of the fundamental laws of the republic; and that he accompanied the army by the expreſs command of the magiſtrates.

† Of 36,000 ſquare feet each.

As ſufficient corn is not produced for the interior conſumption, the deficiency is chiefly ſupplied from Suabia. In order to prevent a ſcarcity of this material article, a public granary is maintained at the expence of government. The grain is retailed at the common price; but, in ſeaſons of ſcarcity, it is ſold conſiderably cheaper than it can be purchaſed at the market. The good effects of this eſtabliſhment appeared at the dearth in 1771; when, on account of the dearneſs of corn, a pound of bread was ſold for ten pence, the ſame quantity was delivered by government for four pence.

The wine made in the canton forms an inconſiderable object of foreign commerce; the greateſt part being conſumed in the country. In 1779 were exported 10,029 caſks, each containing 180 bottles; in 1781, 24,568; and in 1782, 11,354.

The canton contained, in 1784, 174,572 ſouls, including 10,500 in the capital. This large population, in proportion to the ſize of the canton, is owing to the trade of Zuric; as at leaſt two thirds of the inhabitants derive their livelihood by ſpinning thread and ſilk, and making linen for the manufactures of the town.

The ſovereign power reſides excluſively in the burgeſſes of the town, conſiſting of about two thouſand.

Here I cannot but remark, that a very narrow ſpirit of policy reigns throughout moſt of the ſtates in Switzerland; as they ſeldom confer the burgherſhip. This rule, however, in ſome of the republics is leſs ſcrupulouſly obſerved than in others. But in Zuric a new citizen has not been

been admitted during theſe laſt hundred and fifty years.

It is curious to trace the reſtrictions which have been gradually laid on granting the burgherſhip. On the 26th of May, 1540, the Sovereign Council iſſued a decree, importing, that whoſoever was deſirous of becoming a citizen, ſhould be obliged to produce a certificate of good behaviour, properly witneſſed and ſigned, and bearing the ſeal of the magiſtrates of the place in which he formerly reſided; and ſhould, before he was enrolled among the burghers, pay ten florins, near £. 1, if a native of Switzerland, and double that ſum if a ſtranger. An inhabitant of the town or canton was taxed only at three florins for his admiſſion; and all artiſts and perſons of learning, neceſſary or uſeful to the ſtate, were to be received gratis. In 1549, it was enacted, that the burgherſhip ſhould be refuſed to all who were not poſſeſſed of conſiderable riches, or who did not introduce new arts and trades. This decree was repeatedly confirmed; and, in 1593, it was added, that a new citizen ſhould not be entitled to a ſhare in the government but on the following conditions. If an inhabitant of the canton, he muſt have reſided in the town during ten years; if a native of Switzerland, twenty; if a foreigner, forty; and that he muſt build or purchaſe a houſe within the walls of Zuric: this laſt article was repealed in 1612. In 1597, the reception of new citizens was delayed for the firſt time, but only for two years; and in 1610, the admiſſion money was augmented.

In the commencement of the 17th century, government refuſed to receive into the Sovereign Council

Council the noble families of Orel, Peffaluzz, and Muralt; which, in 1555 and 1557, had quitted Italy and ſettled at Zuric: theſe families, partly on account of having embraced the reformed religion, and partly as perſons of capacity and induſtry, had been received into the burgherſhip, but rendered incapable of enjoying a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. This excluſion, again confirmed in 1592, was revoked in 1673, in favour only of the family of Muralt, which exception was obtained by conſiderable largeſſes. In 1674, the family of Orel offered to diſburſe ten thouſand florins towards the expence of repairing the fortifications, on condition of being rendered capable of election into the Sovereign Council: their petition was then refuſed, but generouſly granted in 1679, without the ſmalleſt equivalent.

Finally, on the 7th of January, 1661, the Council determined to make no more burghers; which reſolution has been invariably followed.

The burghers, beſide the advantage of electing their magiſtrates, and of aſpiring to the adminiſtration of affairs, enjoy the ſole right of commerce; all ſtrangers, and even ſubjects, being excluded from eſtabliſhing manufactures in the city, or in any part of the canton.

The burghers of Zuric, are divided into thirteen tribes; one of which is called *Conſtaffel*, or the tribe of nobles; although it is not at preſent abſolutely confined to perſons of that deſcription: it enjoys the privilege of giving eighteen members to the Sovereign Council, and ſix to the Senate, whereas each of the other tribes only ſupply twelve to the former, and ſix to the latter.

The

The legiſlative authority is veſted by the burghers, in the Sovereign council of two hundred; conſiſting, however, of two hundred and twelve members drawn from the thirteen tribes, and compriſing the Senate or Little Council. This * Senate, compoſed of fifty members, including the two burgomaſters, has juriſdiction in all cauſes civil and criminal: in the former, when the demand is of a certain importance, an appeal lies to the Council of two hundred; but in criminal affairs, their ſentence is final, and, when once paſſed, there is no poſſibility of obtaining any reverſal or mitigation. An excellent maxim! provided the judges are cautious and circumſpect, and the laws mild: for there is no greater encouragement to the commiſſion of crimes, than the frequency of pardons. Such an inſtitution, however, ought neceſſarily to exclude ſeverity of puniſhment; and could never be admitted in a ſtate, where by the letter of the law the ſame puniſhment is inflicted upon a ſheep-ſtealer as upon a parricide.

It is to be regretted, that in this republic, as in moſt other ſtates of Switzerland, there is no preciſe code of criminal law. The Caroline, or code of Charles V. is oſtenſibly followed; but on account of its obſolete uſages and extreme ſeverity, the ſentence is ultimately left to the diſcretion of the magiſtrates. For notwithſtanding the moſt perfect integrity, and upright intentions, yet it is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe, that party, friendſhip,

* Formerly the Senate was ſeparated into two equal diviſions, which alternately adminiſtered the office during ſix months; and although theſe diviſions ſtill continue, yet, for ſome time paſt, they have reunited and acted together.

friendſhip, connections, and family, ſhould not frequently influence the judges and occaſion partial proceedings. It would perhaps well become the wiſdom of this enlightened and equitable government, to form a penal code, and to aſcertain with preciſion, the puniſhment for each offence. The example of ſuch a republic would in time be followed by the remaining cantons and ſtates of Switzerland; and poſterity would bleſs the name of Zuric for having occaſioned the introduction of more ſettled principles in the criminal courts of juſtice. Some late deciſions have rendered this arrangement more obviouſly neceſſary. Several perſons diſordered in their underſtandings committed ſuicide; and, although the circumſtances of the crime were nearly ſimilar, yet the moſt oppoſite ſentences were pronounced on theſe occaſions: ſo that the families of thoſe, to whom a greater degree of ſeverity was ſhewn, were neceſſarily more diſtreſſed on account of the mildneſs manifeſted to the others.

Every judge of delicacy and honour would undoubtedly experience great ſatisfaction, to find himſelf reſtrained by preciſe laws from liſtening to ſolicitations from friends and party, and from being biaſſed by thoſe feelings, of which it is almoſt impoſſible to be diveſted.

The power of the Senate, conſidered in a collective capacity, is very conſiderable: it judges finally in all criminal cauſes, has the care of the police, and ſupplies the principal magiſtrates. But, as too great a power of individuals is dangerous in a republic; the members of this aſſembly are liable to be changed: and a reviſion or confirmation is annually made, in ſome inſtances by

by the Sovereign Council, in others by the particular tribes to which the ſenators belong. This annual reviſion is a great check to mal-adminiſtration; and at the ſame time prevents the Senate from gaining ſo great an influence, as to be detrimental to the liberties of the people. A burgher is qualified to vote at twenty; is eligible into the Sovereign Council at thirty; and into the Senate at thirty-five. By theſe wiſe regulations, a man muſt have formed ſome experience in public affairs, before he is capable of holding an important charge. The revenues of government, though not exceeding £. 65,000 *per ann.* are more than proportionate to the expences; which are regulated with the ſtricteſt œconomy. The ſtate is not only without debts, but an annual ſaving depoſited in the public treaſury, for a reſort upon any ſudden emergency. From this this fund government ſupported the whole expence of the war, in 1612, againſt the Catholic cantons, without impoſing any additional tax.

The canton of Zuric is divided into diſtricts or bailliages, which are governed by bailifs nominated by the Sovereign Council. Theſe bailifs, excepting thoſe of Kyburgh and Groningen, cannot paſs capital ſentence, or order torture. They can arreſt and interrogate the delinquent, and puni ſmall miſdemeanors by whipping, or baniſhment from the bailliage. In capital caſes, they examine, make out the verbal proceſs, and ſend the felon to Zuric for further trial. On inquiring into the ſtate of criminal juriſprudence, I learned with ſatisfaction, that the queſtion had not been inflicted in the capital for theſe laſt nine years, which may be preſumed to be a prelude

to

to its total abolition; but it is much to be regretted, that whipping, which is a ſpecies of torture, is not unfrequently applied, in order to force confeſſion, both in Zuric and in the bailliages; an abuſe of juſtice repugnant to the wiſdom of ſo enlightened a government.

The city of Zuric ſtands at the northern extremity of the lake, and occupies both ſides of the rapid and tranſparent Limmat. Its environs are extremely delightful; an amphitheatre of hills gradually ſloping to the borders of the water, enriched with paſture and vines; dotted with innumerable villas, cottages, and hamlets; and backed on the weſt by the Utliberg, a bold and gloomy ridge ſtretching towards the Albis, and that chain of mountains which riſes gradually to the Alps.

The town is divided into two parts; the old part, ſurrounded with the ſame antient battlements and towers which exiſted in the thirteenth century; and the ſuburbs, which are ſtrengthened by fortifications in the modern ſtyle, but too extenſive. The ditches, inſtead of being filled with ſtagnant water, are moſtly ſupplied with running ſtreams. The public walk is pleaſantly ſituated in a lawn, at the junction of the Limmat and the Sil, an impetuous and turbid torrent, which deſcends from the mountains of Einſidlin: two rows of lime-trees planted by the ſide of the Limmat, and following its ſerpentine direction, afford an agreeable ſhade in the heat of ſummer. The inhabitants are very induſtrious; and carry on with ſucceſs ſeveral manufactures: the principal are thoſe of linens and cottons, muſlins, and ſilk-handkerchiefs. The manufacturers do not in

in general dwell within the walls; but the materials are moſtly prepared, and the work is completed in the adjacent diſtricts. For this reaſon Zuric does not exhibit the activity and numbers of a great commercial city. The environs, on the contrary, are ſo extremely populous, that perhaps few diſtricts in the neighbourhood of a town, whoſe population ſcarcely exceeds ten thouſand inhabitants, contain within ſo ſmall a compaſs ſo many ſouls. The ſtreets are moſtly narrow; the houſes and public buildings accord more with plainneſs and convenience, than with the elegance and ſplendor of a capital.

The town contained in 1780, 10559 ſouls, in the following proportions: 2583 male burghers, 3464 female burghers; 860 foreign clerks, 250 foreigners; 372 male inhabitants, 444 female inhabitants; 223 men-ſervants, 1734 maid-ſervants; and 629 patients in the hoſpital. The gradual decreaſe of the population in the town, which ariſes from the difficulty of obtaining the burgherſhip, will appear from the following table.

1357.	1756.	1762.	1769.	1780.
12375	11012	10616	10574	10559

The increaſe of luxury and opulence will appear from conſidering, that in 1357, the number of men-ſervants amounted to only 84, and of maid-ſervants to 263; whereas in 1780, the

former were 223, and the latter 1734; or near a fifth of the whole population.

The manners of the inhabitants are in general ſimple, and may perhaps in theſe times be eſteemed antiquated. Dinner is uſually ſerved at twelve: in the afternoon the gentlemen aſſemble in clubs, or ſmall ſocieties, in the town during winter, and at their reſpective villas in ſummer. They frequently ſmoke, and partake of wine, fruit, cakes, and other refreſhments. The women, for the moſt part employed in their domeſtic occupations, or devoted to the improvement of their children, are not fond of viſiting. When they go out, they generally aſſemble in ſeparate coteries, to which only a few men, and thoſe chiefly the neareſt relations, are admitted: many of the ladies indeed, from a conſciouſneſs of their provincial accent, and a difficulty of expreſſing themſelves in French, ſeldom make their appearance when ſtrangers are received. It has more than once happened to me, that on being ſhewn into the apartment wherein the ladies were aſſembled, the maſter of the houſe has taken me by the hand, and led me into another room, where he would have detained me, if I had not requeſted to be reconducted to the ladies.

This reſerve, however, among the ladies begins greatly to abate, and to give place to a more ſociable intercourſe. Such, however, is the prevalence of national habit, that a few families, which form a more agreeable mixture of company, are conſidered as differing from the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and are ſtill known by the name of the *French Society*.

Sumptuary laws, as well as thoſe againſt immorality, are here well obſerved. The former indeed

indeed may exiſt, and be carried into execution even among a people much corrupted; for it may be the policy of government to enforce their obſervance. But the ſevereſt penalties will not be ſufficient to prevent crimes of an immoral tendency, amidſt a general diſſoluteneſs of manners: it is the popular principles that can alone invigorate ſuch laws, and give to them their full operation. Secret crimes cannot be prevented; but it is an evident proof of public virtue, when open breaches of morality are diſcountenanced. Among their ſumptuary laws, the uſe of a carriage in the town is prohibited to all ſorts of perſons except ſtrangers: and it is almoſt inconceiveable that, in a place ſo commercial and wealthy, luxury ſhould ſo little prevail.

At Zuric the original Swiſs ſpirit of independence prevails more than in any of the large towns in this country. The magiſtrates, leſs influenced by foreign courts, and above corruption, generally conſult the real advantage of their canton, and of the Helvetic confederacy. Zuric ſtill preſerves in the general diet a very conſiderable ſway; which ſhe derives more from the opinion entertained of her integrity, than from her power: ſhe is looked up to as one of the moſt independent and upright of the thirteen cantons.

The militia of the canton amounted, in 1781, to 25,718 infantry, 1025 artillery, 886 dragoons, and 406 chaſſeurs; in all 28,235 effective men. There is a military cheſt at Zuric, eſtabliſhed in 1683, and ſupported by the members of the great council, who, inſtead of giving an expenſive entertainment, are bound on their election or further promotion to pay a certain ſum. From this

 fund,

fund, which has been conſiderably augmented, £.2000 were taken, in 1770, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a magazine of uniforms and arms, which are either diſtributed, or ſold at a low price to the poor peaſants who cannot afford to purchaſe them at their full value; each peaſant, according to the military laws of the canton, being obliged to poſſeſs his arms and uniform.

The arſenal is well ſupplied with cannon, arms, and ammunition; and contains a reſerve of muſkets for thirty thouſand men. We ſaw there, and admired, the two-handed ſwords and weighty armour of the old Swiſs warriors; as alſo the bow and arrow with which William Tell is ſaid to have ſhot the apple placed on the head of his ſon.

This canton has a regiment and ſome companies in the ſervice of France, a regiment in that of Holland, and ſome companies in the ſervice of the King of Sardinia. The King of France pays annually for a regiment of fuſiliers conſiſting of 1292 men, £.20348. The colonel receives about £.840 *per ann.*; a captain £.360; and a common ſoldier £.7. The pay of a regiment of twelve companies, in the Dutch ſervice, is £.25,377.

LETTER

LETTER 9.

Eccleſiaſtical Affairs—State of Literature—Learned Men of Zuric—Society of Phyſics—Seminaries—Libraries.

IN eccleſiaſtical affairs the Senate is ſupreme: the canton is divided into fourteen diſtricts, each governed by a dean, choſen by the ſynod, from three candidates propoſed by the clergy of the dioceſe. The ſynod, compoſed of the whole clergy, and ſeveral aſſeſſors on the part of the Little Council, meets twice a year. In the laſt century it had a more democratical form, and exerciſed juriſdiction over its members: it examined cauſes between eccleſiaſtics, and between the miniſters and their pariſhioners; gave deciſions; enjoyed the power of impriſoning, depoſing, and reinſtating the miniſters; and exerciſing an authority dangerous to the ſtate. By degrees their exorbitant prerogatives were annulled; and, in 1700, the clergy of Zuric ſucceeded in the eſtabliſhment of a more ariſtocratical form.

The principal miniſters and profeſſors in the town conſtitute, in conjunction with ſeveral magiſtrates and other aſſeſſors deputed by the civil power,

power, an eccleſiaſtical and academical council; to this committee the deans have recourſe, in all concerns which ſeem to exceed their juriſdiction: it determines leſſer affairs, and refers caſes of importance to the Senate.

The fourteen deans aſſemble twice a year in Zuric, and compoſe a *proſynode*; in which they depute one of their own body to deliver their requiſitions, or *pia deſideria*, firſt to the Eccleſiaſtical Council, and afterwards to the General Synod. The Eccleſiaſtical Council takes their requeſts into deliberation, lays them before the Synod, and if recommended, they are preſented by the aſſeſſors to the final deciſion of the Senate.

The eccleſiaſtical benefices in this canton are extremely moderate. The beſt living may be worth £.140 *per ann.* and the worſt about £.30. The ſalary of the canonries in the capital amount to £.120. In general, a clergyman of the town, who has merit, is certain of obtaining a profeſſorſhip, which adds £.50 or 60 *per ann.* to his other appointments.

The charitable eſtabliſhments at Zuric, are the orphan-houſe, which is regulated with extreme attention and care; an alms-houſe for poor burghers, an hoſpital for incurables, and that for the ſick of all nations, which uſually contains between ſix or ſeven hundred patients; and the *Allmoſen-Amt*, or foundation for the poor: this excellent inſtitution puts out children as apprentices; and diſtributes money, clothes, and books of devotion to poor perſons, as well in the town as in different parts of the canton, at the recommendation of the reſpective miniſters. In 1697 it diſtributed £.300; in 1760, £.5010; in 1770, £.4796; and in 1778, £.5451.

Among

Among the particular inſtitutions muſt not be omitted the chirurgical ſeminary: it is formed by voluntary ſubſcriptions, and chiefly ſupported by Dr. Rhan, an eminent phyſician, who reads lectures gratis, and gives the profits of a publication, called the *Magazine of Health*, towards maintaining this ſeminary, for the inſtruction of young phyſicians and ſurgeons, deſtined to ſettle in the country.

At Zuric public education is a matter of ſtate, and under the immediate protection of government. The office of a profeſſor gives rank and eſtimation, and is often held by a member of the Senate and of the Great Council. The principal literary eſtabliſhments for the inſtruction of youth are, the Caroline College for ſtudents in divinity; *Collegium Humanitatis*, or the college for polite literature; and the ſchool of arts: the firſt has twelve profeſſors, the ſecond two, and the laſt ſeven. The learned languages, divinity, natural hiſtory, mathematics, and in ſhort every ſpecies of polite learning, as well as abſtruſe ſcience, is taught at a ſmall expence in theſe reſpective ſeminaries.

In conſequence of the unremitted attention which, ſince the reformation, government has paid to the education of youth, many eminent perſons have flouriſhed in all branches of literature; and there is no town in Switzerland where letters are more encouraged, or where they have been cultivated with greater ſucceſs. A learned profeſſor of Zuric has, in a very intereſting publication, diſplayed the important ſervices which erudition and ſcience have derived from the labours of his countrymen. In theſe biographical

memoirs

memoirs appear, among many others, the names of Zuingle and Bullinger, Conrad Geſner, Hottinger, Simler, Spon, Scheutzer, Heydegger, Breitinger, Bodmer, Hertzel, and Solomon Geſner.

Of all the luminaries which Zuric, fertile in great geniuſes, has ever produced, Conrad Geſner perhaps occupies the firſt place. He was born at Zuric in 1516, and died in 1564, in the 48th year of his age. Thoſe who are converſant with the works of this great ſcholar and naturaliſt, cannot repreſs their wonder and admiration at the amplitude of his knowledge in every ſpecies of erudition, and the variety of his diſcoveries in natural hiſtory, which was his peculiar delight. Their wonder and admiration is ſtill further augmented, when they conſider the groſs ignorance of the age which he helped to enlighten, and the ſcanty ſuccours he poſſeſſed to aid him in thus extending the bounds of knowledge; that he compoſed his works, and made thoſe diſcoveries which would have done honour to the moſt enlightened period, under the complicated evils of poverty, ſickneſs, and domeſtic uneaſineſs. A detail of his life and writings, by a writer capable of appreciating his multifarious knowledge, would be a juſt tribute to the merits of this prodigy of learning (*Monſtrum Eruditionis*) as he is emphatically ſtiled by Boerhaave.

Bodmer. born in 1698, was alive in 1776, when I firſt viſited Switzerland; but I was at that time ignorant of the German language, and unacquainted with his great merits in reforming the taſte of his contemporaries, and familiarizing

ing them to the ſublime beauties of Homer and Milton. He died in 1783. I now regret that I did not cultivate the acquaintance of a man, whom the unanimous voice of his contemporaries deſervedly ſtyle the Father of German literature; whoſe juſt criticiſms and correct judgment animated the poetical genius of Klopſtock, Haller, and Geſner.

I did not, however, omit waiting upon Solomon Geſner, the celebrated author of the Death of Abel, and of ſeveral idyls, which for their delicate and elegant ſimplicity are juſtly eſteemed. They abound with thoſe nice touches of exquiſite ſenſibility, which diſcover a mind warmed with the fineſt ſentiments; and love is repreſented in the chaſteſt colouring of innocence, virtue, and benevolence. Nor has he confined his ſubjects merely to the tender paſſion: paternal affection, and filial reverence; gratitude, humanity, in ſhort every moral duty is exhibited and inculcated in the moſt pleaſing and affecting manner. He has for ſome time renounced poetry in order to aſſume the pencil; and painting is at preſent his favourite amuſement. A treatiſe which he has publiſhed on landſcapes, diſcovers the elegance of his taſte, and the verſatility of his genius; while his compoſitions in both kinds prove the reſemblance of the two arts; and that the conceptions of the poet and of the painter are congenial. His drawings in black and white are preferable to his paintings; for, although the ideas in both are equally beautiful or ſublime, the colouring is inferior to the deſign. He has publiſhed a handſome edition of his writings in quarto, in which every part of the work is carried

ried on by himſelf: he prints them at his own preſs; and is at once both the drawer and engraver of the plates. It is to be lamented that he has renounced poetry; for, while ordinary writers ſpring up in great plenty; authors of real genius are rare and uncommon. His drawings are ſeen only by a few; but his writings are diſperſed abroad, tranſlated into every language, and will be admired by future ages, as long as there remains a reliſh for true paſtoral ſimplicity, or taſte for original compoſition. He is plain in his manners; open, affable, and obliging in his addreſs; and of ſingular modeſty.

I called alſo on Mr. Lavater, a clergyman of Zuric, and celebrated phyſiognomiſt, who has publiſhed four large volumes in quarto on that fanciful ſubject. That particular paſſions have a certain effect upon particular features, is evident to the moſt common obſerver; and it may be conceived, that an habitual indulgence of theſe paſſions may poſſibly, in ſome caſes, impreſs a diſtinguiſhing mark on the countenance: but that a certain caſt of features conſtantly denotes certain paſſions; and that by contemplating the countenance, we can infallibly diſcover alſo the mental qualities, is an hypotheſis liable to ſo many exceptions, as renders it impoſſible to eſtabliſh a general and uniform ſyſtem. Nevertheleſs Mr. Lavater, like a true enthuſiaſt, carries his theory much farther: for he not only pretends to diſcover the characters and paſſions by the features, by the complexion, by the form of the head, and by the motion of the arms; but he alſo draws ſome inferences of the ſame kind even from the hand-writing. And indeed his ſyſtem is

is formed upon ſuch univerſal principles, that he applies the ſame rules to all animated nature, extending them not only to brutes, but even to inſects. That the temper of a horſe may be diſcovered by his countenance, will not perhaps ſtrike you as abſurd: but did you ever hear before, that any quality could be inferred from the phyſiognomy of a bee, an ant, or a cockchafer? While I give my opinion thus freely concerning Mr. Lavater's notions, you will readily perceive that I am not one of thoſe, who are initiated into the myſteries of his art.

Mr. Lavater has not merely confined himſelf to phyſiognomy. He has compoſed ſacred hymns and national ſongs, which are much eſteemed for their ſimplicity. He has alſo given to the public numerous works on ſacred ſubjects. I am concerned to add; that the ingenious author extends to religion the ſame enthuſiaſm which he has employed in his reſearches on phyſiognomy, and in his poetical compoſitions: the warmth of his imagination hurries him on to adopt whatever is moſt fanciful and extraordinary; to outſtep the limits of ſober reaſon; to be an advocate for the efficacy of abſolute faith; for inward illuminations; for ſupernatural viſions; and for the miraculous effects of what is called *animal magnetiſm* in the cure of diſorders.

The inſinuating addreſs of Mr. Lavater, the vivacity of his converſation, the amenity of his manners, together with the ſingularity and animation of his ſtyle, have contributed more to diffuſe his ſyſtem and principles, than ſound arguments or deep learning, which are not to be found in his lively, but deſultory compoſitions.

Leonhard

Leonhard Meiſter, profeſſor of hiſtory and morality in the School of Arts, deſerves to be mentioned among the learned men of Zuric. The verſatility of his talents will be collected from a bare catalogue of his principal works: which are written in the German tongue.—On Fanaticiſm; the Hiſtory of the German Language and Literature; Lives of the celebrated Men of Zuric; Swiſs Biography; the moſt memorable Events of the Helvetic Hiſtory, in Chronological Order; Inſtances of Intolerance and Fanaticiſm in Switzerland; Public Law of Switzerland; Hiſtory of the Town and Canton of Zuric; Panegyric on Bodmer; Excurſions through various Parts of Switzerland; Character of the German Poets, in Chronological Order, with their Portraits; Abridgment of Ancient Hiſtory, particularly of the Greeks, with an introduction on the Fine Arts and Polite Literature In all his writings the judicious author has diſplayed great zeal for the promotion of learning, correctneſs of taſte, liberality of ſentiment, and much hiſtorical and biographical knowledge. But in his obſervations on fanaticiſm and intolerance, he has treated thoſe ſubjects in a new light: he has illuſtrated their dreadful effects on government and civil ſociety by hiſtorical events, and in a political view; he has appealed from thory to experience, and exemplified queſtionable arguments by unanſwerable facts. In this inſtance he has been no leſs ſingularly uſeful in combating perſecution, than in repreſſing that ſpirit of fanaticiſm that prevailed among many of his countrymen, and which is diffuſed by men of lively abilities and popular manners.

The

The curioſity of the naturaliſt will be amply gratified by a view of the library and cabinet of Mr. John Geſner, profeſſor of phyſics, and canon of the cathedral, who inherits the zeal for natural hiſtory which characteriſed his great anceſtor Conrad Geſner. His proficiency in the ſtudy of nature, and particularly his accurate ſkill in botany, has been abundantly teſtified by the repeated acknowledgments of Haller, whom he accompanied in his herboriſing excurſions through the mountains of Switzerland, and who confeſſes himſelf indebted to Mr. Geſner for various obſervations and important diſcoveries. Mr. Geſner's cabinet is extremely rich in foſſils, and remarkable for the drawings of the principal ſpecimens in this muſeum; and for numerous repreſentations of inſects admirably painted by Schellenberg. But one of the moſt curious parts of his collection, is a great botanical work, which Haller calls *vaſtiſſimum et pulcherrimum opus*; and which, it is much to be regretted, he had hitherto withheld from the public. He has exhibited, in eighty tables, a thouſand generical characters of plants, according to the Linnæan ſyſtem, together with many of the ſpecific characters. Theſe tables, intended to illuſtrate a general hiſtory of plants, which, as appears by his own letters to Haller, the author meditated, were drawn and engraven by Geiſler, the ſame perſon who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by painting the ſhells of Regenfuſs*.

Amidſt the various occupations of Geſner, botany, to which he had an early and ſtrong attachment, has engaged a great ſhare of his attention;

* See Coxe's Travels into Poland, &c. Book viii. chap. iv.

tention; beſides two or three early productions in this line, he began, in the year 1759, to publiſh a work which he has extended to eight publications, in the quarto form.

The firſt ſeven parts bear the title of *Phytographia Sacra Generalis*; the remaining, that of *Phytographia Sacra Specialis*. In this work the author treats on philoſophy, of vegetation in general, and on the circulation of the ſap through the particular parts of plants; on the Linnæan ſyſtem, againſt the objections of Alſton; on the uſes of plants as food to man, and gives a detail of upwards of a hundred edible kinds, with a compendious account of the ſpecific properties of each; on the medicinal uſes of plants; on the various œconomical uſes of vegetables, illuſtrating in a particular manner, among many others, thoſe of the Palm-tree, Flax, and Aloes.

In the latter volumes of this work, the author treats on other advantages derived to mankind from the vegetable world. He ſpeaks, for inſtance, on the nature and conſtituent parts of turf and peat, and enumerates the ſpecies of bog and fen plants which enter into the compoſition of each; on the kinds of ſhrubs proper for hedges; on timber for building, and particularly ſuch as were uſed for thoſe purpoſes by the antients.

In the firſt part, which is all that is hitherto publiſhed, of what he names *Phytographia Sacra Specialis*, he has given an account of thoſe authors who have written on the plants of the holy ſcriptures, and enters upon the hiſtory of each.

The Society of Phyſics owes its origin to Meſſrs. Heydegger, Schultetz, and John Geſner, who firſt aſſembled in 1745, and admitted others, in

in order to attend a courſe of lectures on natural hiſtory. This courſe was read by Mr. John Geſner, profeſſor of phyſics, who ſo greatly excited the attention, and animated the zeal of his audience, that in a ſhort ſpace of time the members were increaſed to ſeventy. The firſt regular meeting was held in 1745, in a private houſe; and in a few years they deſerved and received the protection of government, which granted the profits of a lottery towards eſtabliſhing a fund. There are now about a hundred and twelve members: each pays on his admittance eight florins, or about ſeventeen ſhillings, and the ſame ſum annually. Since 1757, a ſuite of apartments, in a houſe belonging to one of the tribes, has been aſſigned for holding their aſſemblies, and for containing their library and apparatus.

The ſociety is divided into five departments. 1. Phyſics. 2. Mathematics. 3. Natural hiſtory. 4. Medicine. 5. Application of phyſics to arts and trades. But the grand and principal object of this ſociety, is the encouragement and improvement of practical agriculture. For this purpoſe the members correſpond with the landholders in different parts of the canton; viſit various diſtricts in rotation; ſummon to Zuric ſome of the beſt-informed farmers; acquaint themſelves with the ſtate of huſbandry; give them inſtructions; offer prizes for improvements in cultivation; furniſh ſmall ſums of money to the poorer peaſants: and communicate to the public the reſult of their inquiries and obſervations.

The public library at Zuric contains about 25,000 volumes, and a few curious manuſcripts. Among the latter, the following principally attracted

tracted my attention. 1. The original manuſcript of Quintilian, that was found in the library of St. Gallen, and from which the firſt edition of that great rhetorician was printed. 2. The pſalms in the Greek tongue, written on parchment dyed of a violet colour. The letters are ſilver, excepting the initials, which are in golden characters, and the marginal references, which are red. It is ſimilar to the celebrated *Codex Argenteus** in the library of Upſala. It is ſuppoſed to have once formed part of the *Codex Vaticanus*, preſerved in the Vatican library at Rome: as both of theſe manuſcripts are ſimilar, and the Roman volume is deficient in the pſalms. The learned Breitinger has publiſhed a diſſertation on this codex†. 3. Several manuſcripts of Zuingle, which prove the indefatigable induſtry of that celebrated reformer. Among theſe I particularly noticed his Latin Commentary on Geneſis and Iſaiah, and a copy of St. Paul's Epiſtles from the Greek Teſtament publiſhed by Eraſmus. At the end is written an inſcription in the Greek tongue, ſignifying, "Copied by Ulric Zuingle, 1415." It was preſented to the public library by Ann Zuingle, the laſt ſurvivor of his illuſtrious race. 4. Three Latin letters from Lady Jane Grey to Bullinger, in 1551, 1552, and 1553. Theſe letters, written with her own hand, breathe a ſpirit of the moſt unaffected piety, and prove the extraordinary pro-

* See Travels into Poland, Ruſſia, &c. Book vii. chap. vi.

† De Antiquiſſimo Turicenſis Bibliothecæ Græco Pſalmorum Libro Turici. 1748.

greſs

greſs which this unfortunate and accompliſhed princeſs, though only in the ſixteenth year of her age, had made in various branches of literature. The Greek and Hebrew quotations ſhew that ſhe was well acquainted with thoſe languages. Theſe letters, though given in ſeveral publications, yet are not printed with that accuracy, which the relics of ſuch a perſonage deſerve.

This library is rich in the beſt editions of the claſſics; and particularly in the early impreſſions of the 15th century.

The library of the cathedral belonging to the Caroline College, contains ſeveral manuſcripts of the reformers Bullinger, Pelican, Bibliander, and Leon Juda; particularly the tranſlation of the Talmud by Pelican and Bibliander, which has never been printed; alſo ſixty volumes of letters from Zuingle, and the early reformers, with a complete index. This collection, ſo intereſting to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, was formed by Henry Hottinger*, the learned author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, renowned for his extenſive erudition, and particularly for his profound ſkill in oriental literature. The librarian pointed out an antient manuſcript of the Latin Vulgate, called *Codex Carolinus*, and ſuppoſed to have been a preſent from Charlemain; but without foundation, for it is certainly of much later date, probably of the eleventh century. Among the rare books is the Latin Bible, tranſlated by Pelican, Bibliander, and Leon Juda, printed at Zuric in 1545.

* He was born in 1620; and was drowned in the Limmat, 1667.

The lover of literary and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory will not fail to viſit the Reverend Mr. Simler's ample collection of letters and documents between Zuingle and the other reformers of Zuric, and their correſpondents in different parts of Europe. The learned profeſſor propoſed to have printed by ſubſcription, in two volumes in folio, the letters of the Engliſh reformers, ſeveral of which Burnet has publiſhed in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, but with many errors. Not finding, however, ſufficient ſubſcribers for ſo expenſive a publication, he was obliged to relinquiſh his plan, to the regret of all lovers of biography.

The library of Mr. de Heydegger, ſenator of Zuric, deſerves the notice of the learned traveller. The ingenious poſſeſſor inherited from his father only 3000 volumes, which he has extended to 15,000. His principal aim is directed to thoſe books that were unknown to Maittaire, which might aſſiſt in correcting his typographical annals, and in forming an accurate and connected hiſtory of printing. In this collection are found many rare and elegant impreſſions by the Aldueſes, Juntas, Gielitos, Torzentino, Stephens, Elzivers, Comino, Tonſon, Wetſtein, Baſkerville, Bodoni, Barbot, and Didot. It is particularly rich in the earlieſt impreſſions, of which there are no leſs than ſeven hundred that were printed in the fifteenth century.

Among many rare books, I noted down the following:—Ciceronis officia. Fuſt et Scheiffer 1465. pet. in folio.—Jo. Sanuenſis Catholicon, folio. Aug. Vindel. Gunther, Zeiner et Reutlingen. 1469.—Firſt edition of Petrarcha Venet. Vindel.

Vindel. de Spira, 1470. See Cat. de la Valliere, 1783. No. 3579.—Firſt edition of Dante, C. Fulginei Neumeiſter 1472. See la Valliere No. 3558.—Boccacio Genealogia Deorum et liber de montibus et Sylvis. Venet. Vindel. de Spira, 1472 and 1473. Firſt edition.—De Claris mulieribus. Ulma Sv. Zeiner, 1473. Firſt edition with wooden cuts, very ſingular. See Catalogue de la Valliere, No. 3810 and 5609.—Boccacio Decamerone Venet. Gio et Gregor. de Gregorii fratelli, 1492, folio, wooden cuts. The Decameron tranſlated into German about 1475, folio.—Mamontreclus Beronæ p. Helian Heliæ, 1470, folio. This book was printed at Munſter, in the canton of Lucerne, and is curious, becauſe it is the firſt inſtance of typography in Switzerland.

LETTER 10.

Expedition along the Borders of the Lake of Zuric —Rychterſchwyl—Iſle of Uſnau—Rapperſchwyl —Grunengen—Uſtar—Greiffenſee—Excurſion to Regenſberg, and to the Summit of the Lagerberg.

DURING my firſt tour through Switzerland, I paſſed too ſhort a time at Zuric to have an opportunity of viſiting its delightful environs, which, for the mild beauties of nature, for the numerous population, and well-being of the peaſantry, is ſcarcely ſurpaſſed by any ſpot on the globe. Having, on ſubſequent occaſions, reſided longer at Zuric, I did not omit making ſeveral excurſions into various parts of the canton; an account of which will form the ſubject of the preſent letter.

The weather clearing up after ſeveral continued and heavy rains, on the 24th of June, 1785, I accompanied Mr. de Bonſtet of Berne, Profeſſor Meiſter, and ſome other gentlemen of Zuric, in a delightful tour round the lake. We had no need of guides, as the country was well

well known to my companions; and we had no incumbrance of baggage. Having made an early dinner, according to the cuſtom of the place, we departed at mid-day; and walked about three miles, through vineyards and corn-fields, to Kuſſnach, a ſmall village on the eaſt ſide of the lake. Here we paid a viſit to a gentleman, and were ſerved with tea, ſlices of bread and butter, and cherries.

In 1778, Kuſſnach was conſiderably damaged by the riſe of a ſmall torrent, which poured down from the mountains, carried away twenty-five houſes, and deſtroyed about ſixty perſons. This torrent, now only a little rill, ſwelled to ſuch a degree, as to riſe at leaſt thirty feet above its uſual level; an increaſe owing to the ſudden melting of the ſnow on the neighbouring heights. Every aſſiſtance was inſtantly afforded to the wretched inhabitants, and a collection of £.3000 was raiſed in one Sunday at the different churches of Zuric: an aſtoniſhing collection for a town which does not contain 11,000 ſouls.

I am indebted to Profeſſor Meiſter for the following obſervations on the population, induſtry, and productions of Kuſſnach, and the neighbouring villages.

Kuſſnach contains about 1700 ſouls, and the neighbouring villages are no leſs peopled: this aſtoniſhing population in ſo ſmall a compaſs is occaſioned by the trade of the capital, which employs ſo many hands. The proportion between the produce of the ſoil and the profits derived from working for the manufactures, may be eſtimated from the following calculation: Five pariſhes and two villages, ſituated near the lakes

lakes of Zuric and Greiffen, contain 8498 ſouls; and comprehend only 6050 acres * of arable land, 698 of vines, and 3407 of paſture, or ſcarcely an acre and a quarter for each perſon. Their ſubſiſtence is principally ſupplied by 2016 looms, by means of which they prepare ſilk and cotton for the merchants of Zuric. In thoſe parts an acre is ſold for £. 100 or £. 120; whereas the ſame quantity in the interior part of the canton is worth only £. 20 or £. 30.

In ſixteen pariſhes, ſituated on the borders of the lake, the number of inhabitants in 1784, were 32,581. There were 271 marriages, 1135 births. The proportion of the marriages to the births, as 1000 to 4188; of the births to the deaths, as 1000 to 882; of the births to the living, as 1000 to 18.705; of the deaths to the living, as 2000 to 32,515; of the males to the females, as 1000 to 1097.

Having repoſed ourſelves about an hour at Kuſſnach, we continued our walk through vineyards and corn-fields, ſometimes on the ſloping banks of the lake, ſometimes on a ſmall footpath formed on terraces upon a level with the water; or along narrow roads that reſemble gravel-walks winding through pleaſure-grounds and parks in England. We enjoyed, during great part of the way, the moſt agreeable ſhade from large beech and oak, walnut and other fruit-trees, that overhang like weeping willows; many of which are planted almoſt horizontally, either ſtretching from the ſides of the hill, or from

* The acre uſed in this letter contains from 32,600 to 36,000 ſquare feet.

from the very edge of the water, their boughs dipping into the lake: the ſcattered cottages, the numerous villages, the picturesque villas placed on the banks of the lake, and ſeveral neat churches, added to the beauty of the ever-changing ſcenery.

Having walked about three miles further, we ſtopped at a peaſant's houſe in Meile, who regaled us with our uſual fare, milk and cherries, but would receive no recompenſe. Here we embarked and croſſed the lake, enjoying a moſt agreeable view of each border ſtudded with villas, churches, and villages, many of which looked like large towns, as they were half concealed by the intervening trees. As we paſſed near a bold promontory, richly covered with wood, we obſerved the ſun, which was hid under a cloud, gilding the diſtant town of Rapperſchwyl, the hills towards Zuric ſilvered by a milder ray, and the gloomy but ſublime mountains of Glarus boldly riſing to the ſouth.

We landed at Weddenſchweil, which is agreeably ſituated on the weſt ſide of the lake. It is the capital of a bailliage, that ſtretches to the limits of the cantons of Zug and Schweitz, and was formerly an independent lordſhip. In 1287 it was ſold by Rhodolph of Weddenſchweil to the Knights of Jeruſalem; and became a commandery until 1459, when Zuric purchaſed it from the maſter of that order for 20,000 florins. The inhabitants having revolted in 1466, and being compelled to ſubmit, were deprived of ſeveral privileges, and particularly the criminal juriſdiction, which was transferred to the ſenate of Zuric. Notwithſtanding, however, the loſs of

of theſe immunities, the mildneſs of government is ſufficiently manifeſted, by the conſiderable increaſe of the population within this laſt century. The number of ſouls, which in 1678 conſiſted of only 4867, amounted in 1782 to 8188.

Near Weddenſchweil I obſerved a beautiful meadow, prettily ſkirted with wood, and fertilized by a lively ſtream, which tempted me to quit the road. I had ſcarcely proceeded fifty paces, before I ſaw a ſilver rill guſhing from the crevice of a rock ſprinkled with wood. As we were contemplating this pleaſing landſcape, we heard the noiſe of falling waters, and caught a glimpſe of a torrent tumbling from an elevated rock, gliſtening through the dark foliage, and richly illuminated by the rays of the ſun, which was concealed from our view. Having penetrated by the ſide of the torrent, we ſaw it burſting from the height, amid ſurrounding trees, fall about ſix feet upon a ridge, and then roll fifty feet in mid air, without touching the ſides of the precipice. The effect was peculiarly ſtriking. Nor could we ſufficiently admire the amphitheatre of rock, the beeches ſuſpended on its top and ſides, the beams of the ſun darting on the falling waters, and the noiſe of the torrent contraſting with the mild and tranquil beauties of the lake we had juſt quitted.

Our walk to Richliſwick, where we paſſed the night, was no leſs agreeable than that on the other ſide of the lake. The road ran ſometimes through meadows, at a little diſtance from the lake, ſometimes cloſe to the water, under the ſhade of trees planted caſually by the hand of nature, in the moſt capricious ſhapes: we ſcarcely advanced a hundred ſteps without paſſing a neat cottage, and meeting with peaſants, who ſaluted us as we went along. Every ſpot of ground is cultivated in the higheſt perfection.

At Richliſwick, which like Weddenſchweil contains many good houſes of ſtone, plaiſtered and white-waſhed, ornamented with green window-ſhutters, and Venetian blinds, we found an inn with comfortable accommodations. This place has a good port; is the paſſage of much merchandize; and is greatly reſorted to by the pilgrims, in their way to Einſidlin.

Early the next morning we embarked, and ſailed to the Iſle of Ufnau. The weather was uncommonly fine, the lake was quite ſtill, the reflection of the white houſes quivered on the ſurface of the water; and the hollows of the diſtant mountains ſeemed to be filled with a tranſparent vapour, which induced me to cry out, in the language of poetry,

> " *Pleaſant the ſun,*
> " *When firſt on this delightful land he ſpreads*
> " *His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,*
> " *Gliſt'ring with dew* *."

About a mile from Richliſwick is a ſingle houſe ſtanding on a gentle acclivity, the walls of which divide the canton of Zuric from that of Schweitz, and at the ſame time ſet inſtant bounds to that induſtry and population which had hitherto attracted our wonder and delight.

In about two hours we landed at Ufnau, a pleaſant iſland, about an Engliſh mile in circumference,

* Milton's Paradiſe Loſt.

ference, belonging to the abbey of Einſidlin. It has only a ſingle houſe, inhabited by a peaſant's family, two barns, a kind of tower or ſummer-houſe, ſeated on the higheſt point, a chapel which is never uſed, and a church in which maſs is ſaid only twice in the year. Within is the tomb of St. Adelric, who built an hermitage on the iſland, to which he retired. He died in 1473, and muſt have been highly revered for his ſuppoſed ſanctity; as a Latin inſcription informs us, that "he was fed with bread from "heaven, and walked upon the ſurface of the "waters."

This iſland is ſometimes called Hutten's Iſland, in memory of that extraordinary perſon, who retired and died in this obſcure ſpot.

Hutten, deſcended from an illuſtrious family, was born at Seckenberg in Franconia, and receiving an education ſuitable to his birth, proſecuted his ſtudies with that impetuous zeal which was the leading mark of his character. He paſſed a life of almoſt unparalleled viciſſitude; ſometimes in the camp, ſignalized for perſonal courage; ſometimes in univerſities, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by various publications; ſometimes in courts, received with reſpect, or driven away for inſolence; and ſometimes wandering over different parts of Europe in extreme indigence. Having, at an early period of his life, embraced the opinions of Luther, he drew both his pen and his ſword in defence of the new doctrines; was ſo intemperate in his ardour, that he was frequently impriſoned; and alarmed even the daring ſpirit of Luther by his repeated outrages. Having rendered himſelf an equal object

object of terror to both Lutherans and Catholics, his overbearing temper in vain ſought an aſylum, until he found it in this ſequeſtered iſland. He expired in 1523, in the 36th year of his age: a man as remarkable for his genius and learning, as for his turbulence and preſumption.

The iſland is agreeably broken into hill and dale: is extremely fertile in paſture; produces hemp, flax, a few vines, and a ſmall tufted wood, which overhangs the edge of the water. It is the only iſland in the lake of Zuric, except an uninhabited rock, which yields a ſmall quantity of hay.

Having reimbarked, we ſoon landed at Rapperſchwyl, which I have deſcribed in a preceding letter; and continued aſcending amid hanging encloſures of paſture and corn, commanding a fine view of the lake, hills, mountains, and alps. Having paſſed the little territory belonging to Rapperſchywl, we came into the canton of Zuric. On entering a neat cottage, to inquire the road, we ſaw a peaſant teaching about thirty children to read and write. On expreſſing my ſurprize and ſatisfaction, I was informed that each village has a peaſant ſchoolmaſter, either entirely or partly paid by government; and that in this canton there is ſcarcely a child who is not inſtructed in reading and writing. A little further we entered another cottage, where the miſtreſs of the houſe offered us milk and cherries, and placed upon the table nine or ten large ſilver ſpoons.

We continued our walk through an encloſed, hilly, and well-wooded country, and arrived about mid-day at Grunengen, a ſmall burgh, capital

capital of the bailliage. After dinner we paid a viſit to the bailif, who reſides in the caſtle, which ſtands on an elevated rock, overlooking an extenſive proſpect; towards the ſouth wild and romantic, towards the weſt rich and well cultivated, watered by a lively ſtream which flows from the lake of Pfeffikon.

The bailif poſſeſſes conſiderable authority. He judges civil and criminal affairs, in the preſence of certain jurymen and the under-bailif; but can paſs ſentence without their concurrence, as neither of them enjoys a vote. He can puniſh all crimes which are not capital; can order whipping, or even the torture to be inflicted, when the criminal is convicted, and will not confeſs; and I was greatly ſhocked to find that this horrid expedient had been lately practiſed. Even in capital caſes he can condemn to death, provided he ſummons eighty jurymen from the different diſtricts to be preſent at the trial; but as this cuſtom is attended with much expence, he uſually remits the felon to Zuric. In civil proceedings an appeal lies from his deciſion to the ſenate of Zuric.

If the bailif abuſes his power, the ſenate readily liſtens to the complaints of the oppreſſed inhabitants, and would not fail to puniſh the unjuſt judge. An inſtance of this impartiality occurred in 1754, when the bailif being proved guilty of extortions, though he was ſon-in-law to the burgomaſter, he was fined and baniſhed from Switzerland. I learned this fact, on obſerving a vacant place in the ſeries of coats of arms belonging to the ſeveral bailifs, which are painted in the hall of the caſtle; the arms of the extortioner, which

which once filled this vacant place, had been eraſed by order of government.

From Grunengen we purſued our courſe through lanes, fields, and encloſures, along a moſt delightful country, abounding in vines, corn, paſture, and wood. As the ſetting ſun gradually deſcended below the horizon, we frequently looked back upon the diſtant alps, whoſe lower parts were duſky and gloomy; and whoſe ſummits were

> "*Arrayed with reflected purple and gold,*
> "*And colours dipt in heav'n* *."

At the cloſe of the evening I arrived at Uſtar; regretting that our day's journey was concluded, and not feeling in the leaſt fatigued with a walk of eighteen miles, from Rapperſchwyl to Uſtar; ſo greatly had I been occupied and delighted with the beauties of this romantic country.

Uſtar is a large pariſh, containing 3000 ſouls; the wooden cottages are neat and commodious, reſemble thoſe in the canton of Appenzel, and are diſperſed in the ſame manner over the hills and dales.

The ſun had ſcarcely riſen before we quitted our beds, and walked to the caſtle of Uſtar. It ſtands boldly on an elevated rock, planted to its very ſummit with vines, and commands a moſt extenſive view, bounded by the Jura, the mountains of the Black Foreſt, and the chain of alps ſtretching from the canton of Appenzel to the confines of the Vallais. Below and around, the country reſembled the moſt cultivated and encloſed parts of England; a ſmall lively ſtream winded

* Milton.

winded through an immenſe plain; while the lake of Greiffen appeared like a broad river, waſhing the bottom of the adjacent hills.

This caſtle was formerly the reſidence of the counts of Uſtar, who held it and the diſtrict as a fief from the counts of Ravenſpurgh, and was at that time a ſtrong fortreſs. On the extinction of that houſe, in the middle of the fourteenth century, it was transferred to the family of de Bonſtet; and in 1552 was purchaſed by Zuric, and united to the bailliage of Greiffenſee.

Monſieur de Bonſtet, whom I have mentioned as one of our party, derived great ſatisfaction in tracing the antiquity and hiſtory of this ſeat, formerly poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and in obſerving the family arms painted upon the glaſs windows. This caſtle is now a private gentleman's houſe, and belongs to Mr. Teyler of Weddenſchweil.

From Uſtar we croſſed the fields, and arrived at the lake of Greiffen. We walked for ſome way upon the turf, along its borders, under the pendulous branches of oak, beech, and elms. This lake is of an oblong ſhape, about ſix miles long and a mile broad. On one ſide the ſhores are flat, or gently riſing, on the other, hills richly wooded. The dearth of cottages and inhabitants, in this delightful but ſolitary ſpot, formed a ſtriking contraſt with the numerous villages we had recently quitted; while the ſouthern extremity of the lake ſeemed almoſt bounded by that magnificent chain of alps, which conſtantly engaged our attention.

Having embarked in a ſmall boat, we paſſed the village of Greiffen, pleaſingly ſituated on a ſmall promontory emboſomed in a wood, and landed

landed at the northern extremity of the lake. Here I bathed, and walked on gently, aſcending through fertile grounds, delightfully planted with oak, beech, and poplars, and innumerable fruit-trees. At a ſmall village we ſtopped at the parſonage. You can ſcarcely form to yourſelf an adequate idea of the neatneſs and ſimplicity which reign in theſe parts. The clergyman's two daughters, about fifteen or ſixteen years of age, politely brought milk and cherries for our refreſhment. They were neatly dreſt, like the peaſant girls, in ſtraw hats, their ſhift-ſleeves tied, as is the cuſtom of the country, above their elbows.

From this retreat of innocence and ſimplicity we aſcended about a mile, then burſt upon a charming view of Zuric, the lake, and environs; and, gently deſcending, arrived at Zuric, quite enchanted with this ſhort expedition.

An expedition to the ſummit of the Lagerberg was no leſs agreeable than the former excurſion. I procured a guide and a horſe; but the weather proving very fine, I gave up the horſe to my ſervant, and preferred walking acroſs the corn-fields, meadows, and thickets. The fields were enlivened by the numerous perſons employed in harveſt. In theſe parts, as well as the neighbouring countries, I obſerved with pleaſure, that the oxen, which are chiefly uſed for draught, are not yoked to the teams or ploughs, but harneſſed like horſes. This cuſtom enables thoſe animals to perform their labour with much more eaſe, and with greater effect. It has lately been introduced into ſome parts of England; and all unprejudiced farmers allow its ſuperior advantage, as the yoke

is

is extremely galling; and four oxen harneſſed with collars will do as much work as ſix when yoked by the neck.

A few miles from Zuric, I paſſed through the village of Affholteren, near the church, which is prettily ſituated in the middle of a large field; ſkirted the ſmall lake of Caſten, at a little diſtance from the pictureſque ruins of Old-Regenſberg; and gently aſcended to New-Regenſberg, which ſtands on an elevation, at the foot of the Lagerberg.

The counts of Regenſberg were powerful barons during that period of anarchy and confuſion which diſtinguiſhed the 12th and 13th centuries. They were involved in conſtant wars, or rather deſultory ſkirmiſhes, with the town of Zuric, until they were finally repulſed by Rhodolph of Habſburgh, then captain-general of the troops of Zuric. On the extinction of the counts of Regenſberg, in the 14th century, their territory devolved to the Houſe of Auſtria, and in 1409, became ſubject to Zuric.

The preſent burgh is inhabited by about 200 perſons: who enjoy conſiderable privileges. They have their burgomaſter, and a council of ſix members, who form the civil court of juſtice, from whoſe deciſion an appeal lies directly to Zuric. The criminal juriſdiction belongs to the bailif, who reſides in the caſtle. This building was formerly of great ſtrength, and frequently defied the attacks of Zuric. The greateſt part of the preſent edifice was conſtructed in the laſt century; the only remains of the ancient fortreſs being ſome ſtone walls and a round tower, which commands a diſtant proſpect. A well in the middle

middle of the burgh, hollowed in the rock to the depth of 216 feet, which is now dry, furniſhed formerly water to the garriſon, during the obſtinate ſieges it maintained before the invention of gunpowder. Near this well is a copious fountain, which is ſupplied from a ſpring that riſes in the Lagerberg. The adjacent country is a moſt delightful intermixture of hill and dale. The rock on which Regenſberg is built, and which terminates in an abrupt precipice, forms the eaſtern extremity of that vaſt chain of mountains known by the general name of Jura, the branches of which are diſtinguiſhed by different appellations. The branch that riſes from this point is called the *Lagerberg*, to the ſummit of which I mounted on horſeback. I paſſed for ſome way through cultivated encloſures, and afterwards through foreſts of pine, fir, and beech, until I reached the higheſt point, on which ſtands a ſignal-houſe. From this point, which overlooks the whole country, I enjoyed one of the moſt extenſive and uninterrupted proſpects, and particularly the fineſt diſtant view of the Alps, which I had yet ſeen in Switzerland.

To the north, the eye expatiates freely over the wilds of the Black Foreſt; to the eaſt, beyond the confines of Bavaria; towards the weſt, traces the branches of the Jura extending in multifarious directions; to the ſouth, looks down upon the fertile and encloſed regions in the canton of Zuric, on the lake and its populous banks, and admires the vaſt expanſe of country ſwelling from plains to acclivities, from acclivities to hills, from hills to mountains, and terminating in thoſe ſtupendous alps,

"Whoſe heads touch heaven."

The wonderful and ſublime proſpect detained me inſenſibly till the cloſe of the evening, when I deſcended, through the gloomy foreſts of pine, fir, and beech, that clothe the ſides of the Lagerberg; and, filled with thoſe pleaſing but melancholy reflections which the indeſcribable beauties of nature leave upon the mind, I rode ſlowly on, and did not arrive at Zuric till the gloom of night had overſpread the horizon.

LETTER

LETTER II.

Winterthur—Caſtle of Kyburgh.

WINTERTHUR ſtands about twelve miles from Zuric; a town which, although ſituated in the canton, and under the protection of Zuric, yet retains its own laws, has its own magiſtrates, and is in a great meaſure independent. Winterthur was formerly governed by its own counts, who were probably a branch of the Kyburgh family, for both houſes bore the ſame coat of arms. In the 14th century it was poſſeſſed by Hartman, count of Kyburgh, who firſt ſurrounded it with walls; and upon his death it devolved to his nephew Rhodolph of Hapſburgh. Rhodolph, afterwards emperor, conferred upon the inhabitants conſiderable privileges, for aſſiſting him in the war in which he was engaged with Ottocar, king of Bohemia. It continued ſubject to his deſcendants until 1424, when the inha-

bitants claimed the protection, and obtained the alliance, of Zuric. In 1467, the archduke Sigiſmond having ſold his rights to Zuric, that canton ſucceeded to his prerogatives.

A deputy from Zuric reſides at Winterthur, but for no other purpoſe than for collecting the toll, half of which belongs to Zuric.

The government of Winterthur is ariſtocratical. The ſupreme power, in all things not interfering with the claims of Zuric, reſides in the Great and Little Council. Theſe two tribunals united are final judges in all criminal procedures, and paſs ſentence of death without appeal. The Little Council is inveſted with the general adminiſtration of affairs, and determines civil cauſes in the firſt reſort. From their deciſion an appeal lies to the Great Council, and in all proceſſes between a ſtranger and a burgher, to the ſenate of Zuric.

Although the town is conſidered as independent and only under the protection of Zuric, yet that canton claims the right of reſtricting the inhabitants from manufacturing ſilk, and from eſtabliſhing a printing-preſs, as interfering with the natives of Zuric. This reſtriction has occaſioned, and ſtill continues to excite, ill-will between the two towns, and has given riſe to much litigation. And though Zuric did not prohibit the manufactures of ſilk, yet by forbidding the peaſants of the canton from preparing and ſpinning the materials, this order amounted to a virtual prohibition.

At

At preſent a ſimilar diſpute is in agitation concerning the eſtabliſhment of a printing-preſs at Winterthur. The right will ſcarcely be controverted; but as the cauſe will be finally determined by Zuric, it remains a doubt whether that government will be ſufficiently diſintereſted to decide in favour of Winterthur againſt its own burghers.

In all other reſpects, excepting in theſe two articles of trade ſo profitable to Zuric, the commerce of Winterthur lies under no reſtraint. The principal manufactures are muſlins, printed cottons, and cloth. Some vitriol works are carried on with conſiderable ſucceſs.

The town is ſmall, and its inhabitants amount to about two thouſand; who are for the moſt part remarkably induſtrious. The ſchools in this petty ſtate are well endowed and regulated. The public library contains a ſmall collection of books, and a great number of Roman coins and medals, chiefly found at Ober-Winterthur; among the moſt rare I obſerved a Didius Julianus and a Pertinax. Ober-Winterthur, or Upper Winterthur, at preſent only a ſmall village near the town, in the high road leading to Frauenfield, is the ſite of the ancient *Vitodurum*, a Roman ſtation, and the moſt conſiderable place in this neighbourhood. No other remains of its former conſequence ſubſiſt but the foundations of antient walls, and the numerous Roman coins and medals which have been diſcovered. The Roman road, which once traverſed the marſhes between Winterthur and Frauenfield, is no longer viſible,

viſible, becauſe it forms the foundation of the preſent high road.

The caſtle of Kyburgh, towering on the ſummit of an eminence which overlooks Winterthur and the adjacent diſtrict, is a picturesque object; and remarkable in the hiſtory of this country, during the times of confuſion which preceded and followed the interregnum of the empire.

In the beginning of the 12th century, the counts of Kyburgh poſſeſſed the counties of Kyburgh, Lentzburgh, and Baden; and their territories were further increaſed by the acceſſion of Burgdorf and Thun, which fell to Ulric * in right of his wife Anne, ſiſter of Berchtold V. duke of Zæringen, upon the demiſe of the latter without iſſue male. Theſe domains devolved, in 1273, to Rhodolph count of Hapſburg, on the death of his uncle Hartman the elder, the laſt count of Kyburgh. This inheritance rendered Rhodolph one of the moſt powerful princes in theſe parts; and probably opened his way to the imperial throne. Before his deceaſe, the emperor ceded to his ſon Rhodolph and his heirs the county of Kyburgh, and his other dominions in Switzerland; and, on the demiſe of his ſon, confirmed this grant to his grandſon John, the ſame who

* Some authors aſſert that Werner, ſon of Ulric, was the huſband of Anne. Great confuſion reigned in the early hiſtory of the Counts of Kyburgh, until Fueſsli cleared it up. See article Kyburgh in Fueſsli's Erdbeſchreibung.

who aſſaſſinated his uncle, the emperor Albert †, and was called the Patricide.

Upon Albert's aſſaſſination, the ſons of that emperor ſeized and kept poſſeſſion of Kyburgh and the other hereditary domains in Switzerland, and tranſmitted them to their poſterity. In 1424, the emperor Sigiſmond put under the ban of the empire Frederic duke of Auſtria, and granted for a ſum of money the county of Kyburgh to Zuric. In 1442 it was reſtored to the Houſe of Auſtria; but, in 1452, was finally ceded to Zuric by Sigiſmond, archduke of Auſtria, in order to liquidate a debt of a thouſand florins. From that time it is has formed a bailliage in the canton of Zuric; but the title of Count of Kyburgh has been always retained by the Houſe of Auſtria, and is ſtill aſſumed by its preſent illuſtrious deſcendant Joſeph the Second.

The caſtle of Kyburgh, which ſtands in a romantic and wild ſituation, has been conſtructed at different periods. Part is antient, and not improbably the ſame as exiſted in the time of Rhodolph; although I could not diſcover a date anterior to 1424, the year in which it was granted to Zuric. In an apartment which was formerly a ſtable, I obſerved the portraits of all the bailifs who have reſided in the caſtle from the time of its ceſſion to Zuric. The bailif enjoys greater powers than are uſually delegated by an ariſtocratical government. In criminal proceedings, he is only required to conſult the jury of the diſtrict,

† See Letter 14.

district, though he is not bound by their opinion, and can inflict capital punishment without the neceſſity of referring the ſentence to be confirmed by Zuric.

LETTER

LETTER 12.

Frauenfield—Of the Helvetic Confederacy—Diets.

FROM Winterthur I paſſed to Frauenfield, a ſmall town, or rather village, capital of Thurgau, containing ſcarcely a thouſand inhabitants; and only remarkable as being the place where, ſince 1712, the deputies of the Swiſs cantons aſſemble at the general diet.

This conferacy owes its origin to the treaty contracted in 1308, between Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, at the memorable revolution of 1308*.

The acceſſion of Zuric, Berne, Lucerne, Zug, and Glarus, gave ſtrength and ſolidity to this union, and a century and a half elapſed before a new member was admitted. At length, in 1501, Friburgh

* See Letter 25.

Friburgh and Soleure being, after much difficulty, received into the league; upon that occaſion the eight antient cantons entered into a covenant, called the *Convention of Stantz*, by which the articles of union and mutual protection were finally ſettled *.

No change therein has been effected by the ſubſequent reception of the three other cantons, Baſle, Shaffhauſen, and Appenzel; they having ſubſcribed to the ſame terms which Friburgh and Soleure had accepted. Without entering, however, into a minute detail, I ſhall endeavour, in this letter, to lay before you a ſhort view of the Helvetic confederacy.

The code of public law, if I may ſo expreſs it, between the combined republic of Switzerland, is founded upon the treaty of † Sempach in 1393; upon the convention of Stantz; and upon the treaty of peace concluded in 171 , at Arau, between the Proteſtant and Catholic cantons. It appears from theſe ſeveral treaties, which include or enlarge thoſe that preceded, that the Helvetic union

* See Letter 26.

† This treaty, which regulates the articles of war, was contracted between the eight antient cantons, in conjunction with the republic of Soleure. It ordains, that no Swiſs ſoldier ſhall quit his ranks in the time of action, even although he ſhould be dangerouſly wounded:

" Nous entendons auſſi que ſi quelqu'un s'eſtoit bleſſé en " quelque facon que ce fuſt en combatant ou en aſſaillant, " de ſorte qu'il ſeroit inutile pour ſe deffendre; il demeurera " non obſtant auſſi avec les autres, juſques à ce que la ba- " taille ſoit expirée: et pour cela ne ſera eſtimé fuyard, et " ne l'en faſchera-t-on en ſa perſonne ny en ſon bien aucu- " nement."

union is a perpetual *defenſive* alliance between the thirteen independent contracting powers, to protect each other by their united forces againſt all foreign enemies. Accordingly, if any member of the union ſhould be attacked, that particular canton has a right to demand ſuccours from the * whole confederate body; and in caſe of war, the

* The reſpectable author of the *Account of Switzerland*, has fallen into a miſtake in his deſcription of the Helvetic union; and his error has been adopted by the Abbé Mably, in his *Droit Public de l'Europe*; by the compilers of the *Encyclopédie*; and by ſeveral other writers of diſtinction.

After having given a deſcription of the Helvetic union, he concludes the relation as follows:

" So far are they (the thirteen cantons) from making one " body or one commonwealth, that only the three old can- " tons are directly allied with every one of the other twelve. " There is indeed ſuch a connection eſtabliſhed between them, " that, in caſe any one canton were attacked, all the other " twelve would be obliged to march to its ſuccour, but it " would be by virtue of the relation, that two cantons may " have to a third, and not of any direct alliance ſubſiſting " between every one of them. As for example: of the eight " old cantons, Lucerne has a right of calling but five to its " ſuccour, in caſe of attack; but then ſome of thoſe five " have a right of calling others, with whom they are allied, " though Lucerne be not; ſo that at laſt all muſt march by " virtue of particular alliances, and not of any general one " amongſt them all."

The above-cited account of the Helvetic union, would better have ſuited the league of the eight cantons before the convention of Stantz; when the confederate ſtates were not ſo abſolutely and directly united together as they are at preſent; and their alliance did not perhaps totally exclude every treaty of the ſame kind with other powers. It was only by the articles of that celebrated convention, and the alliance of the eight cantons with Friburgh and Soleure, that the union became abſolutely fixed and general. It muſt be confeſſed, however,

the ſeveral forces to be ſupplied by each canton are preciſely ſpecified. It appears, however, from the ſtipulations to which the five cantons agreed, that they do not, in every reſpect, enjoy equal prerogatives with the eight antient cantons. For, the latter reſerved to themſelves a right, if the queſtion for declaring war againſt any foreign ſtate ſhould be *unanimouſly* carried in their aſſembly, to require the aſſiſtance of the five other cantons, without aſſigning the motive: whereas the former, cannot commence hoſtilities without the conſent of the confederates; and if the enemy ſhould be willing to enter into a negociation concerning the matter in diſpute, it muſt be referred to the arbitration of the eight antient cantons. It is further ſtipulated, that if a rupture ſhould enſue between the eight cantons, the five are to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality.

The next eſſential object of the league, is to preſerve general peace and good order. It is therefore covenanted, that all public diſcords ſhall be finally ſettled between the contending parties in an amicable manner; and for this purpoſe particular judges and arbiters are appointed, who ſhall be empowered to compoſe the diſſenſions that may happen to ariſe. To this is added, a reciprocal guarantee of the forms of government eſtabliſhed in the reſpective commonwealths: for, in order to prevent internal factions, and revolts in any of the allied cantons, it was

however, that ſeveral Swiſs hiſtorians have given the ſame idea of the Helvetic union as that above-mentioned: and that even now, authors differ conſiderably upon ſome important articles of the league.

agreed by the convention of Stantz, that, in caſe of rebellion, the magiſtracy of ſuch canton ſhould be aſſiſted by the forces of the others. Accordingly, the hiſtory of Switzerland affords many inſtances of protection and aſſiſtance reciprocally given between the confederates, in defence and ſupport of the reſpective governments.

No ſeparate engagement, which any of the cantons may conclude, can be valid, if inconſiſtent with the fundamental articles of this general union: or in other words, the reciprocal contract between the members of the league, ſuperſedes every other ſpecies of public obligation. With the foregoing exceptions, the ſeveral combined ſtates are independent of each other: they may form alliances with any power, or reject the ſame, although all the others have acceded to it*; may grant auxiliary troops to foreign princes; may prohibit the money of the other cantons from being current within their own territories; may impoſe taxes; and, in ſhort, perform every other act of abſolute ſovereignty.

The

* The five cantons which agreed not to conclude any treaty without the conſent of the eight, are neceſſarily excluded from this power, together with thoſe particular cantons, which have bound themſelves by private treaties not to contract any foreign alliance, without the reciprocal conſent of the others; as for inſtance, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, by the alliance at Brunnen in 1315. But this depends upon particular treaties, and has no relation to the general union. In fact, every canton is reſtrained by the general articles of the Helvetic union: but, conforming to thoſe, no one republic is controuled by the reſolutions of the majority among the confederate cantons, in any other inſtance.

The public affairs of the Helvetic body and their allies are diſcuſſed and determined in the ſeveral diets: and theſe are,

1. General diets; or general aſſemblies of the thirteen cantons, and of their allies.

2. Particular diets; as thoſe of the eight antient cantons; thoſe of the Proteſtant cantons, with the deputies of the Proteſtants of Glarus and Appenzel, of the towns of St. Gallen, Bienne, and Mulhauſen, called the *evangelical conferences*; thoſe of the Roman Catholic cantons with the deputies of the Catholics of Glarus and Appenzel, of the abbot of St. Gallen, and of the republic of the Vallais, called the *golden alliance*: as alſo the diets of particular cantons, which, beſide being members of the general confederacy, have diſtinct and ſeparate treaties with each other.

The ordinary meetings of the *general* diet are held once a year, and continue ſitting one month; the extraordinary aſſemblies are ſummoned upon particular occaſions. It is principally convened in order to deliberate upon the beſt meaſures for the ſecurity of the Helvetic body. The canton of Zuric appoints the time and place of meeting; and convenes the deputies by a circular letter. The deputy of Zuric alſo preſides, unleſs the diet is held in the territory of any other canton; in that caſe, the deputy of that canton is preſident.

This diet formerly met at Baden; but ſince the concluſion of the civil war in 1712, between Zuric and Berne on one ſide, and Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, and Zug, on the other, (when the five latter renounced the co-regency of Baden) it has been aſſembled at Frauenfield in Thurgau. Each canton ſends as many deputies as it thinks proper.

It would be deſcending into a tedious detail, were I to enter into the particular connections of the ſeveral allies, either with the whole Helvetic body, or with ſome of the cantons; and the diſferent nature of theſe reſpective alliances. Suffer me only to remark, that the allies may be divided into *aſſociate*, and *confederate* ſtates: of the former, are the abbot and town of St. Gallen, Bienne, and Mulhauſen; of the latter, are the Griſons, the republic of the Vallais, Geneva, Neuchatel, and the biſhop of Baſle.

The ſtates thus compriſed under the general denomination of aſſociates and confederates, enjoy, by virtue of this union, a total independence on all foreign dominion; and partake of all the privileges and immunities granted to the Swiſs in other countries. And notwithſtanding ſome of theſe ſtates are allied only with particular cantons; yet if any of them ſhould be attacked, thoſe cantons with whom they are in treaty would not only ſupply them with ſuccours, but would alſo require the joint aſſiſtance of the remaining cantons: if therefore any part of the whole body ſhould be invaded, all the other members would unite in its defence, either as immediate guarantees, or as auxiliaries of the actual guarantees.

LETTER 13.

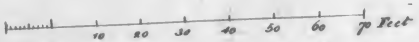
Route by Water from Zuric to Baden—Bridge of Wettingen—Baden—Caſtle of Hapſburgh.

INSTEAD of following the uſual route by land from Zuric to Baſle, we proceeded the greateſt part of the way by water. We embarked about two in the afternoon on the Limmat. The navigation of that river has been deſcribed as extremely hazardous, yet it is only dangerous upon the melting of the ſnow, or after violent rains, when in ſeveral places the rocks and ſhoals are covered with water. At other times there is no danger, provided the watermen are ſober and experienced.

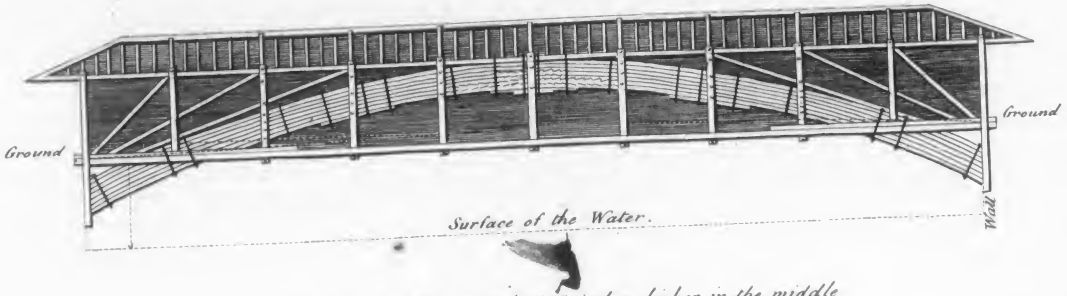
Our boat was flat-bottomed and long, and was rowed, or rather ſteered by three watermen, who uſed their oars merely to direct the veſſel; the ſtream being ſufficiently rapid to carry us along at the rate of ſix, eight, and ſometimes even ten miles in the hour. The water is beautifully tranſparent; and its ſurface was occaſionally raiſed and agitated with high waves by a wind oppoſite to the current. The borders of the Limmat are at firſt ſomewhat flat, afterwards gently

Geometrical Elevation of the Timber Bridge at Wettingen from actual measurements.

A. Floor of Bridge raised 18 inches higher in the middle and gradually diminishing towards each end as shewn by the dotted lines.



Geometrical Elevation of the Timber Bridge at Wettingen from actual measurements.



A. Floor of Bridge raised 18 inches higher in the middle and gradually diminishing towards each end as shewn by the dotted lines.

gently riſe into hills clothed with paſture and wood, or divided into vineyards; are laſtly quite perpendicular, and fringed to the water's edge with hanging trees.

About a mile from Baden, where the Limmat flows with the greateſt rapidity, we ſhot under the bridge of Wettingen with ſuch velocity, that in the moment of admiring its bold projection on one ſide I imperceptibly found myſelf on the other. This beautiful piece of mechaniſm is a wooden bridge, two hundred and forty feet in length, and ſuſpended above twenty feet from the ſurface of the water: it was the laſt work of Grubenman, the ſelf-taught architect, whom I mentioned in a former letter, and is far ſuperior in elegance to that of Schaffhauſen.

We landed at Baden, and walked to Hapſburgh, Schintznach, Konigsfelden, and Windiſh; of which places I ſhall give you a ſhort deſcription.

Baden derives its name from the neighbouring warm baths, which are mentioned by the antients under the names of *Aquæ* and *Thermæ Helveticæ*.

Baden was a Roman fortreſs, erected to curb the *Allemanni* or Germans; and was raſed to the ground, when the Helvetians, who ſupported Otho, were routed by Cæcina, general to Vitellius. Being rebuilt, it was taken by the Germans; fell afterwards under the dominion of the Franks; was, in the tenth century, incorporated in the German empire; became ſucceſſively ſubject to the dukes of Zæringen, to the counts of Kyburgh, and to Rhodolph of Hapſburgh. In 1418, when his deſcendant Frederic, duke of

Auſtria, was put under the ban of the empire, the canton of Zuric took poſſeſſion of the town and country; and, having purchaſed them from the emperor Sigiſmond, admitted to a joint ſhare in the ſovereignty, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, and Zug, Berne in 1426, and Uri in 1445.

Baden continued a bailliage of theſe eight cantons until the year 1712, when the civil war breaking out between the Proteſtant and Catholic cantons, it was beſieged and taken by the troops of Zuric and Berne; and at the peace of Arau was ceded to thoſe two cantons and Glarus, which, on account of its neutrality, preſerved its right of joint-ſovereignty. Zuric and Berne did not, however, prove their diſintereſtedneſs, when, not content with finally ſettling the religious diſputes in favour of the Proteſtants, they exacted from the Catholic cantons the ceſſion of Baden, contrary to the convention of Stantz, which forms the baſis of the Helvetic conſtitution. The umbrage conceived by the Catholic cantons at this ſtep, was the principal inducement to conclude a perpetual alliance with France in 1715, and to throw themſelves under the protection of that power. And this ſeparate league has not been annulled by the general treaty which Louis XVI. contracted with the thirteen cantons in 1776.

Until 1712, the diet of the thirteen cantons aſſembled at Baden; but has been ſince transferred to Frauenfield. The three cantons alternately appoint a bailif, who reſides in the caſtle.

The inhabitants elect their own magiſtrates, and have their own judicial courts. In civil proceedings, an appeal lies to the bailif, and from

from his deciſion to the ſyndicate, compoſed of the deputies of the three cantons, and in the laſt reſort to the three cantons themſelves. In penal cauſes, the criminal court condemns, and the bailif enjoys the power of pardoning, or mitigating the ſentence. The county or bailliage contains about 24,000 ſouls.

From Baden we walked through an agreeable and well-wooded country for ſome way along the ſide of the Limmat, whoſe ſteep banks are covered with vines to the edge of the water; and in about two hours croſſed the Reuſs into the canton of Berne. Having paſſed through a plain, we arrived at the baths of Schintznach, a place remarkable for its agreeable poſition on the banks of the Aar, and its tepid mineral waters. It is alſo well known as being the firſt place where the Helvetic ſociety aſſembled. This ſociety, formed by ſome of the moſt learned men in Switzerland, both of the Catholic and Reformed religion, firſt helped to extend the ſpirit of toleration, and to leſſen that antipathy which ſubſiſted between the members of the two perſuaſions. Its publications have tended to promote a general zeal for the diffuſion of polite literature. The meeting of this liberal ſociety is now transferred to Olten, a ſmall town in the canton of Soleure.

Near Schintznach ſtands, on a lofty eminence, the ruins of the caſtle of Hapſburgh, to which we aſcended through a wood of beech, that ſeemed almoſt coeval with the date of the caſtle itſelf. Theſe ruins conſiſt of an antient tower, conſtructed with maſſy ſtones, in a rude ſtyle of architecture, and part of a ſmall building of much later date.

It was erected in the beginning of the eleventh century, by Werner, biſhop of Straſburgh, came to his brothers Radebot and Latzelin, and devolved to their deſcendants. Otho, grandſon of Radebot, was probably the firſt perſon upon record who ſtyled himſelf Count of Hapſburgh, and it continued to be the principal title by which his poſterity was diſtinguiſhed, until it was loſt in a greater dignity, when Rhodolph of Hapſburgh was elevated to the Imperial throne. His ſucceſſor granted the caſtle and its dependencies as a fief, firſt to the lords of Wildeck, and afterwards to the lord of Wolen: in 1415 it was occupied by Berne, during the conteſt between the emperor Sigiſmond and Frederic of Auſtria, and given to the family of Segeſern of Bruneck. In 1469, it was ſold to the convent of Konigſfelden; on the diſſolution of that monaſtery, at the reformation, was ſeculariſed, and ſeized by government: has gradually gone to decay; and is now inhabited by a peaſant's family.

This caſtle commands an unbounded view over hills and dales, plains and foreſts, rivers and lakes, towns and villages, mountains and alps, emblem of that extent of power to which the talents of *one man*, who derived his title from this caſtle, raiſed himſelf and his deſcendants. You will readily perceive I allude to Rhodolph of Hapſburgh, who, from a ſimple baron of Switzerland, became emperor, and founded the Houſe of Auſtria.

Rhodolph was born in 1218. After ſignalizing his youth in a conſtant ſcene of warfare and contention, he was, in 1273, unexpectedly raiſed to the dignity of emperor, and conferred honour

nour on that exalted ſtation, no leſs by his political ſagacity than by his military proweſs. He died in 1291, after a long and glorious reign, and in the ſeventy-third year of his age.

Impreſſed with theſe ideas, as I conſidered, on the very ſpot, the origin of the Houſe of Hapſburgh, and its gradual progreſs towards that height of power which it has ſince attained under the more diſtinguiſhed appellation of the Houſe of Auſtria; I could not but compare it to a ſmall rill in the Alps, whoſe ſource is uncertain; which, having received or joined numberleſs ſtreams, forms no inconſiderable river. Flowing through Switzerland, ſtill almoſt unknown to its neighbours, it no ſooner enters Germany, than it loſes its name by its junction with the Danube; and, having collected the tribute of numberleſs rivers, rolls, with its accumulated and ſtill increaſing waters, through an immenſe extent of country, and falls by a hundred mouths into the Euxine Sea;

——— *et pare*
Che guerra porta e non tributi al mare *.

Rhodolph, during his reſidence in this caſtle, would not have given credit to a perſon endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy, who ſhould have informed him, that, in little more than a century, a few ſmall republics, which then ſcarcely exiſted, would drive his deſcendants from their hereditary dominions in Switzerland; and erect upon their ruins, and on the baſis of equal liber-

* Taſſo.

ty,

ty, a formidable confederacy, which would be courted by the moſt powerful ſovereigns. Still leſs perhaps would he have believed, that he himſelf ſhould poſſeſs the imperial throne, and found the Houſe of Auſtria; and that his lineal deſcendants ſhould rule over Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Auſtria, Spain, Burgundy, the Low Countries, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, and extend their dominion and influence from the Euxine to a New World beyond the Atlantic.

LETTER

LETTER 14.

Konigsfelden—Windiſh—Voyage down the Rhine.

HAVING ſatisfied our curioſity at the caſtle of Hapſburgh *, that cradle of the Houſe of Auſtria, which ſtill confers a title on Joſeph II. we deſcended into the plain of Konigsfelden, to a convent of the ſame name, built by Elizabeth, on the ſpot where her huſband Albert was aſſaſſinated. The occaſion of this aſſaſſination, and the circumſtances attending it, were as follow. Albert, as guardian to his nephew John of Hapſburgh, had taken poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions in Switzerland, and refuſed, under various pretences, to deliver them up to him. At length, wearied with repeated and fruitleſs ſolicitations, John entered into a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, with Rhodolph de Warth,

* There is alſo a caſtle of Hapſburgh, ſituated near the lake of Lucerne, which I viſited in 1779. Some authors have erroneouſly aſſerted, that this was the caſtle from which the counts derived their titles. But Hergot has refuted this opinion; and unqueſtionably proved that honour to be due to the caſtle of Hapſburgh which I have deſcribed in this letter. See Hergot, Gen. Dipl. Augſ. Domus Habſb.

Ulric

Ulric de Palme, Walther de Eſchenbach, and Conrad de Tagerfeld.

The emperor dined at Baden, in his way to Rheinfelden, a town in the circle of Suabia, where the empreſs his conſort had collected a conſiderable body of troops, with which he propoſed invading the three cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, which had revolted againſt him. Contemporary hiſtorians, who have recorded the minuteſt circumſtances in this whole tranſaction, relate, that Albert was in high ſpirits during the repaſt; and that, his nephew again entreating to be put into poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions, the emperor, with an air of banter, placed a garland of flowers upon his head, adding, at the ſame time, "This will be "more ſuitable to you, for the preſent, than the "cares of a troubleſome government." This taunt had ſuch an effect upon the young prince, that he burſt into tears, flung away the flowers, and could not be prevailed upon to ſit down to table.

After dinner Albert continued his journey on horſeback, accompanied by his ſon Leopold, the conſpirators, and his uſual attendants; and came near the town of Windiſh, in the canton of Berne, to the Reuſs, over which river paſſengers were uſually ferried upon a raft. The conſpirators paſſed over firſt, and were followed by Albert: as he was riding gently on, expecting his ſon Leopold, and the remainder of his ſuite, he was ſuddenly beſet by the aſſaſſins. One of them ſeizing his horſe's bridle, John of Hapſburgh reproached him for his injuſtice in detaining his dominions; and ſtruck him on the neck with

with his ſword: Rhodolph de Warth wounded him in the ſide; and Ulric de Palme clove his head with a ſabre. In this condition, they left him expiring upon the ground.

This aſſaſſination was committed the firſt of May 1308, in the open day, and in the ſight of his ſon Leopold, and the reſt of his court, who had not as yet paſſed the river; and who, though witneſſes to the murder, yet could not aſſiſt the emperor. The field lies between the Aar and the Reuſs, not far from the junction of thoſe two rivers; and the very ſpot, where he was maſſacred, is marked by a convent, erected by his wife Elizabeth and his daughter Agnes: the place was called *Koningsfelden*, or King's field; a name it retains to this day. The remains of the emperor were buried in the convent of Witterling, from whence they were afterwards tranſported to Spire, and there interred.

The aſſaſſins eſcaped into the cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, expecting to find a ſure aſylum in a nation, which Albert was preparing to invade. But the generous natives, deteſting a crime of ſo atrocious a nature, although committed upon the perſon of their greateſt and moſt formidable enemy, refuſed to protect the murderers. D'Eſchenbach concealed himſelf in the diſguiſe of a common labourer during thirty years, nor was his rank diſcovered till he confeſſed it upon his death-bed; De Palme, deſtitute of common neceſſaries, died in extreme poverty; and De Warth, tied to a horſe's tail, like a common malefactor, and dragged to the place of execution, was broken upon the wheel. John of Hapſburgh, commonly known by the appellation

appellation of *parricide* from this aſſaſſination, did not reap the expected benefits of the crime; for, by order of the emperor Henry the Seventh, he retired into a monaſtery of Auguſtine friars, where he died in 1313.

The widow of Albert turned her whole thoughts towards revenging the death of her huſband; and in this purſuit involved the innocent as well as the guilty; all, who had the ſmalleſt connection with the aſſaſſins, being ſacrificed with undiſtinguiſhing cruelty to the manes of the emperor. Mean while the three cantons were, for a few years, left to the undiſturbed enjoyment of their liberties, and to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt any future attack; and thus they innocently reaped the ſole advantage which was derived from this aſſaſſination.

The convent or abbey of Koningsfelden comprized, within its extenſive precincts, a nunnery of the order of St. Clare, and a monaſtery of monks of the order of minorites, ſeparated from each other by a wall. It was richly endowed by Elizabeth, her five ſons, and her daughter Agnes queen of Hungary, who aſſumed the habit of a nun, and here paſſed the remainder of her days. At the reformation the abbey was ſecularized, and its lands appropriated by government: part of the building became the reſidence of the bailif, part was converted into an hoſpital, and part was ſuffered to fall to ruin.

Many of the cells, formerly occupied by the nuns, ſtill exiſt in their original ſtate; and one, in particular, is diſtinguiſhed as the habitation in which queen Agnes lived and died.

The

The chapel ſtill remains entire, but is no longer uſed for divine ſervice. The glaſs windows are beautifully coloured, and painted with various hiſtories of the Old Teſtament; with the portraits of Elizabeth and Agnes, of the emperor Albert, and his ſons. On the walls alſo are coarſely repreſented the figures of Leopold duke of Auſtria, and the principal nobles who periſhed at the battle of Sempach. Elizabeth and Agnes, and ſeveral princes and princeſſes of the Houſe of Auſtria, were buried in this chapel; but their bones were a few years ago removed to the abbey of St. Blaiſe, in the Black Foreſt, where they were depoſited with great pomp, and magnificent ſepulchres erected to their memory.

Near Konigsfelden is the ſmall village of Windiſh, ſtanding at the conflux of the Aar and the Reuſs, and ſuppoſed by antiquarians to occupy the ſite of *Vindoniſſa*, a Roman fortreſs mentioned by Tacitus. In traverſing the place I did not obſerve the leaſt ſigns of any antiquities; but various lapidary inſcriptions, mile-ſtones, ſepulchral urns, medals, coins, and gems, which have been found in great abundance, ſufficiently prove, that it muſt have been the ſtation of a large Roman colony. The reader, who is inclined to reflect on the viciſſitudes of human poſſeſſions, will recollect with pleaſure the following quotation, which ſo happily relates to the preſent ſubject: "Within the antient walls of Vindoniſſa, the caſtle of Hapſburgh, the abbey of Konigsfeld, and the town of Bruck, have ſucceſſively ariſen. The philoſophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conqueſt, of feudal or Auſtrian

" trian tyranny, of monkiſh ſuperſtition, and of " induſtrious freedom. If he be truly a philoſo- " pher, he will applaud the merit and happineſs " of his own time *."

Early the next morning we embarked on the Aar, which, tho' here a trifling ſtream, yet, being conſiderably ſwelled by the tribute of waters it receives from the Reuſs and the Limmat, ſoon becomes a conſiderable river. Its banks are agreeably enlivened with meadows and woods, and ſpotted occaſionally with villages, caſtles, and ruins, hanging on the water's edge. Having made a ſmall return, it falls by a ſtrait channel into the Rhine, vying in ſize and rapidity with the great river in which it loſes its name: its waters, which are of a ſilvery hue, are for a long way diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the Rhine; which, being tranſparent, and of a ſea-green colour, ſeem to diſdain the union.

The banks of the Rhine are far ſuperior in wildneſs and beauty to thoſe of the Aar, in many parts riſing perpendicularly, yet feathered with wood; in others ſloping in gentle declivities, and richly bordered with vines, foreſt, and paſtures; and exhibiting a continual ſucceſſion of towns and villages. The rapid ſtream carried us above eighteen miles in three hours, and we diſembarked at Lauffenburgh, where the Rhine forms a ſmall cataract, which though greatly inferior to the

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii. p. 563.

the fall of the ſame river near Schaffhauſen, yet deſerves to be viſited by travellers for the beauties of the ſcenery. As I ſtood upon the crags of the northern ſhore of the river, the principal objects were, a high bridge, partly open and partly covered, ſupported by three lofty ſtone piers; on the ſouth a row of houſes, with an old ruined caſtle on the ſummit, boldly overhanging the water; a perſpective of woods and meadows under the arcades of the bridge; and the river daſhing over its craggy bed, in a ſloping cataract, until it loſes itſelf ſuddenly among the rocks which cloſe the view.

About half a mile below this fall we re-embarked, and found the waters in many parts more agitated than thoſe of the Limmat; particularly near Rheinfelden, where they ruſh with ſuch increaſing velocity, that they were troubled like the waves of the ſea, and, beating againſt the boat, turned it obliquely by their violence. Here we were hurried along with ſuch rapidity, that though I had a pencil in my hand, I had no time for obſervation, much leſs for deſcription; I could only catch a general glance of the romantic ſcenery, as we paſſed under a picturesque bridge of ſeveral arches, ſuſpended high above the ſurface of the river, and joined to a ſteep rock, on which towered ſome majeſtic ruins. In many parts, and for a conſiderable way, our veſſel paſſed within a few inches of the ſhelving rocks, and was only prevented from ſtriking againſt them by the dexterity of the pilot.

As

As we approached Baſle the ſtream became gradually leſs rapid; and we diſembarked, highly delighted with our expedition.

LETTER

LETTER 15.

The Town of Baſle—Eraſmus—Library—Holbein.

I Arrived at Baſle, as I ſuppoſed, about twelve at noon; but was much ſurprized to find, that all the clocks in the town actually ſtruck one: and, on inquiry, I was informed, that they conſtantly go an hour faſter than the real time. Different reaſons have been aſſigned for this ſingularity: ſome aſſert, that it was firſt practiſed during the council of Baſle, in order to aſſemble, at an earlier hour, the cardinals and biſhops, who being very lazy and indolent, always arrived too late. Others maintain, that a conſpiracy being formed to aſſaſſinate the magiſtrates at midnight; one of the burgomaſters, who had notice of the deſign, advanced the town-clock an hour; by which means the conſpirators, imagining they had miſſed the appointed time, retired; and that the clocks are ſtill kept in the ſame advanced ſtate, as a perpetual memorial of this happy deliverance. But there is a third reaſon given for this

this ſtrange cuſtom, which ſeems the moſt probable. It is well known that the choirs of cathedrals are conſtructed towards the eaſt: that of Baſle declines ſomewhat from this direction; and the ſundial, which is placed upon the outſide of the choir, and by which the town-clock is always regulated, partakes of this declination; a circumſtance which, according to the celebrated Bernoulli, occaſions a variation from the true time of above five and forty minutes.

The inhabitants of Baſle are ſtill ſo ſtrongly attached to this whimſical cuſtom, that, although it has been often propoſed in the ſovereign council to regulate their clocks properly, yet the motion has been invariably rejected; and the people would ſuſpect that their liberties were invaded, if their clocks were to agree with thoſe of the reſt of Europe. A few years ſince, ſeveral leading men of the town determined to alter the hand of the ſun-dial half a minute a day, until the ſhadow ſhould imperceptibly point to the true hour. This expedient was accordingly practiſed, and the clock had already loſt near three quarters of an hour, when an accident diſcovered the deſign: the magiſtrates were accordingly compelled to place the hand of the ſun-dial in its former poſition, and to regulate the hours by it as uſual. Indeed, long-eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, however indifferent or ridiculous, are apt to make ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon vulgar minds, as to become ſometimes dangerous, and always difficult, to be eſtabliſhed; eſpecially among a people, like thoſe of this country, who are averſe to any change, even in the minuteſt articles. I need

need not remind you, how long it was before we could be perſuaded in England, to reckon our years according to the general mode of computation received by the reſt of Europe.

Baſle is beautifully ſituated upon the banks of the Rhine, near the point where that river, which here becomes very broad, deep, and rapid, after flowing for ſome way from eaſt to weſt, turns ſuddenly to the north. It conſiſts of two towns joined together by a long bridge; the large town lies on the ſide of Switzerland, and the ſmall town on the oppoſite banks of the river. It ſtands very favourably for commerce; an advantage which the inhabitants have by no means neglected: for they have eſtabliſhed a great variety of manufactures, particularly of ribbands and cottons; and an extenſive trade is carried on by the principal merchants.

The cathedral is an elegant gothic building, but ſtrangely diſfigured by a daubing of roſe-coloured paint ſpread over the whole edifice. This cathedral contains the aſhes of Gertrude Anne counteſs of Hohenburgh, and wife of the emperor Rhodolph I. ſhe died at Vienna, in 1281, and her body was conveyed to Baſle. Her two chriſtian names gave riſe to much confuſion, and led many hiſtorians to conclude that Gertrude and Anne were two different perſonages, and ſucceſſive wives of that emperor; while others ridiculouſly ſuppoſed that both were married to him at the ſame time: nor were theſe erroneous opinions confuted, and the controverſy finally ſettled, till Hergot, the laborious genealogiſt * of

* See Hergotti Geneal. Diplom. Dom. Auſt. vol. i. p. 125.

the Houſe of Auſtria, proved, from the moſt unqueſtionable authorities of antient diplomes, the identity of this divided perſonage; and that the miſtake aroſe from her being uniformly ſtyled Gertrude before her coronation, and Anne after the performance of that ceremony. She bore to her huſband fourteen children; and though the mother of ſo large a family, yet ſuch was her extreme ſenſibility, that the grief which ſhe ſuffered at the departure of her daughter Clementina to Naples, on her marriage with Charles Martel, hurried the afflicted parent to her grave.

In the ſame church are depoſited, under a marble tomb, the venerable remains of the great Eraſmus. That diſtinguiſhed writer joined to ſuperior learning, and a peculiar elegance of ſtyle, the keeneſt wit, which he pointed, not only againſt the vices and ignorance of the monks, but the general corruptions and diſorders of the Roman church. He was indeed the forerunner of Luther, in his firſt attacks upon the catholics, reſpecting the ſale of indulgences: but afterwards, when the controverſy appeared more ſerious, and an open breach with the church of Rome ſeemed inevitable; he condemned the proceedings of that bold reformer. He conſidered them, indeed, as altogether unwarrantable; and although he had himſelf cenſured and expoſed the corruptions that infected the catholic religion; yet he zealouſly inculcated ſubmiſſive obedience to the decrees of what he called the "univerſal church." Agreeably to theſe ſentiments, he adviſed the proteſtants to endeavour at obtaining, by mild and patient meaſures, what they might indiſcreetly loſe by a warmer and more violent oppoſition.

Such

Such temperate counſels were ill ſuited to the daring and impetuous ſpirit of Luther. Accordingly, while Eraſmus was acting the part of a mediator, and endeavouring to moderate and allay the flame on each ſide, he drew upon himſelf the diſpleaſure of both parties: and, in alluſion to this temporizing conduct, one of his adverſaries applied to him, not unaptly, that line in Virgil,

Terras inter cælumque volabat.

The impartial truth ſeems to be, that he was by no means diſpoſed to become a martyr in the cauſe: the natural timidity of his temper, a too great deference to perſons of ſuperior rank and power, and perhaps alſo the fear of loſing his penſions, probably induced him to take a decided part againſt the reformers, and condemn their ſeparation from the church of Rome.

But it would be uncandid to impute his conduct wholly to ſelfiſh conſiderations: ſomething may fairly be aſcribed to the powerful impreſſions of early prejudices; and ſomething to that rooted love of peace and ſtudious tranquility, which ſeems to have been the governing principles of all his actions. But, whatever imperfections may be diſcovered in ſome particular parts of his character, his memory muſt ever be revered by every friend of genius, learning, and moderation. Livelineſs of imagination, depth and variety of erudition, together with great ſagacity of judgment, were in him eminently united. He infuſed a ſpirit of elegance even into theological controverſies; and contributed to

diſencumber literature from that ſcholaſtic jargon with which it was diſgraced. Eraſmus reflected much honour upon the town, by chooſing it as the favourite place of his reſidence, and publiſhing from hence the greateſt part of his valuable works. In the public library are preſerved, with great veneration, ſeveral of his letters, and his laſt teſtament, written with his own hand; as alſo his hanger and ſeal.

The univerſity of Baſle was formerly eminent in the literary hiſtory of Europe. Who, in the leaſt converſant in letters, is unacquainted with the celebrated names of Oecolampadius, Amerbach, the three Bauhins, Grynæus, Buxtorf, Wetſtein, Iſelin, the Bernoullis, and Euler.* If it has fallen from its priſtine ſtate of renown, its decline muſt be principally imputed to the caſual method of electing the profeſſors; but it ſtill boaſts ſeveral members who do honour to their native town by their learning and abilities.

The public library contains a ſmall collection of books, chiefly remarkable for ſeveral rare and valuable editions; particularly of thoſe printed in the fifteenth century. The moſt curious manuſcripts are numerous letters of the firſt reformers, and of other learned men in the fifteenth, ſixteenth, and ſeventeenth centuries; and an account of the proceedings at the council of Baſle. The minutes of that council were taken by John of Segovia; and are ſuppoſed to be the ſame which are preſerved either in the library, or in the archives of the town; the former is written on paper, the latter on parchment. A queſtion has ariſen which of theſe two is the original. Some conclude

* I. & many.

conclude in favour of that in the archives, on account of the many falſe readings and miſtakes in the other, which are plainly the faults of a copyiſt. Others give the preference to that in the library, becauſe it is written in different hands, and with different ink, which ſeem to imply that it was noted down at various intervals, according as the acts of the council were paſſed; whereas that in the archives, being penned on parchment, in the ſame hand, and with the ſame ink, was probably copied from the original minutes; for who, it is urged, would take minutes on parchment? A third opinion, ſtill more probable, is, that neither of theſe are the original. Several paſſages are wanting in both; which omiſſion may have proceeded from the tranſcriber's not being able to read every part of the original. It is probable alſo that John of Segovia took away the minutes, and depoſited them at Rome; and that one of theſe manuſcripts was the copy tranſcribed by order of the council; of theſe, the manuſcript on parchment appears to be the moſt authentic.

In a ſuite of rooms belonging to this library, is a cabinet of petrifactions, collected in the canton of Baſle by the Rev. Mr. Annoni; ſome antient medals, and gems; a few antiquities found at Auguſt; a large number of prints; and ſome fine drawings and paintings, conſiſting chiefly of originals by Holbein, who was a native of this town. Theſe pictures are, moſt of them, in the higheſt preſervation: the connoiſſeur can here trace all the different manners of Holbein, and compare the productions of his youth with thoſe of his maturer age. A few are here preſerved,

preſerved, which he painted before he had reached his ſixteenth year; and one extremely curious, which he drew upon a ſign for a writing-maſter. The portraits of himſelf, his wife, and children, in the ſame group, are much admired for nature and ſimplicity of expreſſion. The moſt valuable of theſe paintings is an altar-piece, in eight compartments, which repreſents the paſſion of our Saviour: a performance, in which this admirable artiſt has carried to the higheſt perfection, that ſingular brilliancy of colouring ſo peculiar to moſt of his compoſitions. I was much ſtruck with a profile of his friend and patron Eraſmus, writing his commentary upon St. Matthew: there is a ſpirit and animation in the countenance, finely expreſſive of the great author's ſagacious and penetrating talents.

Among the works of Holbein, that diſcover the livelineſs of his fancy, muſt be mentioned the ſketches which he drew, on peruſing the Eulogium of Folly by Eraſmus, on the margin of that work, which he received as a preſent from the author. This curious volume is preſerved in the library with great attention; and has been lately publiſhed by Mr. Haas, in French, Latin, and Germans, with fac-ſimilies of the original deſigns, engraved on wood.

The dance of death, in the church-yard of the predicants of the ſuburbs of St. John, is frequently ſhewn to ſtrangers as being of Holbein's pencil. It is painted in oil-colours upon a wall which encloſes the burial-ground; but, as it has ſeveral times been retouched, no traces are diſcoverable of that great maſter's hand. In fact, the Hon. Horace Walpole, and other unqueſtionable judges,

judges, have proved, that this performance was painted before Holbein was born, and that he was not employed even in retouching it. It is probable, however, that, from this antient painting, he took the firſt hint towards compoſing his famous drawings on the dance of death. In treating this ſubject, he has diſplayed ſuch wonderful richneſs of imagination, and diſcovered ſo much judgment in the diſpoſition, and ſo much ſpirit in the execution of the figures, that Rubens ſtudied them with particular attention, and took drawings from them.

The originals of Holbein's dance of death were purchaſed by Mr. Fleichman of Straſbourg, at the ſale of the famous collection of Crozat, at Paris; of which Mariette has publiſhed a catalogue. They are now in the poſſeſſion of prince Gallitzin, miniſter from the empreſs of Ruſſia to the court of Vienna. They conſiſt of forty-four ſmall drawings: the outlines are ſketched with a pen, and they are ſlightly ſhaded with Indian ink. I had frequent opportunities of ſeeing them, during my continuance at Vienna; and particularly admired the variety of attitudes and characters in which death is repreſented.

Prints have been taken from ſome of theſe drawings by Hollar, which are very ſcarce. Mr. de Mechel, a celebrated artiſt of this place, has already engraved them after the original deſigns; a work which cannot fail of being highly acceptable to the admirers of the fine arts. He has added four engravings, which are not in the prince's collection, and which are taken from the prints of Hollar. Mr. de Mechel ingeniouſly conjectures, from the dreſſes and characters

racters of ſeveral of the figures in the dance of death, that the author ſketched them while he was in England. They were, probably, in the Arundelian collection when Hollar engraved them.

He has finiſhed alſo a ſet of prints from the fine paintings of the Duſſeldorf gallery, and likewiſe engravings of the famous Hedlinger's medals. This able artiſt has a ſmall but well-choſen collection of paintings: and his magazine of prints (in which article he carries on a very conſiderable trade) is perhaps one of the largeſt and moſt complete in Europe. I am acquainted with no perſon to whom the curious traveller can addreſs himſelf with greater advantage than to Mr. de Mechel, nor from whom he can receive more uſeful information. To a particular knowledge of the phyſical beauties of Switzerland, he joins a thorough acquaintance with the different governments, cuſtoms, and manners of the ſeveral cantons. As he is intimately connected with the principal men of learning in this country, his letters of recommendation are the moſt deſirable, and the moſt beneficial, that can be procured: and he enjoys as much ſatisfaction in conferring, as can be received by accepting, his good offices. He indeed poſſeſſes a great fund of good-humour, an amiable frankneſs of diſpoſition, and a certain originality of manner, which, together with his other valuable qualities, recommend him as a no leſs pleaſing than uſeful acquaintance.

I viſited alſo the ſmall but pleaſing collection of pictures, moſtly of the Flemiſh and Dutch ſchools, belonging to Mr. Faeſch, member of the Great Council. In the court-yard before his houſe is a wooden

a wooden ſtatue of Rhodolph I. ſitting on a throne, and clothed with the imperial inſignia; underneath I obſerved the date of 1273, the æra of that emperor's coronation; and the rudeneſs of the ſculpture renders it probable that it is an original of that great emperor, who was beſieging Baſle when he received the expected news of his election. The gates were immediately thrown open; and he was inſtantly admitted as a friend into that town, which had ſhut its gates againſt him as their enemy. On this occaſion he reſided a ſhort time at Baſle, and, as tradition relates, in this very houſe.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 16.

Government of Baſle.

THE biſhops of Baſle once poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of over the city and canton; but were gradually deprived their prerogatives; and, in 1501, finally quitted this town, when the canton joined the Helvetic confederacy. They at firſt retired to Friburgh in Briſgau, and afterwards, eſtabliſhing their reſidence at Porentru, they entirely loſt the trifling authority and inconſiderable prerogatives which remained to them. Upon the introduction of the reformation in 1525, the conſtitution was in ſome meaſure changed; and the power of the ariſtocracy limited.

It would ſeem in theory ſcarcely poſſible to divide the ariſtocratical and democratical commonwealths into ſo many different ſpecies as exiſt in Switzerland: for, in this country, every republic has its peculiar modification; and there is none

none more ſingular than that of Baſle. To view the general outlines of the conſtitution, it has the appearance of an abſolute ariſtocracy †; but, upon conſidering it in detail, it will be found to incline towards a democracy. The ſupreme legiſlative power reſides in the Great and Little Councils, conſiſting of about three hundred members: and the authority of theſe two councils combined, is without controul. They enact laws; declare war and peace; contract alliances; and impoſe taxes: they elect the ſeveral magiſtrates; appoint their own members; nominate to all employments; and confer the right of burgherſhip. The general adminiſtration of government is committed by the Great Council to the Senate, or Little Council; that is, to a part of its own body. This Senate, compoſed of ſixty members, together with the four chiefs of the republic, two burgomaſters, and two great tribunes, is divided into two bodies, which act by rotation. The acting diviſion continues in office one year; decides finally in all criminal cauſes; ſuperintends the police; and exerciſes ſeveral other powers ſubordinate to the Sovereign Council. The collective body of citizens aſſembles only once a year, when the magiſtrates publicly

† An ariſtocracy (ſtrictly ſpeaking) means that form of government, which places the ſupreme power in the nobles, excluſively of the people; but here I mean by it, the confining of the ſovereign authority to a certain limited number of perſons, without conſidering whether they are patricians or plebeians, nobles or commons: for, at Baſle every citizen who is noble, and who chuſes to retain his title of nobility, is incapable of being elected a member of the ſovereign council.

licly take an oath to maintain the conſtitution, and preſerve the liberties and immunities of the people, inviolate. The reciprocal oath of obedience to the laws, is adminiſtered to the citizens in their reſpective tribes.

But, notwithſtanding the great and boundleſs prerogative of the Great Council; yet the meaneſt citizen is legally capable of being admitted into that body; and, by the ſingular method of election, may poſſibly be choſen. For, the vacancies in the two councils are ſupplied from all ranks of citizens, one claſs only excepted, the members of the univerſity. Theſe citizens are divided into eighteen tribes, called in German *Zuenfte*; fifteen of which belong to the larger town, and three to the ſmaller: each of the firſt-mentioned fifteen tribes, returns four members to the Senate; and each of the whole eighteen, ſends twelve to the Great Council. Formerly theſe elections were determined by a plurality of voices: but, as by theſe means the richeſt perſon was always certain of being choſen; a *ternaire* was eſtabliſhed in 1718; that is, three candidates were nominated, and from theſe the ſucceſſor was appointed † by lot.

Although

† The fifteen tribes in the great town are called *Zuenfte*, and the three in the ſmall town *Geſellſchaften*, or companies. It may alſo be remarked, that the citizens of the ſmall town enjoy more advantages than thoſe of the great town; inaſmuch as the former may be appointed to public employments either in the tribes or in the companies; whereas a citizen of the great town cannot be admitted into the companies, unleſs he reſides in the ſmall town.

Although this mode of election in ſome meaſure put a ſtop to corruption; yet it was not ſufficient to counteract entirely the influence of the wealthy: and, as the poorer citizens could ſeldom ſucceed to the moſt honourable or lucrative employments; they procured an act to be paſſed in 1740, changing the *ternaire* into a *ſenaire*: by which ſix candidates, inſtead of three, were put in nomination, and drew lots for the charge. Six ticket, containing the names of the reſpective candidates, and ſeparately placed in ſilver eggs, are inſerted into one bag; and the ſame number of tickets, five of which are blanks, and one is marked with the vacant employment, are placed in another. The reigning burgomaſter and the great tribune, appointed to be the drawers of this *official* lottery, both at the ſame inſtant take a ticket from each bag; and the candidate whoſe name comes out at the ſame time with the ticket on which the employment is written, obtains the poſt.

It would be too tedious, and indeed too unintereſting, a detail, to enter into a minute account of the forms and circumſtances requiſite to be obſerved in ſelecting the ſeveral candidates. To give, however, ſome general idea of this matter: —Upon a vacancy in the Great Council, for inſtance, the ſix candidates muſt be taken from the citizens of that tribe, to which the perſon who occaſion the vacancy belonged; and muſt be nominated by ſuch of the members of the Great and Little Councils, as are of the ſame tribe. The candidates for the ſenate and for the tribunes or chiefs of each tribe, called in German *mieſter*, are appointed by the Great Council. There

is

is but one caſe, in which the *ſenaire* is not practiſed: for, upon the death of a burgomaſter, his colleague, who is the great tribune, ſucceeds of courſe.

It ſhould ſeem, that many inconveniences muſt neceſſarily flow from this abſurd method of ſupplying vacant poſts in the government; as they are left intirely to the capricious diſpoſal of fortune. In fact, it has not unfrequently happened, that a candidate, whoſe knowledge and abilities rendered him capable of being ſerviceable to the ſtate, has never obtained the ſucceſsful ticket; while fortune has beſtowed it upon another by no means qualified to fulfil the duties of the employment. However, notwithſtanding the ill effects reſulting from this caſual method of election; the management of public affairs is in general tolerably well conducted; and there are few inſtances of civil juſtice being unwiſely adminiſtered, or of innocence being ſacrificed to ſuperior wealth or power.

But the counſellors of the ſtate and ſeveral magiſtrates, are not the only perſons choſen by lot; even the profeſſors in the univerſity are elected in the ſame manner. The three candidates however, (for in this inſtance the *ternaire* is ſtill in uſe) muſt be nominated from thoſe who have taken the degree of doctor. Hence nothing is more common than for a candidate to offer himſelf for the profeſſorſhip of a ſcience, which he has never made the peculiar object of his ſtudies; if the chair of that particular branch of literature in which he excels is already occupied: for, under theſe circumſtances, the reſpective unqualified profeſſors change places with each other.

other. Thus (to mention an inſtance from a family well known) John Bernoulll, the famous mathematical profeſſor in this univerſity, who died in 1748, left three ſons, Nicholas, Daniel, and John, all juſtly celebrated for their ſkill in that ſcience, in which their father and uncle ſo eminently excelled. Nicholas died at St. Peterſburgh, member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences; and Daniel, having followed his brother into Ruſſia, returned to Baſle on obtaining the profeſſorſhip of anatomy, which he afterwards had an opportunity of happily exchanging for that of natural philoſophy, and died in 1782. A ſimilar circumſtance happened to the third ſon John: after being ſeveral times appointed an unſucceſsful candidate in the lottery of profeſſorſhips, chance at length conferred on him the chair of *rhetoric*; but, upon his father's death, he changed with Mr. Rumſpeck, to whom fortune, with her uſual judgment, had aſſigned the profeſſorſhip of mathematics *.

The

* The following curious epitaph on a lawyer, interred in the cathedral, complains, that the deceaſed, notwithſtanding his advanced age of 84, which had afforded many opportunities of being nominated candidate for various offices of ſtate, had been continually excluded by fortune.

S: E: S:
Locum quo Sepeliretur
de ſuo acquiſivit
JOH: GEORG SCHWEIGHAUSER
J. U. L. Ducentum Vir
Fori judiciarii et Apellationis
ultra XL. Annos aſſiduus Aſſeſſor

muneribus

The ſumptuary laws are very ſtrict at Baſle. The uſe of coaches in the town is not indeed prohibited, as at Zuric; but, what is more ſingular, no citizen or inhabitant is allowed to have a ſervant behind his carriage. Laws of this kind may be carried, in ſome inſtances, to a ſcrupulous and even ridiculous minuteneſs; upon the whole, however, they are excellent regulations, and not only uſeful but neceſſary in a ſmall republic. They have certainly operated with great advantage in this town: for, although it contains ſeveral families who are conſiderably rich; yet a happy ſimplicity of manners is ſtill ſo predominant, that you would ſmile, if I were to particulariſe thoſe articles which paſs under the opprobrious denomination of *luxury*.

The lower rank of citizens are in general ſo ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of their own country, as to ſeem convinced that true felicity is only to be found at Baſle: and indeed that claſs of people are in no part of the world more happy. Every perſon boaſts that he is free, and is ſo in reality: and, as the citizens not only poſſeſs very conſiderable privileges and immunities, but each individual may alſo indulge the hope of being one day choſen into the ſovereign council; he enjoys a certain degree of reſpect and conſideration

muneribus autem Academicis
et publicis Officiis
Sorte conſtanter excluſus
vixit tamen et vivere deſiit
ut Virum Honeſtum decet
natus Menſe Januario 1695.
Obiit Die VII Menſis Junii 1779.
H. M. H. P.

ration extremely flattering to his ſelf-importance. In fact, there are ſeveral among the magiſtrates who exerciſe the meaner trades; and the preſent treaſurer, whoſe name is Muench, is a baker: he is indeed a perſon of diſtinguiſhed knowledge and merit; and has been twice appointed one of the candidates for the office of great tribune; which, if fortune had favoured him, would have been followed, on the next vacancy, by his ſucceſſion to the office of burgomaſter.

In general the burghers ſons receive an excellent education: they always learn the Latin, and not unfrequently the Greek tongue; and it is by no means unuſual, even for the lower ſort of tradeſman, to employ their leiſure hours in the peruſal of Horace, Virgil, and Plutarch.

The conduct of magiſtrates is no where more freely, nor more ſeverely, criticiſed than at Baſle. The people may ſometimes, no doubt, extend this privilege beyond its proper limits; but they can never be totally reſtrained from exerciſing it, without ſtriking at the vitals of their liberty: it is eſſential to its exiſtence, and no free government can long ſurvive its extinction.

Baſle is the largeſt, and ſeems formerly to have been one of the moſt populous, towns in Switzerland: its extent is capable of containing above a hundred thouſand inhabitants; whereas it can ſcarcely number fourteen thouſand. Many particular cauſes may have concurred to occaſion this remarkable decreaſe of people; but I will mention only one or two reaſons to which it may be aſſigned.

It is proved, from undoubted calculations, that in all great cities, the number of burials ex-

ceeds that of births; conſequently, unleſs this unequal proportion is compenſated by a conſtant acceſſion of new inhabitants, in proceſs of time every great town muſt neceſſarily become depopulated. Now the citizens of Baſle are ſo jealous of the burgherſhip, and pride themſelves ſo much upon the privileges which accompany it, that they ſeldom deign to confer it upon foreigners: a ſupply therefore to balance that gradual waſte of people I have mentioned, can never be derived from an influx of ſtrangers, where they are not permitted to carry on commerce, or to follow any trade. A few years ago, ſome of the magiſtrates, ſenſible of the impolicy attending this unlimited prohibition, procured a law, by which the freedom of the town and the right of burgherſhip was allowed to be conferred upon ſtrangers; but it was clogged at the ſame time with ſo many reſtrictions, as by no means to anſwer the purpoſe for which it was intended. Every principle, indeed, of private intereſt and ambition, concurred to prevent its efficacy: and no wonder; for, bodies of men are ſeldom actuated by ſo generous a ſpirit as to ſacrifice their perſonal and immediate advantages, to the future welfare and proſperity of their country.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 17.

Combat at the Hoſpital of James, between the Forces of Louis Dauphin of France, and a Corps of Swiſs troops—Ruins of Augſt—Mulhauſen.

CURIOSITY led me, during my continuance at Baſle, to viſit the hoſpital and burying-ground of St. James, not far from the town, and near the ſmall river Birs, celebrated for a deſperate combat, in 1444, between the Swiſs and the dauphin of France, afterwards Louis the Eleventh: and never was Swiſs valour and intrepidity ſo ſignally diſplayed, as by a few battalions of their troops on that memorable day.

This famous battle was fought in conſequence of ſome diſputes, which aroſe between the canton of Zuric and thoſe of Schweitz and Glarus. Zuric refuſing to abide by the mediation of the five neutral cantons, who had decided in favour of Schweitz and Glarus, a civil war enſued:

upon which occaſion, Zuric formed an alliance with the emperor Frederic the Third. The ſeven antient cantons, in order to obtain a renunciation of this alliance, which they juſtly conſidered as an infringement of their league, laid ſiege to that town. Frederic, unable to ſend a ſufficient body of troops to its relief, applied for additional ſuccours to Charles the Seventh, king of France; who, as well with a view of diſſolving the council of Baſle, as for the particular purpoſe required, ordered a conſiderable army to march, under the command of his ſon Louis. Accordingly the dauphin entered with his forces into Alſace; and, after laying waſte and harraſſing the adjacent provinces, appeared before Baſle. Upon this occaſion, a detachment of fifteen hundred Swiſs from the army of the confederates (at that time employed in beſieging Farnſpurg) were ordered to throw themſelves into the town of Baſle, which was but thinly garriſoned.

This handful of men advanced without interruption to the plain of Brattelen; where they charged, with ſuch determined and well-conducted valour, eight thouſand of the enemy's cavalry, that the latter were driven back as far as Muttenz; at which place the repulſed were joined by another corps: but, notwithſtanding this reinforcement, the Swiſs renewing the aſſault with freſh intrepidity, forced them to repaſs the river Birs; where the main body of the army was chiefly drawn up. Such was the firmneſs and ſolidity of the Swiſs in theſe ſeveral rencounters, that, to uſe the expreſſion of an old French chronicle, when the cavalry charged "they

"they could make no more impreſſion, than if "they had attacked a rock, or an impenetrable "wall." The Swiſs, encouraged by this wonderful ſucceſs, and exaſperated with the moſt ſpirited indignation againſt the invaders of their country, diſregarded the remonſtrances of their officers, and raſhly attempted to force their paſſage over a bridge, which was guarded by a large body of the enemy: but this effort of inconſiderate valour proving ineffectual, theſe gallant ſoldiers, throwing themſelves into the river, gained the oppoſite ſhore, in the face of a battery of cannon that was playing againſt them.

What could the deſperate courage of ſo ſmall a number avail, againſt an army of thirty thouſand men advantageouſly poſted in an open plain? They had no alternative but either to throw down their arms, or glorioufly expire. They bravely preferred the latter: accordingly five hundred took poſſeſſion of a ſmall iſland near the bridge, and, after reſolutely defending themſelves to the laſt extremity, were cut to pieces. A like number forced their way through the ranks of the enemy, and were making towards Baſle; when they were oppoſed by a large body of horſe, poſted there to prevent the inhabitants of the town from ſallying to the relief of their countrymen. Being now ſurrounded on all ſides, they threw themſelves into the hoſpital of St. James; and, lining the walls of the burying-ground, reſiſted for ſome time the united aſſaults of the whole French army. At length the hoſpital being ſet on fire, and the cannon having battered down the walls of the burying-ground, they fought no longer in hopes of victory; but

ſtill

ſtill reſolving to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible, they continued to defend themſelves to the laſt gaſp.

Æneas Sylvius (afterwards pope Pius II.) relates, among other actions of ſingular valour, exerted by this heroic troop, a particular inſtance which I cannot forbear mentioning. Four French ſoldiers aſſaulted a ſingle Swiſs, and having killed and ſtripped him, proceeded to inſult the corpſe: one of his companions, incenſed at this brutal action, ſeized a battle-ax, ruſhed upon the four; ſlew two of them, and drove the others to flight; then flinging the dead body of his friend upon his ſhoulders, carried it to a place of ſecurity; and returning to the attack, fell by the hand of the enemy.

Of the whole number but ſixteen eſcaped from the field of battle: and theſe, agreeably to the old Spartan diſcipline, were branded with infamy, for not having ſacrificed their lives in defence of their country. Among thoſe who were deſperately wounded, and left upon the field of action, only thirty-two were found alive. The names of many of theſe glorious combatants were carefully regiſtered, and ſtill remain upon record.

It is not eaſy to aſcertain the number of forces on both ſides in this ever-memorable engagement. As far as we can judge, by comparing the ſeveral relations of the French and German hiſtorians, the army of the dauphin conſiſted of at leaſt thirty thouſand. Charles and his ſon Louis, in their letters to the German princes on this occaſion, aſſert, that three thouſand Swiſs fell on the field of battle; and perhaps that account

count is not much exaggerated. With reſpect to the ſlain on the ſide of the dauphin, the amount is ſtill more uncertain: his loſs, however, muſt have been very conſiderable, for he remained three days upon the field of battle; and, the better to conceal the number of the killed, he ordered the dead bodies to be ſecretly interred in different parts of the neighbourhood. Add to this, that he was effectually prevented from proſecuting his deſigns upon Switzerland, and compelled to retire with his ſhattered army into Alſace. Louis himſelf, indeed, declared, that ſuch another victory would ruin his army; and generouſly confeſſed, that he derived from it no other advantage, than to know and eſteem the valour of the Swiſs. Accordingly, this combat may be conſidered as forming a remarkable æra in the hiſtory of the Swiſs: for, it gave riſe to their treaty with Charles the Seventh, the firſt alliance which they contracted with France.

The war, however, between the Houſe of Auſtria and Zuric on one ſide, and the ſeven cantons on the other, continued until the year 1446, when a peace was concluded by the mediation and deciſion of certain arbiters: Zuric renounced its connection with the Houſe of Auſtria; and the Helvetic Confederacy was again ſolemnly renewed and confirmed between the eight cantons. Upon this occaſion, two very important articles in the public law of Switzerland, were finally ſettled: Firſt, that all diſputes between any particular cantons, ſhould be decided by the mediation of the neutral cantons; and if either of the two contending parties ſhould decline to acquieſce under their judgment, the neutral

tral cantons are empowered to have recourſe to arms, in order to compel the recuſant to abide by their determination: Secondly, notwithſtanding the right which either of the cantons might have reſerved to itſelf, of contracting alliances with foreign powers, yet the other confederates are to judge, whether ſuch alliance is contradictory to, or incompatible with, the articles of the general union; and if it ſhould appear to be ſo, it is declared utterly null and void.

The Swiſs ſtill talk of this famous action with the warmeſt enthuſiaſm. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Baſle form parties every year, to an inn ſituated near the hoſpital and burying-ground above-mentioned, in order to commemorate, in a red wine produced from ſome vineyards planted on the field of battle, the heroic deeds of their brave countrymen, who ſo glorioufly ſacrificed their lives upon the occaſion. This wine, which they call the "*Blood of the Swiſs*," is highly prized by the Baſileans, though it has little to recommend it in point of flavour; nevertheleſs, I am much miſtaken, if that famous line of Horace,

Non miſſura cutem niſi plena *cruoris,*

was more applicable to the teazing poet he mentions, than it is to thoſe jovial patriotic parties, at the aniverſary compotations of the "*Blood of the Swiſs.*"

Near Baſle are the ruins of *Auguſta Rauricorum*, formerly a large town under the dominion of the Romans, now a ſmall village in the canton of Baſle, cloſe to the Rhine. Its ancient remains are

are very inconſiderable, conſiſting of a few columns of marble, ſtill ſtanding, and ſome ſcattered fragments of pillar, together with a ſemicircular range of walls upon a riſing ground, the greateſt part of which has fallen, and is almoſt entirely overgrown with underwood. From the preſent appearance of the laſt-mentioned ruins, I ſhould hardly have conjectured that they once compoſed part of a theatre, capable of containing above twelve thouſand ſpectators. But the celebrated Shæfflin has given, in his *Alſatia Illuſtrata*, a particular deſcription of this theatre, and of the temple, to which the marble columns formerly belonged. I noticed alſo the remains of ſome ſmall aqueducts, which conveyed water to the town from the diſtance of above twelve miles: but none of theſe antient relics are ſufficiently remarkable to merit the trouble of a particular viſit.

The peaſants, in turning up the ground where theſe ruins are ſituated, frequently find medals of the Roman emperors, from Auguſtus to Conſtantine; and are become, by repeated experience, able to diſtinguiſh, with ſome degree of preciſion, thoſe that are rare from the more common coins. I purchaſed of a labourer two medals, which he had juſt found; a Trajan and an Albinus: and though the former was by far the moſt perfect, yet he exacted three times as much for the latter, becauſe he had never ſeen it, he ſaid, before.

From Baſle I made a ſmall excurſion to Mulhauſen, a town in alliance with the Swiſs canton; which, though ſituated at the diſtance of ſeveral miles from the frontiers of Switzerland, and

and entirely encloſed within the dominions of France; is yet conſidered and reſpected as a part of the Helvetic Confederacy; and entitled to all the privileges enjoyed by that body.

Mulhauſen ſtands in Sundgau, a diſtrict of Alſace, about fifteen miles from Baſle; in a fertile plain, at the bottom of a ridge of hills, and at a ſmall diſtance from the Voges. The walls of the town encloſe a circumference of not more than two miles, and its whole territory is compriſed within a precinct of eight miles.

This little republic maintained its privileges, which had been granted by the emperors, during the times of feudal tyranny, by contracting an alliance, at different intervals, with Baſle, Straſburgh, and the towns of Alſace and Suabia; and afterwards, in the middle of the fifteenth century, with Berne, Friburgh, and Soleure. At length, in 1515, it was received into the Helvetic Confederacy; which league has preſerved its liberty and independence from the encroachments of the empire, on one hand, and, on the other, from the attacks of France. The inhabitants are of the Reformed religion. The town contains about eight hundred houſes, and ſix thouſand ſouls, and there are two thouſand ſubjects in the villages within its little territory. Mulhauſen owes its preſent flouriſhing ſtate, to its manufactures, which conſiſt principally of printed linens and cottons.

The government is ariſto-democratical. The ſupreme power reſides in the Great and Little Councils, conſiſting both together of ſeventy-eight perſons, and drawn from the burghers, whoſe number amounts to ſeven hundred, diſtributed into ſix tribes.

Mr.

Mr. Koehlin's commercial ſchool deſerves to be mentioned. It is a private inſtitution for about thirty ſcholars, who are inſtructed in the German, French, and Latin languages; in fencing, dancing, and all polite accompliſhments; and more particularly in accounts and book-keeping. The expence, including an uniform, amounts to £. 50 *per annum*. The plan is very judicious, and the whole appeared to me to be well conducted.

LETTER

LETTER 18.

Biſhopric of Baſle—Porentru—Abbey of Bellelay—Arleſheim—Delmont—Valley of Munſter—Pierre Pertuis—Valley of St. Imier.

ALTHOUGH the greateſt part of the dominions ſubject to the biſhop of Baſle, or, as he is called by the Proteſtants, the Prince of Porentru, is not compriſed within the limits of Switzerland; yet as, till lately, he was in alliance with the Catholic cantons, and as many of his ſubjects, even in thoſe diſtricts which lie within the German empire, are comburghers with Berne, and under the protection of that republic, his territory is uſually included in all the topographical accounts of Switzerland. It merits alſo the notice of the traveller for its romantic ſcenes, of the mineralogiſt for the variety of its petrifactions and foſſils, and of the politician for the peculiarity of its government, and the numerous and complicated immunities of the people.

Having

Having made various excurſions into this country, I ſhall lay before you a general account of its political ſtate, and a particular deſcription of thoſe parts which I had an opportunity of viſiting.

The biſhopric of Baſle may be claſſed under two general diviſions: the firſt lies to the ſouth of Pierre Pertuis, and forms a part of Switzerland; the ſecond, to the north of the ſame boundary, includes that diſtrict ſituated within the German empire.

The ſovereign of this country is choſen by the chaper of eighteen canons, reſident at Arleſheim, and confirmed by the pope. He is prince of the German empire; and does homage to the emperor for that part of his territory which lies in the Circle of the Upper Rhine. He was always conſidered as an ally of the Swiſs, by his union with the Catholic cantons, firſt formed in 1579, and renewed at different intervals, particularly in 1671 and 1697; and by being included in the treaty which thoſe cantons contracted with France in 1715. But as he was not compriſed among the allies of the Swiſs, in the league between the thirteen cantons and Louis the Sixteenth, in 1777, he can at preſent ſcarcely be eſteemed a member of the Helvetic Confederacy.

The firſt particular alliance with France was concluded in 1739, between the biſhop and Louis the Fifteenth; and was renewed in 1780. By virtue of this treaty the biſhop has troops in the French ſervice; and his ſubjects enjoy all the privileges which are granted to the natives of the thirteen cantons.

In

In caſe of a rupture between France and the Empire, he is bound to remain neuter. But this neutrality did not, in 1675, prevent the French troops from being quartered in his dominions, as forming part of the empire; and they were only removed at the interceſſion of the Catholic cantons. If a miſunderſtanding ſhould ariſe between France and the Emperor, his ſituation would be extremely embarraſſing; as his doubtful connection with the Swiſs would ſcarcely preſerve his territory from being invaded by one of thoſe two powers.

The form of government is a limited monarchy: the biſhop being bound, on all important occaſions, to conſult his chapter; and his prerogative being confined by the great immunities enjoyed by his ſubjects in general, and particularly by thoſe of the Reformed communion. He nominates to all employments, both civil and military, and appoints the bailifs or governors; criminal juſtice is adminiſtered in his name; and he has the power of pardoning. In civil proceedings, he receives an appeal from the inferior courts; but in his German dominions, when the cauſe exceeds the value of a ſtipulated ſum, it may be carried to the chambers of Wetzlar or Vienna.

The ſubjects of the biſhop are partly Proteſtants and partly Catholics. The proteſtants, of whom a more particular account will be given, inhabit the greateſt part of the valley of Munſter, and the whole diſtrict to the ſouth of Pierre Pertuis, and are about 15,000; the Catholics amount to 35,000.

The

The French and German languages being both ſpoken in the biſhop's dominions, ſeveral places have two names, that ſcarcely reſemble each other; namely, *Munſter* and *Moitier*, *Dachfield* and *Tavannes*, *Delmont* and *Delſberg*, *Corrandelin* and *Rennendorf*, *Elay* and *Seehof*.

Porentru, capital of the biſhop's dominions, and his principal reſidence, is ſituated in the bailliage of Elſgau, about three miles from the frontiers of France. It is a ſmall but neat town; and its poſition, in an oval plain, ſurrounded by well-wooded hills, and watered by a ſerpentine rivulet, is exceedingly pleaſant. The epiſcopal palace, which has been lately repaired and augmented, ſtands on an eminence overlooking the town, and the environs fertile in corn and paſture. One of the towers, built of ſtone, and ſaid to be of Roman workmanſhip, ſtill remains a monument of its antiquity.

The high roads, which lead from all quarters to Porentru, and have been formed at a conſiderable expence, do honour to the ſovereigns of this country. The way to Bellelay and Bienne, is a magnificent cauſeway: it traverſes a mountainous diſtrict; is carried over hanging terraces; through "twilight groves," and along continued acclivities and declivities. I purſued the latter part by moonlight; and the reflection of the rays quivering through the thick foliage was inconceivably beautiful.

Bellelay, which I viſited in my journey from Bienne to Porentru, is a rich abbey of Benedictines, about twenty miles from the capital, in a ſolitary but not unpleaſant ſituation, ſurrounded

by

by mountains, and ſheltered by foreſts. This abbey is not merely confined to religious purpoſes; the late abbot, Nicholas de Luce, having inſtituted a military academy, for the young nobility and gentry. For this purpoſe he erected a large building near the abbey, and provided ſuitable maſters and profeſſors. When I was there, the number of ſcholars amounted to forty. They are inſtructed in various branches of polite literature; they wear uniforms; and are trained to military manœuvres and exerciſes. The cheapneſs of this ſchool, and its diſtance from the diſſipation of large towns, renders it of great public utility. The whole expence of each ſcholar, for his board, lodging, inſtruction, and various leſſons, ſcarcely exceeds £. 20 *per annum*. It is curious to find a military academy eſtabliſhed in the midſt of rocks and foreſts, and within the walls of a convent; and to obſerve Benedictine friars, inſtead of waſting their time in monkiſh ignorance and ſuperſtition, rendering themſelves beneficial to ſociety.

The chapter, compoſed of eighteen canons, who, upon a vacancy in the ſee, poſſeſs the right of electing the biſhop, was fixed at Friburgh in Briſgau from the period of the reformation, which drove them from Baſle, to 1677, when Friburgh was occupied by the French troops. In the following year the chapter was transferred to Arleſheim, where it now reſides. The vacant canonries are filled alternately by the pope and chapter.

On the 14th of Auguſt 1786, I made an excurſion, in company with ſeveral friends, to Arleſheim, which is a ſmall but agreeably ſituated place,

place, almoſt four miles from Baſle. We had the honour of dining with the Baron de Ligertz, one of the canons. After a repaſt, no leſs elegant than agreeable, our hoſt politely accompanied us to a garden ſtyled The Hermitage, about a quarter of a mile from Arleſheim; which was laid out at the joint expence of the baron and of Madame d'Andlau, the bailif's lady, with a view to employ the poor in a time of great ſcarcity, and to provide walks for the inhabitants of the town. The grounds are very extenſive and pleaſant. The walks are carried along the ſides of the rocks, which are richly wooded, and through a delightful ſemicircular plain, bounded by fertile hills, and watered by a ſmall lake, the borders of which are peculiarly wild and picturéſque. Several caverns, hollowed and arched by the hand of nature, add to the romantic ſingularity of the ſcenery; while many tranſparent ſtreams, conveyed from a conſiderable diſtance, fall in ſmall caſcades, or bubble from the ground like real ſprings. A faſtidious obſerver might perhaps remark of this enchanting ſpot, that in a few circumſtances nature has been too much ſacrificed to art; and that there are ſome buildings leſs calculated to pleaſe than to ſurpriſe.

The following elegant inſcription for this charming hermitage was extemporarily compoſed by profeſſor Oberlin of Straſburgh, one of our party.

HOSPES - AMICE,
HASCE - DELICIAS.
NATURÆ - DEBES.
DEBES - INDUSTRIÆ.
BALBINÆ - AB - ANDLAV.
HENRICI - A - DIGERTZ.

I ſhall cloſe this letter with an account of my journey from Baſle to Bienne, through the vallies of Lauffen, Delmont, Munſter, and St. Imier, a tract of country in the biſhopric of Baſle, which is not inferior in beauty to the moſt delightful parts of Switzerland.

We quitted Baſle early in the morning; and paſſed through a fertile plain watered by the Birſh, and bounded by two chains of the Jura; one whereof terminates abruptly, ſupporting on its ſummit the caſtle of Wertenburgh. As we continued our route, the plain gradually narrowed; the mountains approached each other; and we entered the rich valley of Lauffen, encloſed between the rocks, ſprinkled with groves of oak and beech, and exhibiting many romantic points of view. Lauffen, which gives name to the valley, has its own magiſtrates, and inferior courts of juſtice. The natives are induſtrious: thoſe who are not employed in agriculture, gain a comfortable livelihood from making cloth, ſpinning yarn, and knitting worſted ſtockings. The inhabitants of the valley talk German, and thoſe of Sautier, a ſmall neighbouring village, French, which language is ſpoken through the vallies of Delmont, Munſter, and St. Imier.

About

About three leagues from Lauffen we came to a narrow paſs, entered the valley of Delmont, near Sautier; quitted the high road, and gently aſcended to Delmont, which ſtands pleaſantly on an acclivity, backed by a ridge of rocks embrowned with firs.

In this ſmall town reſide the provoſt and canons, who compoſe the chapter formerly eſtabliſhed at Munſter; which was removed here, in 1630, on the introduction of the Reformed religion in the valley of Munſter. At the extremity of the town is the epiſcopal palace, built in 1718, by Conrad Baron of Reinach, and biſhop of Baſle; it commands a fine view of the adjacent country. The bailif, who holds his court in this town, has juriſdiction over the valleys of Delmont and Munſter. In criminal proceedings he arreſts and examines; and can inflict ſmall penalties for trifling miſdemeanors; but in all caſes of notoriety, the delinquent is either tried at Porentru, or the bailif's ſentence muſt be confirmed or amended in that ſupreme tribunal. Civil cauſes are firſt adjudged in the provincial courts; from whoſe deciſion an appeal lies to the epiſcopal tribunal at Porentru; and from thence to the imperial chambers of Wetzlar or Vienna.

Delmont contains eight hundred inhabitants, who are all Catholics: they have their own magiſtrates and inferior tribunals.

About a mile from Delmont I ſtopped at Corrandelin, a ſmall village in the Catholic diſtrict of the valley of Munſter, in order to examine an iron foundery belonging to the biſhop. The ore is drawn from the valley of Delmont, near

the villages of Corou, Wick, Recolens, and Sepres; it is taken from the ground in ſmall pieces, ſeldom larger than the ſize of a pea. The director informed me, that it is uſually found in that ſtate, and very rarely in maſſes. The largeſt he ever remembered to have ſeen, was ten feet long, two thick, and two broad. He added, that the mountains in the neighbourhood abound with ore, which would yield conſiderable quantities of iron, if ſufficient charcoal could be procured for the ſmelting furnaces. As he was but lately appointed director, he could not give any accurate intelligence concerning the annual quantity of iron ſmelted in this foundery; but informed me, in general, that the different ores yielded altogether two thirds of pure mineral, the quality whereof was extremely fine, and ſcarcely inferior to the beſt ſort exported from Sweden.

Corrandelin, together with the villages of Chatillon, Roſſemaiſon, Vellerat, Courchappois, Corbaon, Mervellier, and Elay, though connected as to eccleſiaſtical affairs with the valley of Delmont, form that part of the valley of Munſter, which is called the *Catholic*, or *Lower* Diſtrict. It is denominated the *Catholic* Diſtrict, becauſe the inhabitants are excluſively of the Romiſh church; and *Lower* Diſtrict, becauſe it is ſituated *unter den felſen*, or *below* the ridge of rocks which ſeparate it from the *Upper*, or *Proteſtant* Diſtrict. But before I proceed further, it will be neceſſary to deſcribe the general diviſions of this valley, and the civil and religious immunities of the natives, that you may be enabled to comprehend its complicated topography, and its curious

curious political ſtate by which, though ſubject to the biſhop of Baſle, it is under the protection of the canton of Berne.

The valley of Munſter, or Moitier, extends from the valley of Delmont to Pierre Pertuis; and is included in that part of the biſhop's dominions which lie within the German empire. But, as the inhabitants have, for above three hundred years, been in alliance with Berne, and under the protection of that republic, the valley is conſidered by many authors as forming part of Switzerland. It is divided into two principal diſtricts; the *Catholic* or *Lower* Diſtrict, which lies at the extremity of the valley of Delmont, and compriſes the eight villages above-mentioned; the *Proteſtant* or *Upper* Diſtrict, which ſtretches from the chain of rocks near Corrandelin, to Pierre Pertuis, its ſouthern boundary; and containing, 1. The Greater Valley, or Valley of Tavannes; and 2. The Leſſer Valley, which is ſubdivided into Grand-Val, or the Great Valley, and the Little Valley, or the Valley of Sornetan.

The inhabitants of both diſtricts are comburghers with the canton of Berne. The firſt treaty of comburgherſhip was contracted in 1484. In that year, Berne and the biſhop of Baſle reſpectively ſupporting two candidates for the provoſtſhip of Munſter; the former marched an army into theſe parts, took poſſeſſion of the whole valley, and exacted homage from the inhabitants. Theſe diſputes being compromiſed at the treaty of Corrandelin, Berne reſtored the valley to the biſhop on the following conditions: that the inhabitants ſhould be maintained in all

their

their privileges; continue as comburghers with Berne, under the protection of that republic; remain neuter in case of a war between Berne and the bishop; and follow the standard of Berne, when the latter was engaged in hostilities against any other power. This treaty of comburghership, renewed at different intervals, has excited frequent disputes between Berne and the bishop, and particularly in 1705 and 1711 occasioned an open rupture. These disputes were finally adjusted at the pacification of Arau; when the bishop ratified the treaty of comburghership, confirmed all the rights and immunities of the inhabitants, and consented to the mediation and interference of Berne.

The affairs of religion excited for some time no less contest between the bishop and Berne than the treaty of comburghership. The reformation being adopted, in 1531, by a considerable number of the inhabitants in the valley of Munster, civil commotions ensued; Berne interfered in behalf of the Protestants, and the bishop protected the antient church establishment. It was at length, however, amicably settled between both parties; that the majority of each parish should freely decide, whether the inhabitants should profess the Roman catholic or the Reformed religion; and that the chapter of Munster should continue to receive the tythes, on condition of discharging the salaries of the Protestant ministers. In consequence of this rational compromise, the eight villages, which now form the *Lower* district, voted for the maintenance of the Catholic religion; and the parishes of the upper district for the Reformed church. Accordingly the two persuasions were

were respectively established in these two districts; the chapter retained its estates and tythes, but quitting Munster, where the new doctrines were admitted, retired first to Soleure, and afterwards settled at Delmont: but, as several Protestants and Catholics continued promiscuously to inhabit the two districts, disturbances were occasionally renewed. Nor were the religious differences entirely composed till the peace of Arau; which settled, that all the members of the two persuasions should be finally separated; that all the inhabitants of the *Upper* district, who then professed or should hereafter profess the Catholic religion, should retire to Elay; and that in the same manner the Protestants in the *Lower* district should remove to the *Upper* district. Since this period, the most perfect harmony has subsisted between them.

By virtue of the alliance with Berne, that republic annually deputes one of its magistrates to this valley for the purpose of inquiring if the civil and religious immunities have been preserved inviolate, and an ecclesiastic: the latter, called inspector of the churches in the valley of Munster, examines into the state of ecclesiastical discipline; and distributes among the inhabitants of the *Upper* district catechisms and psalters. Berne also approves the nomination of the ministers to the vacant benefices, some of whom are appointed and paid by the bishop, others by the chapters of Delmont and Bellelay; as the bishop or chapters possess the tythes in the respective parishes.

But to return from this digression.—Soon after quitting Corrandelin, I entered the *Protestant* district,

diſtrict, through a paſs between two rocks, which nearly approach each other, and juſt leave an opening ſufficient for the Birs and the road. This paſs leads into a narrow glen, about four miles in length, and in many places almoſt reſembling a ſubterraneous abyſs. The road winds by the ſide of the impetuous Birs, and at the bottom of two ranges of rocks: theſe rocks are of white limeſtone, of inacceſſible height; and though in moſt places abſolutely perpendicular, yet are agreeably feathered with trees, and particularly towards their ſummits, which over hang, and ſcarcely admit the light of the ſun. In the midſt of this glen is La Roche, the firſt Proteſtant village in the valley of Munſter; the houſes whereof ſtand on both ſides of the Birs, where the rocks recede a little, and preſent towards their bottoms a gentle ſlope.

On iſſuing from this glen, we entered a fertile plain encircled by hills, in the midſt of which is ſituated the village of Munſter or Moitier: it takes that appellation from the chapter of canons, who, upon the reformation, quitted this place of their reſidence and ſettled themſelves at Delmont.

About half a mile from Munſter we came into another glen, near three miles in length: it is called *Chaluet*, of a ſimilar nature with that which we traverſed between Corrandelin and the plain of Munſter, but ſtill wilder and more craggy, deeper and more obſcure. It is alſo divided by the Birs, which ruſhes through it with great impetuoſity; and is ſo narrow, that the road occupies the whole ſpace between the torrent and the mountain, and the wheels of our carriage frequently

quently on one ſide bruſhed the rock, and on the other ran cloſe to the precipice which overhangs the river. This cauſeway, over broken crags and ſteep precipices, does honour to the prince who carried it into execution. The following inſcription, which I obſerved near a bridge in the midſt of this obſcure glen, may perhaps ſeem exaggerated, to a perſon unacquainted with the natural impediments of the country; but to me, on the ſpot, appeared ſtrictly conſonant to truth.

Joſephus Gulielmus
En Rinchnis de Baldenſtein
Baſilienſium Epiſcopus Princeps
Viam Veteribus Incluſam
Rupibus et Clauſtris Montium Ruptis
Birſâ Pontibus Stratâ
Opere Romanis Digno
Aperuit.
Anno. D. M.D.CCLII.

Although in various parts of Switzerland I had frequently obſerved the juſtneſs of the remark, that in all deep vallies which interſect the mountains, the ſalient angles on one ſide alternately correſpond with the cavities on the other; and that parallel ſtrata of rock anſwer to each other, in all directions and at all heights; yet I never ſaw this fact more ſtrongly exemplified than in the two ridges of lime-ſtone that border this glen. They are of a ſtupendous height; and the ſtrata horizontal, inclined, or almoſt perpendicular on one ſide, are exactly ſimilar and of the ſame thickneſs on the other: a circumſtance,

which

which, joined to the correſponding ſituation of the angles, ſeems to prove, that they were formerly united, and have been either rent aſunder by ſome ſudden convulſion, or ſeparated by the gradual attrition of the waters.

At the extremity of the Chaluet we entered another plain, well cultivated, and agreeably ſpotted with villages; and arrived towards the cloſe of the evening at Molleray, where we paſſed the night. The people in theſe parts appear happy and contented, and are extremely induſtrious. The greateſt part are employed in agriculture; a few, encouraged by their neighbours of Locle and Chaux de Fond, have lately introduced ſeveral trades into theſe mountains; and Belleval, a ſmall neighbouring village, already contains five watchmakers.

From Molleray we continued along a fertile plain by the ſide of the Birs; through ſeveral pleaſant and well-looking villages, of which Tavannes, in German *Dachfeld*, is the largeſt. In about two miles we arrived at the extremity of the plain, which is cloſed by a rock, through which opens the celebrated paſs called *Pierre Pertuis*. At the bottom of this rock, the Birs burſts from the ground in ſeveral copious ſprings, and turns two mills within a few paces of its principal ſource.

Pierre Pertuis is a large arched aperture through a ſolid rock, about thirty feet long, forty-five broad, and thirty high in the loweſt part, which ſome aver to have been formed by nature, others by art. A Roman inſcription over the arch, extremely defaced, has given ſufficient employment to the ingenuity of antiquaries.

ries. Having ſeen ſeveral fac-ſimiles, greatly differing from each other, I copied it as exactly as the height would permit.

AVMINI AVGS
IM
CTA PER I
OV VM PATER.
IVI COL. HELV.

Of this inſcription many ſolutions have been attempted; but the moſt probable are the two following:

Numini Auguſtorum via facta per Titum dunnium Paternum n̄ *virum Colon Helvet.*—Others read, *per montem durvum Paternus.*

Both theſe ſolutions imply, that a road was formed through the mountain by Paternus, a duumvir, during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. From the latter explanation, *per montem durvum*, ſome antiquarians have endeavoured to prove, that he cut through the rock; and conſequently, that the arch is the work of art, not of nature: while others maintain, that it by no means follows, even from this reading, that the rock was pierced by order of Paternus; but merely that the road was carried through the rock*. Not to detain you, however, with fanciful conjectures, I ſhall only add, that on ex-

* The reader, who wiſhes to examine this ſubject with attention, is referred to Schæfflin's *Alſatia Illuſtrata*, and to a diſſertation on the ſubject publiſhed by Buxtorf.

amining

amining the inſcription with attention, the words which antiquarians have ſupplied, to ſupport their particular ſyſtems, are extremely doubtful; and that to me, who obſerved the arch without partiality or prejudice in favour of any hypotheſis, it appeared to have been originally a great cavern, either totally formed by nature, or if aſſiſted by art, that only a ſmall part of its ſouthern extremity was opened by the labour of men.

The ſouthern extremity of *Pierre Pertuis* leads into the valley of St. Imier, ſometimes called Enguel, which compriſes the biſhop's dominions lying in Switzerland. The inhabitants are Proteſtants, and are governed by a bailif appointed by the biſhop. He reſides at Courtelari; but his authority is exceedingly limited by the various privileges, both civil and religious, poſſeſſed by the natives. Their religious immunities, confirmed by the biſhop, are guarantied by the four Reformed cantons. The whole diſtrict lies within the Jura mountains; and is fertile in paſture. The inhabitants are induſtrious.

On arriving on the extremity of mount Jura, where it overlooks a wide extenſive country, a glorious proſpect burſts upon the view, commanding the undulating country fertiliſed by the Aar, backed by the majeſtic chain of Alps extending beyond the frontiers of Savoy. Deſcending gently into the plain with this glorious proſpect before us, and which was heightened by the luminous ſplendor of the mid-day ſun, we croſſed the Sure, and finiſhed our delightful expedition at Bienne.

From Pierre Pertuis to Bienne, a ſuperb cauſeway is carried along a continual deſcent for about ſix

ſix miles; it winds through thick foreſts, and overhangs the deep abyſs, in which the Sure, a turbid and impetuous torrent, precipitates its courſe, always roaring, and frequently unſeen, in its rocky channel.

LETTER

LETTER 19.

The Town of Bienne.

THE ſmall territory of Bienne, containing ſcarcely ſix thouſand inhabitants, lies between the lake and a chain of the Jura mountains: it is ſurrounded by the cantons of Berne and Soleure, the biſhopric of Baſle, and the principality of Neuchatel. The town is ſituated at the foot of the Jura, and at a little diſtance from the lake; which is here about nine miles in length, and four in breadth: the borders are pleaſing and pictureſque; and the town of Nidau forms a very beautiful object upon its eaſtern ſide.

The biſhop of Baſle is the ſovereign of this little ſtate: his power, formerly conſiderable, is at preſent exceedingly limited. Indeed the conſtitution of Bienne is of ſo very peculiar a nature, that I know not well by what name it can be diſtinguiſhed: it cannot properly be called either a limited monarchy, or an independent republic; it ſeems rather to be a mixed government, partaking ſomewhat of both.

The

The biſhop of Baſle receives, upon his promotion to the biſhopric, the homage of the citizens and militia of this town, with all the apparent ceremonials of the moſt abſolute ſubmiſſion; but at the ſame time, he confirms, in the ſtrongeſt manner, all their privileges and franchiſes. He is repreſented by a mayor of his own appointing, whoſe power and office conſiſt in convoking, and preſiding in, the Little Council, as the chief court of juſtice; in collecting the ſuffrages; and declaring the ſentence; but without giving any vote himſelf. And, although juſtice is carried on, and executed, in the name of the biſhop, yet neither that prince nor the mayor, has the prerogative of pardoning criminals, or of mitigating the ſentence. All cauſes, civil as well as criminal, are brought before this council in the firſt inſtance; and in more important proceedings, an appeal lies to the Sovereign Council: in both caſes, each party chooſes a member of the council to act as his advocate; which office he is obliged to diſcharge without fee or recompence.

The ſovereign's revenue amounts only to about £. 300 a year: but, mean as his civil liſt is, it is ſtill more conſiderable than his power; for he does not poſſeſs the leaſt ſhare of the adminiſtration. The legiſlative authority reſides in the Great and Little Councils combined: the former conſiſts of forty members; and the latter, in which the executive power is veſted, is compoſed of twenty-four; the members of each muſt be married men. Both theſe councils elect their reſpective members; and ſo far the conſtitution is entirely ariſtocratical. The burgomaſter is chief

of

of the regency; is chosen by the two councils; and presides at their meetings. He continues in office during life; in which, however, he, as well as the several magistrates, must be confirmed annually by the two councils. The salaries annexed to these posts are exceedingly moderate: and, indeed, the general expences of government are so very small, that, in proportion to them, its revenues may well be considered as abundantly ample.

It appears, therefore, that this Protestant republic, notwithstanding the sovereignty of its Catholic bishop, enjoys in the fullest extent the power of imposing taxes, contracting alliances, declaring war and peace; and in short, of exercising every other act of absolute and independent legislation. This singular constitution is guarantied by Berne, Friburgh, and Soleure, with whom the town is closely allied; in consequence of which, it becomes a member of the Helvetic Confederacy. And, what is somewhat remarkable, this alliance between those cantons and the town of Bienne, is of a superior nature to that of the same cantons with the bishop of Basle: for the town enjoys the right of sending deputies to every general diet, ordinary and extraordinary; whereas the bishop does not possess the same privilege.

The language of the country is a kind of provincial German; but, as the territory borders upon the principality of Neuchatel, the inhabitants speak also a kind of corrupted French. They are a very active and industrious people: several manufactures are established in the town, which, considering its size, carries on a tolerable trade.

I have

I have often had occasion to observe, that the common people of Switzerland are far more intelligent than the same rank of men in any other country. Accordingly, I invited last night my landlord of the Crown inn to sup with me; and found him by no means disposed to be a silent guest. He gave me a long account of the late ceremony, when the citizens did homage to their new bishop. I was pleased to hear him expatiate, with all the enthusiasm of national pride, upon the beauty and grandeur of the scene; the magnificence of the procession; the number of spectators, as well strangers as natives, who were assembled; together with the entertainments and balls that were given upon that occasion. By the lofty terms in which he spoke of this procession, you would have imagined, at least, that he had been describing the coronation of the emperor of Germany, or the king of France: and, in truth, to an inhabitant of Bienne, whose government is administered without the least degree of external pomp, and where luxury has as yet made but little progress, the ceremony must have appeared a very striking spectacle. My host's narrative recalled to my remembrance the accounts of those ancient feudal sovereignties, when the great vassals of the crown did homage to their liege lord; and, while in *terms* they promised him unlimited obedience, maintained, in *fact*, every essential of their independence.

I have just been amusing myself in some pleasant walks, that lie by the side of the lake, which is here prettily skirted with country houses. In my way I passed over a plain between the town and the lake, which the Sovereign Council, by a

kind of agrarian law that does honour to the legiſtature, lately allotted, in diſtinct portions, to each burgher, for his own particular uſe: it is entirely laid out in little kitchen-gardens. The general government, indeed, of this miniature ſtate, is well adminiſtered. It has lately adopted the liberal policy of conferring the burgherſhip at an eaſy rate: a wiſe regulation, which cannot fail of increaſing the population of the town, and extending its commerce.

I know your ſentiments much too well, my dear ſir, to apologize for calling your attention in the preſent inſtance, as in ſome others, to theſe diminutive commonwealths. The various modifications of government, into which civil ſociety is divided, is a ſpeculation that will always afford matter both of entertainment and reflection, to a philoſophic mind: and I am perſuaded, that you conſider the meaneſt ſpot of this globe conſecrated by liberty, to be an object worthy, not only of your curioſity, but your veneration.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 20.

The Town and Canton of Soleure—Detail of the Government — Antient and New Burghers — Aſſembly of the Roſengarten.

THE direct road from Baſle to Soleure lies through the midſt of the Jura mountains, along the romantic vale of Balſtal, remarkable for its richneſs and fertility: and though the country is in general exceedingly rocky, yet in many places it is highly cultivated.

The road from Bienne to Soleure traverſes a well-cultivated valley, watered by the Aar, at the foot of a piked ridge, which forms a branch of mount Jura; its ſides, from the bottom to the ſummit, are ſo embrowned with overhanging foreſts of pine and fir, as to exhibit only occaſional intervals of naked rock, remains of torrents, and a few ſolitary ſpecks of paſture, and are ſo ſteep as, within the extent of five leagues, ſcarcely to exhibit the appearance of a ſingle

houſe, or a trace of the ſlighteſt foot-way. Near Soleure this chain of the Jura, called *Weiſſenſtein*, abruptly diminiſhes in height, becomes gradually ſloping, and is checkered to its very ſummit with fields of corn and paſture.

Soleure is pleaſantly ſituated upon the Aar, which here expands its banks and opens into a fine and broad river. I will not exert the privilege of a traveller, and tell you, what ſome extravagant antiquarians do not ſcruple to aſſert, that Soleure was built by the patriarch Abraham; but you will have no difficulty, perhaps, in believing what others maintain, that it was one of the twelve towns which were deſtroyed upon the emigration of the original inhabitants into Gaul. But at what time, and upon what occaſion its deſtruction happened; it appears probable, from a great number of inſcriptions, medals, and other antiquities, which have been found in the neighbourhood, that it was re-peopled by a Roman colony; and it certainly was a Roman fortification, as its antient appellation, *Caſtrum Salodurenſe*, neceſſarily implies.

Little more of its hiſtory is known, during that period of ignorance and barbariſm which ſucceeded the downfal of the Roman empire, than that it was ſacked and deſtroyed by thoſe northern nations, who over-ran the greateſt part of Europe. From the time of its re-eſtabliſhment, until its admiſſion into the Helvetic Confederacy in 1481, its ſtate was ſimilar to that of many other imperial towns, which acquired a gradual acceſſion of territory, and after various ſtruggles finally

finally ſecured to themſelves an abſolute independence.

Soleure is a ſmall but extremely neat town, and is ſurrounded by regular ſtone fortifications, erected in the beginning of the preſent century; theſe walls incloſe a circumference of ſcarcely more than fifty ſquare acres, and, including the ſuburbs, contain about four thouſand ſouls. Among the moſt remarkable objects of curioſity in the town is the new church of St. Urs, which was begun in 1762, and finiſhed in 1772. It is a noble edifice, of whitiſh-grey ſtone, drawn from the neighbouring quarries, which admits a poliſh, and is a ſpecies of rude marble. The lower part of the building is of the Corinthian, the upper of the Compoſite order: the façade, which conſiſts of a portico, ſurmounted by an elegant tower, preſents itſelf finely at the extremity of the principal ſtreet. Pizoni was the architect, and the expence amounted to at leaſt £.80,000; a conſiderable ſum for ſo ſmall a republic, whoſe revenues ſcarcely ſurpaſs £.12000 *per annum*. The interior is ſimple yet elegant, and decorated with a few modern paintings of inconſiderable merit; of which the moſt eſteemed is the laſt ſupper, by Corvi, a Roman artiſt. A picture by Rubens and his ſcholars, in the church of the Cordeliers, and one by Le Sueur, in that of the Capuchins, deſerve perhaps to be noticed by the traveller, who is fond of the fine arts. The town-houſe is not in itſelf worthy of obſervation, but is mentioned only as being the place of meeting for the Great Council and Senate.

The public priſon, newly conſtructed, is a ſolid edifice of ſtone, and is well adapted to the purpoſe

poſe of the building; the priſoners being confined in ſeparate cells. Although the penal laws are ſevere in theory, yet the judicial ſentences, in criminal affairs, are ſo remarkably mild, that a priſoner, on his acquittal, wrote the following inſcription on the wall of his cell: "He who is "inclined to rob, and eſcape hanging, let him "rob in the canton of Soleure."

The public library deſerves to be mentioned, not for the number or rarity of the volumes, but for the literary zeal of the Abbé Herman, canon of the cathedral, to whom it owes its origin. On my firſt viſit to this town, in 1776, there was no public collection of books; but a few years ago that ingenious eccleſiaſtic amaſſed about four hundred volumes from his own and his friends ſtock, obtained from government an apartment in the town-houſe, where he depoſited them, and requeſted to be appointed librarian, but without a ſalary. His petition being granted, he continued to augment his little collection; and from this ſmall beginning has increaſed it already to eleven thouſand books, among which are above a hundred and fifty printed in the fifteenth century. At the two extremities of the room are inſcribed the names of the benefactors to this library. As yet there is no fund eſtabliſhed for the ſupport or augmentation of this collection.

The Abbé has alſo begun to form a cabinet of medals; which, though at preſent extremely ſmall, will increaſe like the library. He pointed out to me a very rare medal, that was diſcovered in digging the foundation for the new cathedral. It is in bronze, of the middle ſize. On one ſide is the head of Septimius Severus, with the following

ing inſcription, *L. Septimius Severus Pius Aug. P. M. Tr. P. xviii. Coſ. iii. P. P.* On the reverſe, a figure ſitting, before it a prow of a ſhip, and a genius or little boy. Great merit is due to the Abbé for having given birth to this collection, at firſt alone and unſupported, and in ſo diſintereſted a manner, as his income does not exceed £. 60 *per annum*; and in a town where literature is not much encouraged. This learned eccleſiaſtic is now employed in writing an account of Soleure at the period of the Reformation; and is collecting ample materials for a complete hiſtory of the canton.

With reſpect to natural hiſtory, the only cabinet in the town is that formed by Senator Wallier: it is a ſmall collection, but well choſen, and particularly intereſting to the naturaliſt who travels into theſe parts, becauſe the ingenious collector has chiefly confined himſelf to the minerals and petrifactions of the canton.

The circumjacent country is exceedingly pleaſing and diverſified, and exhibits ſeveral points of view, which are as agreeable as wild, and as pleaſing as romantic. Among theſe we were particularly ſtruck with the ſituation of the hermitage called des Croix, about half a mile from the town, near the ſtone quarry: it is a moſt agreeeable receſs at the extremity of a ſmall wood, and between two ridges of bare perpendicular rocks, watered by a lively ſtream; one extremity is cloſed by a ſmall wood, and the other opens into fertile grounds backed by the dark Jura. Among the villas, in the environs, remarkable for their poſition, may be mentioned Ricaberg,

built

built by Mr. de Vigur ; it ſtands at the bottom of a gentle hill, declining towards the winding Aar, and commands a view of Soleure, half hid by the intervening trees ; and Bleikenberg, belonging to Major de Roll, ſituated amid waving grounds divided into encloſures, ſimilar to the fertile counties of England ; the dark Jura riſing like the highlands of Scotland ; and at a diſtance the ſublime alps, which characteriſe this romantic country.

The canton of Soleure, which holds the eleventh rank in the Helvetic Confederacy, ſtretches partly through the plain, and partly along the chains of the Jura, and contains about 50,000 ſouls, including the inhabitants of the capital. The ſoil is, for the moſt part, exceedingly fertile in corn, and thoſe diſtricts which lie within the Jura, abound in excellent paſtures. The trade, both of the town and of the canton, is of little value, although they are very commodiouſly ſituated for an extenſive commerce. It is divided into eleven diſtricts or bailliages, called Interior and Exterior ; the former are governed by bailifs, who are ſenators, and remain in the towns : the latter, by bailifs drawn from the members of the Great Council, who reſide in their bailliages.

The following is a liſt of the bailliages, with their average annual value ; the firſt four are interior, the remainder exterior.

Buckegberg	£. 166	Beckburgh	£. 750
Kriegſetten -	146	Goeſgen -	500
Laeberen, or Grenche -	83	Olten - -	333
Flamenthal -	62	Dorneck -	834
Falkenſtein -	546	Tierſtein -	417
		Gilgenberg. -	375

Buckegberg

The inhabitants of the canton are Catholics, excepting thoſe in the bailliage of Buckegberg, who profeſs the Reformed religion. In ſpiritual affairs, the Catholics depend on three biſhops : the greateſt part of the capital, the bailliages of Laeberen and Flamenthal, are in the dioceſe of the biſhop of Lauſanne, reſident at Friburgh; the remainder of the capital, the bailliage of Kriegſtetten, and the villages in the bailliage of Olten, in that of the biſhop of Conſtance ; while the other bailliages, and the town of Olten, depend on the biſhop of Baſle. But neither of theſe biſhops can iſſue any ordinance, or even viſit their dioceſes, without the approbation of the Senate. There are two chapters in this canton ; one at Soleure, founded, in 930, by Queen Bertha, widow of Rhodolph II. King of Burgundy, is compoſed of a provoſt, whoſe ſalary amounts to £. 360 *per annum* ; and of eleven canons, each of whom enjoy a revenue of £.160. The provoſt is choſen by the Senate, and the canons are appointed alternately by the Pope and Senate. The other chapter, of Schœnenwerth, founded by the antient counts of Falkenſtein, conſiſts of a provoſt and five canons, nominated by the Senate. The annual ſalary of the provoſt is £.125, and of each canon £.100. There are alſo one abbey of Benedictines, four convents, and three nunneries :

ries: the revenues of theſe religious houſes amount to £.2,250.

The principal charitable inſtitutions are, an hoſpital at Soleure, and another at Olten, for the reception of burghers, ſubjects, and foreigners; the foundation of Thurigan, for old perſons of both ſexes, belonging to the burgherſhip; a foundling hoſpital for orphans, and for children of poor burghers; and the hoſpital of St. Catharine, for the inſane and incurables.

The only perſons in the canton of Soleure, who profeſs the Reformed religion, are thoſe who inhabit the bailliage of Buckegberg. In eccleſiaſtical affairs, the inhabitants, though ſubject to Soleure, are under the protection of Berne. Formerly this complication of political and religious intereſts created frequent miſunderſtandings between the two cantons, but matters were amicably and finally adjuſted, on the 18th of November 1681, at the treaty of Winingen. The inhabitants take the oath of fidelity, every third year, to the government of Soleure; but if aggrieved in their religious eſtabliſhment, can have recourſe to Berne. The Senate of Berne nominates to the vacant benefices, but the prieſts are under the neceſſity of obtaining the confirmation of the chapter of Soleure. A deputy from Berne preſents the new miniſter to his pariſhioners; but the bailif is obliged to be preſent at this ceremony, as deputy from the republic of Soleure. Berne enjoys alſo ſupreme juriſdiction in criminal affairs. If a criminal is arreſted for any capital offence, he is tried by the bailif of Buckegberg, and the jury of the bailliage: and, if condemned to death, he is delivered for execution

cution to Berne, provided that republic defrays the expence of the trial. Soleure enjoys all the other rights of ſovereignty; ſuch as the power of levying taxes, appeals in the laſt reſort; and even decides all matrimonial and eccleſiaſtical concerns, with this proviſo, that the deciſion ſhall be regulated according to the articles of the treaty of Winingen. Among the natives in the canton, ſeveral inhabiting the bailliages of Thierſtein and Gildenberg were ſerfs, but, in 1785, their ſervitude, ſo contrary to the principles of that equal liberty which pervades this country, was aboliſhed, to the honour of the preſent government.

The canton furniſhes France with two companies for the Swiſs guards, and ſeveral companies in the different marching regiments, according to the capitulation concluded between the king of France and the Catholic cantons, and their co-allies, in 1764, for the term of twenty-five years. It has alſo a regiment in the Spaniſh ſervice; of which the colonel and the companies of fuſileers can be filled only by the *antient* burghers.

With reſpect to the militia of the canton, all the ſubjects, from the age of fifteen to that of ſixty, are enrolled into ſix regiments, forming altogether about 8000 men, excluſive of 240 dragoons, and the corps artillery, amounting to 600 men. The colonel of each regiment is always a ſenator, and the major of a member of the Great council, who is uſually an officer retired from foreign ſervice; the captains are either members of the Great Council or *antient* burghers; the firſt lieutenants are uſually *antient* burghers,

burghers, while the rank of ſecond lieutenants and enſigns is uſually filled by the principal peaſants.

The militia are aſſembled and reviewed in May and September; and in the ſpring and autumn are exerciſed in their reſpective villages by the under-lieutentants and enſigns. According to a plan of defence, regulated in 1668, between the members of the Helvetic Confederacy, the canton of Soleure is bound to furniſh 600 for its firſt contingency; for this ſupply 100 men, together with officers, are annually ſelected from each of the ſix regiments, who are to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. In caſe of neceſſity, this contingency may be doubled or tripled in the ſame manner. The burghers are incorporated in the company of fuſileers, and exerciſe themſelves on Sundays and ſaints days, after divine ſervice, by ſhooting at marks: government furniſhes powder and ball, and diſtributes prizes to the beſt markſmen. The remaining inhabitants of the capital and environs, who are not burghers, form a ſeparate body, cammanded by the captain of the town: they are alſo occaſionally exerciſed, and mount guard on the day of St. John the Baptiſt, when the *Roſengarten*, or the general meeting of the burghers, is aſſembled.

The ſovereign power reſides in the Great Council, which, comprizing the Senate or Little Council of thirty-ſix, conſiſts of a hundred and two members, choſen by the Senate, in equal proportions, from the eleven tribes or companies into which the *antient* burghers are diſtributed: and in all inſtances the new member is taken from

from the company to which the laſt member belonged.

The prerogatives of the Great Council are, to enact and abrogate laws; to explain any obſcure parts of the conſtitution; and even make alterations in the form of government, ſhould the circumſtances require it; to levy taxes; to declare war and conclude peace; to contract alliances; to receive appeals in criminal cauſes from the burghers of the capital; and in civil proceſſes, above the ſum of 100 Swiſs livres, or £. 6. 3s.; to confer the *new* burgherſhip; to elect the treaſurer or the fourth chief of the republic, from the antient eleven ſenators; to nominate to the ſeven exterior bailliages, and to the four Italian governments of Lugano, Lucano, Mendriſio, and Vulmaggia, when the turn of appointing to thoſe governments belongs to Soleure; to chooſe the deputies for the diet of Frauenfield, and thoſe for any extraordinary meetings of the Helvetic Confederacy; though in both theſe caſes it is the cuſtom to appoint a ſenator, and uſually either of the four chiefs, the reigning advoyer excepted, who is not permitted to be abſent during the year of his adminiſtration.

There are generally a few ſupernumerary members in the Great Council, which circumſtance proceeds from the method of appointing the bailifs. On the nomination of a bailif, his ſeat in the Great Council being eſteemed vacant, is on the next day filled up by a member of the ſame company in which he is inſcribed. At the concluſion of his bailliage he again takes his ſeat, preſerving his antient rank, though conſidered as a ſupernumerary, until one of the ſix members of his

his tribe makes a vacancy. The qualifications for a reception into the Great Council are, that the candidate ſhall be twenty years of age, an *antient* burgher, and member of the ſame tribe in which the vacancy happens: and with reſpect to the laſt-mentioned qualification, it is neceſſary that the candidate, if inſcribed in a company different from that of his father, muſt, according to a decree paſſed in 1764, have been a member of that company during a full year.

The Great Council aſſembles ordinarily once every month; and extraordinarily, on being convened by the Senate.

The Senate, or Little Council, a conſtituent part of the Great Council, is compoſed of the two advoyers or chiefs of the republic, who annually alternate; the chancellor or ſecretary of ſtate, who has no vote either in the Senate or Great Council; and thirty-three ſenators drawn from the remaining ſixty-ſix members of the Great Council, in equal proportion from the eleven tribes. The appointment and annual confirmation of the advoyers and banneret by the aſſembly of burghers, as well as the confirmation of the ſenators and members of the Great Council, in their ſeveral charges, will be hereafter deſcribed, under the article of *Roſengarten*.

The thirty-three ſenators who, in conjunction with the two advoyers and chancellor, form the Senate, are divided into eleven ſeniors, and twenty-two juniors. From the eleven ſeniors the four principal magiſtrates are always choſen, the two advoyers, the banneret, and treaſurer. Upon a vacancy among the eleven, the right of election, though ſaid to reſide in the twenty-three juniors,

juniors, is always exerciſed according to ſeniority: the moſt antient in rank among the three junior counſellors, who are of the ſame tribe to which the late member belonged, preſents himſelf of courſe, and is immediately appointed, or rather confirmed, by the twenty-three juniors. Upon the death or promotion of one among the latter, his place is immediately filled up by the two advoyers and eleven ſeniors.

The Senate is entruſted with the executive power, and with the care of the police; has ſupreme and final juriſdiction in all criminal cauſes, thoſe only excepted in which a burgher of the capital is concerned, who may appeal from their deciſion to the Great Council; and gives judgment in all civil proceſſes not exceeding the value of a hundred Swiſs livres.

The Senate convokes the Great Council; examines and digeſts all affairs before they are laid before that ſupreme aſſembly; fills up the vacant places therein; and in their own body; either directly or indirectly, nominates to almoſt all the important charges of the republic; appoints to the principal eccleſiaſtical benefices; receives all appeals, in the firſt inſtance, from the inferior courts of juſtice; judges all civil cauſes in the laſt reſort, whoſe value does not exceed a certain ſum; has ſupreme and final juriſdiction over all criminal affairs, excepting thoſe which concern the burghers of the capital.

The qualifications of a ſenator are, that he ſhall be twenty-four years of age, a member of the Great Council, and drawn from the ſame company to which the laſt ſenator belonged. This body aſſembles three times in the week, and extraordinarily,

traordinarily, as often as occaſion requires; and it is convoked by the reigning advoyer. The ſalaries of the ſenators are as follows;

The reigning advoyer, about —	£. 363	
The advoyer out of office —	137	10
Senior ſenator — —	46	
Chancellor — — —	208	
Attorney General, including his ſalary of ſenator — —	100	
Junior ſenator — —	37	10

Government draws its principal revenues, which do not amount to more than £. 12,500 *per ann.* from the following ſources. 1. A tax, called the tax on fortifications; laid on the funds of the tribes and monaſteries in the town, and on thoſe of pariſhes in the bailliages. 2. Tythes, and *rentes foncieres* belonging to the ſtate. 3. Tolls. 4. Exciſe on wine. 5. Intereſt of money placed out in the canton and in foreign countries. 6. Monopoly of ſalt. 7. Revenues from the bailliages. 8. Subſidy from France; about £. 1108. 9. Sundry ſmall ſources, ſuch as demeſnes, eſtates, ſalaries of vacant benefices, &c.

The principal departments of government are, 1. The tribunals; which compriſe the inferior courts of juſtice, and the Secret Council, conſiſting of ſeven members, namely, the two advoyers, the banneret, the treaſurer, the firſt ſenior ſenator, the chancellor, and the attorney-general; in caſe any of theſe perſons ſhould be abſent, their places are ſupplied by the antient ſenators, according to ſeniority. 2. The boards of war. 3. Of

3. Of thoſe rights, called *droits regaliens*. 4. For finances, agriculture, and public buildings. 5. For the police. 6. For eccleſiaſtical affairs, charitable inſtitutions, and ſchools.

The burghers of Soleure are divided into *antient* and *new*; the former of whom are alone capable of being elected members of the Great Council, or of enjoying any ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. The origin of this diſtinction is to be dated from the year 1681, from the following cauſes. Several foreign families, which ſettled at Soleure and obtained the right of burgherſhip, being admitted into the Great Council, gave umbrage to thoſe antient and illuſtrious families, whoſe anceſtors had, by their valour and prudence, laid the foundation of the republic. In order to prevent the further participation of honours and emoluments, to which they conceived themſelves ſolely entitled, the Great Council iſſued an edict, in 1681, that thoſe families only, which at that epoch enjoyed the rights of the burgherſhip, ſhould be excluſively qualified to hold any office of government; and that for the future, no perſon ſhould be admitted to that right, until the families then exiſting ſhould be reduced to twenty-five. It was at the ſame time enacted, that theſe families and their deſcendants ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the name of *antient* burghers, and that thoſe, who from that period ſhould be received into the burgherſhip, ſhould be called *new* burghers. It was alſo added, that any burgher who ſhould make any propoſition contrary to this law, ſhould be baniſhed from the canton, and that his goods ſhould be confiſcated.

Beſide the excluſive privilege of being entitled to any office of government, the *antient* burghers enjoy alſo the right of being ſolely appointed canons in the chapters of Soleure and Schœnenworth, and of holding any eccleſiaſtical benefice in the gift of the Senate. But as there are at preſent a great deficiency of clergymen among the *antient* burghers, it will probably ſoon be thought neceſſary to diſpenſe with the law on this article, and to permit the *new* burghers, and every ſubject of the canton, to be candidates for vacant livings.

There are about eighty-five families who poſſeſs the right of *antient* burgherſhip, and of theſe, about thirty-four of the moſt illuſtrious, ſupply the members of the Great Council, and fill all the various departments of government.

The rights of the *new* burghers conſiſt in nominating and annually confirming the advoyer, the banneret, and *grand ſautier*, or lieutenant of the police; but, as they always chooſe thoſe perſons, who are ſelected by the Senate, as they exerciſe this privilege in conjunction with the *antient* burghers, and as, by the edict of 1681, they muſt retire from the aſſembly in caſe there ſhould be any difficulty or oppoſition; this right of election may be conſidered as little more than a mere formality. In all other inſtances, excepting in thoſe concerns which relate to government, the *new* burghers enjoy the ſame privilege as the *antient* burghers; ſuch as freedom of trade and commerce; of being proprietors of houſes and land in the capital and its diſtrict. They are alſo entitled to hold ſuch eccleſiaſtical benefices as are in the gift of the chapters and of individuals.

The

The burghers, both *antient* and *new*, are diſtributed into eleven tribes or companies, each whereof furniſhes three ſenators and ſix members of the Great Council. Every perſon may chooſe the company into which he inſcribes his name; but having once inſcribed himſelf, he cannot change it. For the purpoſe of obtaining a place as ſoon as poſſible in the government, a young noble ſelects that company in which there is ſoon likely to be a vacancy; but if he fixes upon one different from that in which his father is incorporated, he muſt have been received a member during a whole year, before he can be a candidate for admiſſion into the Great Council.

The general aſſembly of *antient* and *new* burghers, called *Roſengarten*, which meets on St. John the Baptiſt's day, for the purpoſe of electing or confirming the charges of advoyer, banneret, and *grand ſautier*, is a ceremony which deſerves to be deſcribed for its ſingularity; particularly as it will alſo convey to you ſome idea of thoſe annual elections, or rather confirmations, of the principal officers, which take place in moſt of theſe ariſtocratical ſtates.

This aſſembly is held in the church of the Cordeliers, and is denominated *Roſengarten*, or Garden of Roſes; either becauſe a noſegay of flowers, which every burgher carries in his hand, was formerly compoſed of roſes; or, as others pretend, becauſe this meeting uſed to be convened in the garden of the Cordeliers, which is ſaid to have been called the Garden of Roſes. But, inſtead of ſearching into fanciful etymologies, I haſten to deſcribe what paſſes in this annual meeting.

About ſix in the morning, the advoyer out of office, the ſenators, members of the Great Council, and the *antient* and *new* burghers, aſſemble in their reſpective companies. After the repetition of certain ſignals, the reigning advoyer, accompanied by the chancellor, the ſecretary of the finances, and ſeveral other officers of ſtate, repair, with drums beating and trumpets ſounding, from the town-houſe to the church of the Cordeliers; where, after preſenting his offering upon the altar of the Virgin, he ſeats himſelf on a throne, which is placed near the altar. Soon afterwards the ſenators and remaining members of the Great Council make their appearance at the head of their reſpective tribes; and having preſented their offerings, keep the ſame rank and ſtations, which they maintained on entering the church; the advoyer out of office excepted, who places himſelf near his colleague on the throne. At the concluſion of maſs accompanied with muſic, all but the burghers retire, and the doors of the church are cloſed. The advoyer riſing up, with his ſcepter in his hand, pronounces an harangue; then delivering up the ſcepter and ſeals, reſigns his dignity, and receives the thanks of the aſſembly, by the mouth of the attorney general, for his zeal and attention during the year of his government. Next follow, in the ſame manner, the reſignations of the banneret and of the attorney general; the former of whom is thanked, in the name of the aſſembly, by the attorney general, and the latter by the advoyer who has juſt reſigned.

This ceremony being finiſhed, the two advoyers, bannerets, attorney general, and antient ſenators,

ſenators, retire from the choir to another part of the church; and the chancellor ſummoning the junior ſenators into the choir, reads over the name of each ancient ſenator, and of the attorney general, and demands, if the junior ſenators are pleaſed to confirm them in their charges for another year. This being obtained, the chancellor and junior ſenators repair to the aſſembly in the body of the church, where the chancellor reads over the names of the ſenior ſenators and attorney general confirmed by the juniors, and demands the approbation of the whole aſſembly of burghers. Upon this the advoyer who has juſt reſigned, and all the ſenators, except the advoyer out of office and the banneret, come into the church, and take their reſpective oaths. The chancellor then acquainting the aſſembly, that they muſt proceed to the election of the reigning advoyer; the advoyer, who has juſt reſigned, propoſes his colleague: the officer of ſtate, called *Grand Sautier*, cries out, "Let all thoſe who chooſe to elect the right noble A. B. the reigning advoyer, hold up their hands under oath;" and immediately informing the advoyer of his election, the latter comes into the church, takes the oath from the chancellor, and receives the oath from the *Grand Sautier*. The election of the banneret is made in the ſame manner: the ſame perſon, who had juſt reſigned his office, being propoſed to the aſſembly by the reigning advoyer, and accepted, gives his hand to the reigning advoyer, as he never takes the oath but in time of war. The *grand ſautier* then retiring, is propoſed and recommended by the reigning advoyer, and re-entering the church, he alſo takes the oath to government.

At

At the end of theſe elections, ſeveral decrees of the Great Council are read, and particularly that which relates to the right of *antient* burgherſhip, and the election of the advoyer, banneret, and *grand ſautier*; by which it is enacted, that in caſe any oppoſition ſhould be made to the regular order of appointment, the *new* burgher ſhall retire from the aſſembly, and the election be veſted ſolely in the *antient* burghers.

The ſame magiſtrates are always re-elected or confirmed in their ſeveral places: the advoyer out of office is appointed reigning advoyer; on the death of either of the advoyers, the banneret is of courſe appointed to the vacant office, and is ſucceeded by the treaſurer, only undergoing the formality of a nomination.

At the concluſion of this ceremony, the doors of the church are thrown open; the reigning advoyer, at the head of the Senate, paſſes through two lines of troops under arms to the town-houſe, where the firſt magiſtrate and the antient ſenators confirm the junior ſenators; after which he returns to his own houſe, accompanied by the Senate and members of the Great Council, and is complimented, firſt by the banneret, and afterwards by the chancellor.

From the conſideration of this detail we may conclude, that thoſe authors have erred who call the government of Soleure ariſto-democratical, for it is certainly a moſt complete ariſtocracy: inaſmuch as the ſupreme government reſides in the Great Council, the members whereof are excluſively taken from the *antient* burghers; as there are only eighty-one families which enjoy that right,

right, and no more can be added until they are reduced to twenty-ſiv; as of theſe ſcarcely more than thirty enjoy any ſhare in the government; and laſtly, as the election and annual confirmation of the principal magiſtrates is confined to the *antient* burghers, in caſe there ſhould be any oppoſition in the general aſſembly called Roſengarten. The government, however, under whatſoever title it may be claſſed, is mild and equitable; and the people are tranquil and contented.

LETTER

LETTER 21.

Treaties with France — Reflections on Foreign Service.

THE French embaſſador to the Helvetic body reſides in Soleure, and diſtributes thoſe annual penſions which the king his maſter has ſtipulated by treaty to pay to the Catholic cantons. Louis the Eleventh was the firſt French monarch who employed Swiſs troops; and granted ſubſidies to ſtates, which have ſince been conſiderably augmented by his ſucceſſors. The perpetual alliance which Francis the Firſt concluded with the Swiſs cantons, ſoon after the battle of Marignano, is conſidered as the baſis of every ſubſequent treaty between the two contracting powers. Several of that king's ſucceſſors derived conſiderable advantages from the Swiſs infantry in their ſervice: they aided Henry the Fourth in eſtabliſhing himſelf upon the throne of his anceſtors; and aſſiſted both Louis the Thirteenth and his ſon, in the ſeveral wars in which they were engaged. No troops indeed have ever been

been more juſtly diſtinguiſhed for their fidelity, valour, and excellent diſcipline.

The general alliance between France and the whole Helvetic union, ratified by Louis the Fourteenth in 1663, was to remain in force during the joint lives of that monarch, and his ſon the dauphin, and for eight years after the death of either. Towards the end of his reign, when Louis, on account of his ſon's death, propoſed to renew the treaty in his and his ſucceſſor's name, the Proteſtant cantons refuſed their conſent: and it was concluded only with the Catholic cantons, and the republic of the Vallais.

This alliance differed from the former treaties in the following very eſſential articles: It ſtipulated that, in caſe the kingdom of France ſhould be invaded, the contracting republics ſhould permit an additional levy to be raiſed at his majeſty's expence, not exceeding ſixteen thouſand men; that in caſe the Helvetic body, or any particular canton, ſhould be attacked by a foreign power, the king engaged to aſſiſt them with as many forces as ſhould be judged neceſſary; and finally, that if any diſſentions ſhould ariſe between the contracting cantons, his majeſty ſhould, at the requeſt of the aggrieved party, try all gentle methods of effecting a reconciliation; but if theſe ſhould fail, the king agreed, both in his own name, and in that of his ſucceſſor, to compel the aggreſſor to abide by the treaties concluded between the cantons and their allies. This laſt article, as it ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to authorize the interference of the king of France with the politics of Switzerland, appeared

deared dangerous to many of the Swiſs, and inconſiſtent with that abſolute independence, which they had hitherto prized above all other advantages.

France having long in vain attempted to perſuade the Proteſtant cantons to accede to the alliance, in order that a general treaty with the whole Helvetic body might be renewed, at length, after much oppoſition and repeated negociations, ſucceeded in effecting the meaſure. This important league was concluded at Soleure in May 1777, between the king of France on one ſide, and the thirteen cantons and their allies on the other, to continue in force during fifty years. By this treaty it is agreed, that if the kingdom of France ſhould be invaded, the cantons and their allies ſhall furniſh an additional levy of ſix thouſand men; and if the cantons, or any of their allies, ſhould be attacked, the king, if required, engages to furniſh them, at his own expence, with ſuch ſuccours as may be deemed neceſſary.

That article of the treaty with the Catholic cantons in 1715, which related to the mediation of the king, in caſe any diſputes ſhould ariſe between the thirteen cantons, is very properly and wiſely omitted.

Before this alliance, none of the Proteſtant ſtates received any penſions from France: but by the ſixteenth article, the Proteſtants of Glarus and Appenzel, and the town of Bienne, have agreed to accept *les argents de paix et d'alliance*, as theſe ſubſidies are here called. The acceptance of penſions derogates greatly from that ſpirit of abſolute independence, which all the Proteſtant

Proteſtant cantons and ſtates of Switzerland have hitherto affected to profeſs; and it would have reflected much greater honour on the Swiſs nation, if the whole body had imitated Zuric, Berne, Baſle, and Schaffhauſen, in forming the league upon terms of perfect equality, and rejecting the proffered penſions, which give an air of venality to their treaties with France.

It has long been a controverted queſtion, whether Switzerland gains or loſes by furniſhing, according to the tenor of her alliance with France, Sardinia, Naples, and Holland, ſuch numbers of her natives to ſerve in foreign armies. That the fidelity of theſe troops is ſo well recogniſed, as to be choſen to be the life-guards of ſeveral ſovereigns, is a circumſtance which undoubtedly redounds much to the honour of the national character: but, on the other hand, to traffic with the blood of ſubjects, and, for paltry ſubſidies, to fight the battle of any king, in any cauſe, ſeems to betray a mercenary ſpirit, uncontrouled by conſiderations of juſtice and humanity. It has been urged, that if Switzerland did not furniſh theſe ſupplies to foreign nations, ſhe would be over-ſtocked with inhabitants; and that the natives would be obliged, like the northern hives of old, to emigrate for ſubſiſtence: for in many parts there is no commerce, and the mountainous tracts cannot ſupply ſufficient proviſion for ſuch a numerous people. In reply to this reaſoning, it may be alleged, that the Swiſs do not uſe all the reſources in their power: commerce might be more generally cultivated and encouraged; as there is no part of Switzerland far removed from the principal ri-

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vers and great lakes, moſt of which have a direct communication with the ſea.

But, to be convinced that they have not exhauſted all the advantages to which they might reſort, let them look back on antient Greece, and the immenſe populouſneſs in ſo confined a country; or, what is more open to their obſervation, let them conſider the preſent ſtate of the United Provinces, and the abundance which thoſe induſtrious people enjoy on a tract of land ſnatched from an element perpetually reclaiming its prior occupancy. But the Swiſs need not be reminded of antient or foreign examples: Geneva and St. Gallen are, for their extent, exceedingly populous; and yet the natural productions of their lands are by no means ſufficient to ſupport all the inhabitants. Appenzel and Vallengin are entirely mountainous; nevertheleſs both thoſe diſtricts are remarkably well peopled, and derive, by means of commerce and induſtry, all the neceſſaries of life in great plenty. Indeed Switzerland is ſo far from being over-ſtocked with people, that in moſt of the great towns there is a manifeſt deficiency of inhabitants: and in ſeveral parts of their country, hands are frequently wanting for the common purpoſes of agriculture.

Theſe reflections ſeem to prove the miſtaken policy of Switzerland, in letting out her troops to foreign ſtates. On the contrary, many circumſtances may be remarked in its favour. This practice has tended to keep up the military ſpirit of the Swiſs, even during a ſtate of profound peace, which has now continued, with few interruptions, for three hundred years. The ſeveral

ſeveral cantons not only have in conſtant reſerve, and without the leaſt expence, a body of well-diſciplined forces, which they can recal at a moment's warning; but it becomes the intereſt, for that reaſon, of thoſe foreign powers, whom they furniſh with men, not to foment any diviſions among them, which might render the preſence of their troops neceſſary at home. Add to this, that the privileges which the Swiſs enjoy in France, and the very advantageous articles, relating to commerce, ſecured to them in all their treaties, ſeem to ſtrengthen the argument for continuing their connections of this kind with that kingdom.

This argument, however, would be more concluſive, if thoſe privileges were ſtill preſerved in the ſame latitude as was granted by the ninth article of the Perpetual Peace concluded with Francis I. in 1516, and confirmed by ſeveral ſucceſſive treaties. But the caſe is far otherwiſe. Theſe immunities have been gradually and almoſt imperceptibly violated: the Swiſs merchants were ſubjected to the poll-tax; and freſh duties, contrary to the tenor of their rights, were impoſed on their merchandiſe. During the adminiſtration of the Duke d'Aiguillon, the Swiſs complaining of theſe infractions; a negotiation was begun at Soleure with the French embaſſador, which produced, however, no other effect than a ſhort letter from the miniſter, declining, in the moſt poſitive manner, to redreſs the grievances, though founded on the faith of treaties.

On the late renewal of the Perpetual Peace, in 1777, it was expected that this matter of diſpute

pute would be amicably adjuſted; and Monſieur de Vergennes inſinuated, that ſuch was the intention of the court of Verſailles. Many cantons, and particularly Zuric, were principally induced by theſe motives and theſe expectations to accede to the alliance; but not wholly truſting, however, to the promiſes of the French cabinet, it was inſiſted that an article explaining and confirming the ſaid privileges ſhould be inſerted in the new treaty. The miniſter, with his uſual addreſs, eluded a direct mention of the demanded rights; but, in order not to loſe the confidence of a nation, at a time when he moſt wiſhed to obtain it, the king engaged, by the 18th article, to *preſerve to the Swiſs thoſe privileges and advantages to which they had a legitimate right, and which they had hitherto enjoyed in France.* And the Swiſs agreed to poſtpone *the preciſe determination of the nature and extent of the ſaid privileges to future conferences, wherein thoſe matters ſhould be regulated with fidelity and equity.*

It muſt appear aſtoniſhing that the Swiſs ſhould be contented with ſo ambiguous a declaration; or could be led to believe, that the French court would preſerve to them their legitimate immunities, in the moment when that legitimacy was a ſubject of contention. The Helvetic body had ſoon occaſion to repent of their credulity. For, in 1781, the king of France iſſued an edict irrevocably ſubjecting the Swiſs, who poſſeſs lands in France, to the poll-tax, and to all the national impoſts; and laid the ſame duties on their merchandiſe imported into France, as are paid by the merchants of other countries, cheeſe and linens excepted, which were taxed at a reduced value.

But

But a ſtill ſeverer blow was levelled againſt the Swiſs in 1786; when, notwithſtanding the expreſs reſervation granted in the Perpetual Peace, the importation of linens was prohibited in France. This branch of commerce, which furniſhed employment to ſo many hands in various parts of Switzerland, particularly in the cantons of Zuric, Glarus, and Appenzel, and was almoſt the ſole reſource of the natives, ſpread a ſenſible alarm among the natives; but was not productive of any ſerious conſequences. After the firſt ſurpriſe and agitation were paſt, the induſtry of the Swiſs was not abated; and the linens found their way into France, either by contraband trade, or by contract with the French Eaſt India Company.

LETTER

LETTER 22.

The Canton of Zug.

Zug, Auguſt 5.

WE yeſterday quitted Zuric*, and walked to Albis, a ſmall village about three leagues diſtant, ſituated near the ſummit of a mountain, much viſited by travellers, who are attracted by the variety and extent of the proſpect.

* I have in this part arranged the preceding letters differently from the former editions, and according to the journal of my tour in 1785; though I did not at that time proceed from Soleure to Zuric, yet I have thought proper to reſume the order of my firſt journey in 1776, and to bring the reader back to Zuric, from whence I take my departure, as before, to Zug. The travelle who enters Switzerland at Schaffhauſen, and quits it at Geneva or Neuchatel, will perhaps find this itinerar from Zuric to Baſle, Bienne, Soleure, and thence to Berne and Lucerne, more convenient than that from Zuric immediately to Zug and Lucerne; while thoſe who quit Switzerland at Baſle will prefer the latter.

We

We fortunately eſcaped a violent ſhower of rain, accompanied with a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which had threatened for ſome time, and began immediately upon our arrival: but we were well houſed; and our hoſt gave us a good ſupper and an excellent bottle of Muſcat wine. We were abroad this morning by five, and had a very agreeable walk to this place; the weather, which had of late been very ſultry, being cooled by the lightning and rain. We paſſed over the field of battle at Cappel, where Zuingle was ſlain; regretting this inſtance of diſunion between the Swiſs republics, and lamenting the premature death of that great reformer, who was killed in the 48th year of his age. We purſued our journey through a pleaſant country, ſo thickly planted with fruit-tres, that I could hardly diſtinguiſh any other ſort. Indeed, we had before remarked the prodigious number of thoſe trees in ſeveral other parts of Switzerland; the country being in many places almoſt a continued orchard.

Zug, the capital of this canton, ſtands delightfully upon the edge of a beautiful lake, in a fertile valley, abounding with corn, paſture, and wood. This canton formerly belonged to the Houſe of Auſtria; and continued faithful to that family, when the other neighbouring ſtates had formed themſelves into independent republics. As it lies between Zuric and Schweitz, the communication between thoſe two cantons was maintained with difficulty; and by this means frequent opportunities were afforded to the Houſe of Auſtria of invading and harraſſing the Swiſs. Under theſe circumſtances, the ſix

allied cantons, in 1351, laid ſiege to Zug, which was reſolutely defended by the inhabitants; but as Albert duke of Auſtria was in no condition to aſſiſt them, the town at length ſurrendered upon the moſt honourable conditions. The generoſity of the conquerors was equal to the courage and magnanimity of the vanquiſhed: for, in conſequence of this ſubmiſſion, the canton of Zug was delivered from the yoke of a foreign maſter; obtained the moſt aſſured liberty and independence; and was admitted into the Helvetic Confederacy upon equal terms.

The government of this little canton is exceedingly complicated; and the inhabitants of the town have ſomewhat more influence, and enjoy a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, than thoſe of the capital burghs in the five other democratical cantons. The ſupreme power reſides in the inhabitants of the four diſtricts of Zug, Bar, Egeri, and Meutzingen; who aſſemble yearly to enact laws, and to chooſe their magiſtrates. The Landamman, reciprocally elected from each of the four communities above-mentioned, is nominated by the ſuffrages of the whole collective diſtricts: he continues three years in office, when taken from the diſtrict of Zug, and but two years when choſen from each of the three others. The general adminiſtration of affairs is entruſted to the council of regency, compoſed of forty members: of whom thirteen are ſupplied by the diſtrict of Zug, and twenty-ſeven are ſelected equally from the three remaining communities. This council, as well as the Landamman, reſides always in the capital.

Oſwald,

Oſwald, one of our old Britiſh kings, is the titular ſaint of this place; and in the church is his ſtatue, with the following inſcription:

Sanctus Oſwaldus Rex Angliæ Patronus hujus Eccleſiæ.

This Oſwald * was a king of Northumberland in the ſeventh century; and is much renowned among the monkiſh writers for his chaſtity, piety, and power of working miracles. I have been endeavouring to diſcover the connection between a Britiſh king, under the heptarchy, and a ſmall canton of Switzerland; without reflecting, how fruitleſs is the attempt to give any reaſon for long-eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. In the church of Rome, ſaints are eaſily tranſplanted into any ſoil; and caprice, as well as ſuperſtition, may have inclined the inhabitants of Zug to adore a ſaint, whoſe name is barely known in his own country.

I am, &c.

* See an account of this Oſwald, who was defeated and ſlain in 624, by Peuda king of the Mercians, in Pennant's Tour to Wales, vol. i. p. 258.

LETTER 23.

The Town and Canton of Lucerne—General Pfiffer's Model.

WE took boat at Zug, and being rowed acroſs the lake (which is about three leagues long, and one broad) were landed at a village in the canton of Schweitz. From thence we walked to Kuſſnacht; and in our way paſſed by a ſmall chapel ſacred to William Tell, erected on the ſpot where, it is ſaid, he ſhot the Auſtrian governor. At Kuſſnacht, we embarked upon the lake of Lucerne; and were much ſtruck upon our approach with the fine ſituation of that town, and with a noble amphitheatre of mountains, which border the lake.

Lucerne,

Lucerne, originally ſubject to the Houſe of Auſtria, was expoſed to the inroads of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, after thoſe cantons had ſecured their own liberty and independence. Her commerce to Italy was interrupted; her fairs unfrequented; and her citizens compelled to be continually under arms, in order to protect their territory from inceſſant depredations. Under theſe circumſtances, the Houſe of Auſtria imprudently loading the citizens with additional taxes, as exorbitant as they were unjuſt, Lucerne made her peace with the confederate cantons: and, having ſoon after expelled the Auſtrian party, entered into a perpetual alliance with Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, and became a member of the Helvetic union.

The acceſſion of Lucerne gave additional credit and power to the confederacy; and enabled it, in 1386, to reſiſt all the efforts of a great and implacable enemy. In that year, Leopold duke of Auſtria invaded the canton with a numerous army; when the combined troops gained a bloody victory at Sempach, in which Leopold loſt his life. In the accounts of this battle, an inſtance of private valour is recorded, which would have done honour even to a Grecian or a Roman name; and only requires the pen of a Thucydides or a Livy to equal in fame the exploits of the moſt admired heroes of antiquity. The Auſtrian army, far ſuperior in number, was drawn up in firm battalion, accoutred in heavy armour, and furniſhed with long pikes, which they preſented before them. The Swiſs troops were led to the attack in the form of a wedge, in order to open their way into the ranks

of

of the enemy, and to break the ſolidity of the battalion. The Auſtrians, nevertheleſs, continuing for ſome time impenetrable; Arnold de Winkelried, a native of Underwalden, ruſhed alone upon the enemy to certain death; and, ſeizing as many pikes as he could graſp, endeavoured to force through the ranks: but he was killed in the attempt. His patriotic valour, however, was not exerted in vain: it inflamed the Swiſs with new courage, and taught the beſt method of penetrating into the battalion; which they at length effected, after the moſt deſperate efforts of invincible reſolution.

Leopold himſelf might have eſcaped, when his troops firſt began to give way; but, with a magnanimity worthy of a better fate, he determined, after having been a witneſs to the total rout of his army, not to ſurvive ſo ignominious a day: accordingly he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy, and was ſlain. In the arſenal of this place are ſtill preſerved his armour, together with a large quantity of cords; with which, according to tradition, he intended to have bound the citizens of Lucerne. The keeper of the arſenal diſplayed them to us with the ſame kind of triumph, as the man, who ſhews the Tower of London, points out the chains that were taken on board of the Spaniſh armada; which Philip the Second is ſaid to have deſtined for the principal nobility of England.

The government of Lucerne is entirely ariſtocratical, or rather oligarchical. The ſovereign power reſides in the Council of one hundred, compriſing the Senate or Little Council. The former is the nominal ſovereign; but the whole power

power actually reſides in the latter, conſiſting of thirty-ſix members, who are formed into two diviſions, which exerciſe the office by rotation. The members of this Senate are neither confirmed by the Sovereign Council, nor by the citizens, but are only dependant upon themſelves; the diviſion which retires at the end of ſix months, confirming that which comes into office. Beſides, the vacant places in the Senate are filled by its own body; ſo that the power remains in the poſſeſſion of a few patrician families: and, as the ſon generally ſucceeds his father, or the brother his brother, the ſenatorial dignity may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as hereditary.

The adminiſtration of the current affairs, the care of the police, the management of the finances, and the whole executive power, reſides in the Senate, which ſits conſtantly; whereas the Sovereign Council is aſſembled only upon particular and important occaſions. The Senate has cognizance of criminal cauſes; but in caſe of capital condemnation, the Sovereign Council is convoked in order to pronounce the ſentence: a practice worthy of imitation! for the condemnation of a criminal cannot be too maturely weighed; and great ſolemnity uſed in pronouncing the ſentence, muſt impreſs a ſtrong effect upon the minds of the people. In civil cauſes, an appeal lies from the Senate to the Sovereign Council; but this muſt be a mere formality: as, in fact, it is an appeal from the ſenators in one court to the ſame ſenators in another. Indeed, their influence over the Sovereign Council muſt neceſſarily be abſolute: for, they themſelves conſtitute above a third of that body; chooſe their own

own members; and confer the principal charges of government. They nominate alſo to the eccleſiaſtical benefices, which are very conſiderable; near two thirds of the revenues of the canton belonging to the clergy.

The chiefs of the republic are two advoyers, who are choſen from the Senate by the Sovereign Council, and are confirmed annually. In all elections, the relations of the candidates, to the third degree, are excluded from voting; and neither the father and the ſon, nor two brothers, can be members of the Senate at the ſame time. Excellent inſtitutions, one ſhould think, to prevent the too great influence of family-connections! excellent indeed in theory, but uſeleſs in practice; and this circumſtance proves, that when the ſpirit of the conſtitution is purely oligarchical, any laws enacted for the purpoſe of counteracting the power of the nobles, are mere cyphers. In ſome few inſtances, however, the authority of the nobles is controuled: for, in caſe of declaring war and peace, forming new alliances, or of impoſing new taxes the citizens muſt be aſſembled, and give their conſent.

Lucerne being the firſt in rank and power among the Catholic cantons, is the reſidence of the Pope's nuncio; and all affairs relative to religion are treated in the annual diet which aſſembles in this town, compoſed of the deputies of thoſe cantons. The town contains ſcarcely three thouſand inhabitants; has no manufactures of any conſequence; and little commerce; and as to learning, it no where meets with leſs encouragement, and conſequently is no where leſs cultivated. What a contraſt to Zuric! Yet, under

under theſe diſadvantages, a few perſons have made no inconſiderable progreſs in literature. Among theſe the moſt conſpicuous is Mr. Balthaſar, member of the Senate: he poſſeſſes a library that is rich in books relative to the hiſtory of Switzerland, in which he is extremely converſant; and the publications which he has already given to the world, and thoſe which he is now preparing for the preſs, proves that he knows how to uſe them. His works are, for the moſt part, in the German and Latin tongues; they contain biographical anecdotes of ſeveral illuſtrious Swiſs; elucidate various important parts in the general hiſtory of Switzerland; but more particularly relate to the canton of Lucerne. His ſon, a member of the Great Council, deſerves to be mentioned for his collection of Engliſh books; and the zeal with which he endeavours to propagate a knowledge of literature. I have alſo no leſs ſatisfaction in adding, that, ſince my firſt expedition into theſe parts, ſcience is more cultivated; that the principles of toleration are better underſtood and more widely diffuſed; and that a literary ſociety is eſtabliſhed for the promotion of polite learning. The population of the canton has conſiderably increaſed within this century: a ſure proof of a mild and equitable government. The inhabitants are, as I am informed, almoſt totally engaged in agriculture. The ſouthern parts of the canton are chiefly mountainous, and furniſh for exportation cattle, hides, cheeſe, and butter. The northern diſtrict is fruitful in corn; the crops of which being more than ſufficient for the conſumption of the whole canton, there is a conſtant

ſtant exportation of this article from the weekly market held in the town, to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring democratical cantons reſort, in order to purchaſe that and other neceſſaries in which their own country is deficient. The overplus for the ſupply of this market is drawn from Suabia and Alſace. This commerce, which, together with the paſſage of the merchandiſe for Italy, is the chief ſupport of the town, might be exceedingly improved and augmented, conſidering its advantageous ſituation; for the Reuſs iſſues from the lake, paſſes through the town; and having joined the Aar, falls into the Rhine.

The cathedral and the Jeſuits church, are the only public buildings worthy of obſervation; but they are too much loaded with rich ornaments, and diſgraced by bad paintings. In the cathedral is an organ of a fine tone, and of an extraordinary ſize: of the latter you may judge by the dimenſions of the center pipe; which, as the prieſt aſſured me, is forty feet in length, near three in breadth, and weighs eleven hundred pounds. The bridges which ſkirt the town, round the edge of the lake, are the faſhionable walks of the place, and remarkable for their length. Being covered at top, and open at the ſides, they afford a conſtant view of this delightful and romantic country. They are decorated with coarſe paintings, repreſenting the hiſtories of the Old Teſtament, the battles of the Swiſs, and the dance of Death.

Upon our arrival at Lucerne, we ſent a letter of recommendation to General Pfiffer, a native of this town, and an officer in the French ſervice. He

He received us immediately, with his uſual civility, and ſhewed us his topographical repreſentation of the moſt mountainous part of Switzerland, which well deſerves the accurate attention of the curious traveller. It is a model in relief; and what was finiſhed in 1776, compriſed about ſixty ſquare leagues, in the cantons of Lucerne, Zug, Berne, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden. The model was twelve feet long, and nine and a half broad.

The compoſition is principally a maſtic of charcoal, lime, clay, a little pitch, with a thin coat of wax; and is ſo hard as to be trod upon without receiving the leaſt damage. The whole is painted with different colours, repreſenting the objects as they exiſt in nature. It is worthy of particular obſervation, that not only the woods of oak, beech, pine, and other trees, are diſtinguiſhed; but alſo that the ſtrata of the ſeveral rocks are marked; each being ſhaped upon the ſpot, and formed with granite, gravel, calcareous ſtone, or ſuch other natural ſubſtances as compoſe the original mountains. The plan is indeed ſo minutely exact, that it compriſes not only all the mountains, lakes, rivers, towns, villages, and foreſts; but every cottage, every torrent, every bridge, every road, and even every path is diſtinctly and accurately repreſented.

General Pfiffer has already been employed in this work about ten years, with the moſt aſtoniſhing patience and aſſiduity: he has himſelf raiſed the plans upon the ſpots, taken the elevations of the mountains, and laid them down in their ſeveral proportions. In the proſecution of this laborious performance, he has been twice arreſted for

for a ſpy; and in the popular cantons has frequently been forced to work by moon-light, in order to avoid the jealouſy of the peaſants, who think their liberty would be endangered, ſhould ſo exact a plan be taken of their country. As he is obliged to remain ſome time upon the tops of the Alps, where no proviſions can be procured; he generally carries with him a few ſhe-goats, whoſe milk ſupplies him with nouriſhment. Indeed his perſeverance in ſurmounting all the difficulties, that neceſſarily have ariſen in the courſe of this undertaking, is almoſt inconceivable. When he has finiſhed any particular part, he ſends for the peaſants and *chaſſeurs* who reſide on the ſpot, and bids them examine accurately each mountain; whether it correſponds, as far as the ſmallneſs of the ſcale will admit, with its natural appearance: then, by frequently retouching he corrects the deficiencies. He takes his elevations from the level of the lake of Lucerne; which, according to Mr. de Sauſſure, is about fourteen hundred and eight feet above the Mediterranean.

This model, exhibiting the moſt mountainous parts of Switzerland, conveys a ſublime picture of immenſe Alps piled one upon another: as if the ſtory of the Titans were realized, and they had ſucceeded (at leaſt in one ſpot of the globe) in heaping Oſſa upon Pelion, and Olympus upon Oſſa. The general informed me, that the tops of the Alps which croſs Switzerland in the ſame line, are nearly of the ſame level; or in other words, there are continued chains of mountains of the ſame elevation, riſing in progreſſion to the higheſt range; and from thence gradually deſcending

deſcending in the ſame proportion towards Italy.

He is exceedingly polite and affable to ſtrangers, and ever ready to be of any ſervice to travellers, in pointing out the beſt roads, and in acquainting them with the places moſt worthy of obſervation.

Near Lucerne is Mount Pilate, formerly called Mons *Pileatus*, from the Latin word *pilea;* its top being generally covered with a cloud or cap. This word has been corrupted into *Pilatus;* and from this alteration a thouſand ridiculous ſtories have been invented; among others, that Pontius Pilate, after having condemned our Saviour to death, was ſeized with remorſe; made an excurſion into Switzerland; and drowned himſelf in a lake, which is at the top of that mountain. This corruption of a word, and the abſurd legend fabricated from its alteration, will naturally remind you of ſeveral fables of ſimilar abſurdity, which are ſeriouſly related by the Greek writers: a circumſtance which my very worthy and learned friend Mr. Bryant, has ſo amply and ably diſcuſſed, in his *Analyſis of antient Mythology.*

I am, &c.

POSTCRIPT.

HAVING, in three ſucceſſive viſits to Lucerne, obſerved the gradual progreſs of General Pfiffer's model, and in Auguſt 1786 ſeen it finally completed, I am enabled to add the following particulars, partly from my own obſervation, and partly communicated by the ingenious artiſt himſelf.

The

The model is compoſed of a hundred and forty-two compartments of different ſizes and forms: they are reſpectively numbered; and the whole can be taken to pieces and united with almoſt as much eaſe (if we may compare great things with ſmall) as the diſſected maps, by which children are inſtructed in geography.

The lake of Lucerne, nearly the center of Switzerland, forms alſo the center of the plan, which lays down part of the circumjacent cantons of Zuric, Zug, Schweitz, Underwalden, Lucerne, and Berne, and a ſmall portion of the mountains of Glarus. It comprehends a ſpace of $18\frac{1}{2}$ leagues* in length, and 11 in breadth; and the dimenſions of the model being 20 feet † and a half in length, and 12 in breadth; $203\frac{1}{2}$ ſquare leagues are repreſented on a parallelogram of 246 feet; or about two Engliſh miles and $\frac{1}{4}$ by a ſquare Engliſh foot.

The higheſt point of the model from the level of the center, is about ten inches; and as the moſt elevated mountain repreſented therein riſes 1475 toiſes, or 9440 feet, above the lake of Lucerne, at a groſs calculation, the height of an inch in the model is equivalent to about 900 feet. And it is a matter of aſtoniſhment to obſerve the ſtupendous works of nature delineated with ſuch perfect reſemblance in ſo ſmall a compaſs.

As to myſelf, though I received conſiderable ſatisfaction from the firſt view of this extraordinary performance, yet I again contemplated it with much more pleaſure, and ſtill greater aſtoniſhment

* A league is equal to 2,288 toiſes, or 13,728 French feet, or 14,643 Engliſh feet.

† French feet.

niſhment, when I was able to trace on it many of my various expeditions, and to recognize its ſurpriſing accuracy.

The general began this elaborate work at the age of fifty, and though now in the ſeventieth year of his age, continues his annual expeditions into the Alps, with a ſpirit and ardour that would fatigue a much younger perſon. It is likewiſe no leſs entertaining than inſtructive, to hear him expatiate, with an agreeable vivacity, on the moſt intereſting objects, which are obſerved on the model. He kindly ſupplied me with the following remarks, which I tranſcribe from my journal.

According to a rough calculation, the height on which ſnow uſually remains during ſummer, may be eſtimated at 1360 toiſes, or 8704 Engliſh feet, above the level of the ſea; and on which it never melts, at 1448, or 9264 feet.

As a curious inſtance of divided property, he pointed out the promontory called Kieman, on the weſtern ſhore of the lake of Zug, of which the ground belongs to Lucerne, the timber to Zug, and the leaves to Schweitz. As a proof of aſtoniſhing confidence, he ſhewed me, on each ſide of the road that runs through the valley of Muotta, in the canton of Schweitz, ſeveral ranges of ſmall ſhops uninhabited, yet filled with various goods, of which the prices are marked: any paſſengers, who wiſh to become purchaſers, enter the ſhops, take away the merchandiſe, and depoſit the price, which the owners call for in the evening.

Among the phænomena of nature he mentioned the Rigi, an inſulated mountain near the lake of Lucerne, twenty-five miles in circumference,

ference, and riſing to a perpendicular height of more than four thouſand feet above the ſurface of the lake: it is entirely compoſed of gravel and pudding-ſtone, and muſt have been formed by the waters. The Rigi joins to a ſmall ridge of ſand-ſtone running towards Schweitz.

Mount Pilate offers a moſt ſingular curioſity. At the elevation of five thouſand feet, and in the moſt perpendicular part of the mountain, near the paſture of Brunlen, is obſerved, in the middle of a cavern hollowed in a black rock, a coloſſal ſtatue, which appears to be of white ſtone. It is the figure of a man in drapery ſtanding, leaning one elbow on a pedeſtal, with one leg croſſed over the other, and ſo regularly formed, that it cannot be a *luſus naturæ*. This ſtatue is called Dominic by the peaſants, who frequently accoſt it from the only place in which it can be ſeen, and when their voices are re-echoed from the cavern, they ſay, in the ſimplicity of their hearts, "Dominic has anſwered us."

It is difficult to imagine by whom, or in what manner this ſtatue could be placed in a ſituation, which has hitherto proved inacceſſible to all who have endeavoured to approach it. About the beginning of the preſent century, one Huber, a native of Krientz, a neighbouring village, attempted to deſcend into the cavern by means of ropes let down from the ſummit of the rock: he ſucceeded ſo far as to gain a near view of this ſingular phænomenon, and was again drawn up in ſafety. On a ſecond trial, as he was ſuſpended in the air, and was endeavouring to draw himſelf into the cavern by fixing a grapple to the ſtatue, the

the cord broke, and he was daſhed to pieces. Since that dreadful accident no one has ventured to repeat the experiment from the ſame quarter. Another trial to penetrate to the ſtatue was made in 1756, by General Pfiffer and eight perſons, from a ſmall opening on the oppoſite ſide of the mountain, in which the natives collect a white ſubſtance called *mond-loch*, or cream of the moon. As this opening is ſuppoſed to communicate with the cavern, the general and his companions crept on their hands and knees for a conſiderable way one behind the other, and winding in the bed of a ſmall torrent, through ſeveral narrow paſſages, they at length diſcovered the light of the ſun through a remote chaſm; but as the diſtance ſeemed very conſiderable, and as the fall of a ſingle ſtone might have obſtructed their return, they thought it imprudent to venture any further, and retreated without having effected their purpoſe.

LETTER 24.

Valley of Entlibuch—Zoffingen—Lake of Sempach—Anniverſary of the Battle.

IN my firſt expedition to this country, I had no opportunity of viſiting the interior parts of the canton of Lucerne, which I afterwards traverſed in 1785 and 1786.

On both thoſe occaſions I paſſed from Berne to Lucerne, one time along the high road leading through Zoffingen, Surzee, and by the lake of Sempach; at the other, through Langenau, the Emme-thal, and the valley of Entlibuch, a diſtrict which, though not uſually frequented by travellers, yet highly deſerves their attention.

In the 13th century, Entlibuch was ſubject to the counts of Wolhauſen, and came by purchaſe, in 1299, to the emperor Albert. In the following

ing century it was held as a fief from the Houſe of Auſtria by ſeveral ſucceſſive counts; of theſe the laſt, Peter of Torrenberg, having grievouſly oppreſſed the natives, they revolted, and in 1386 threw themſelves under the protection of Lucerne. That republic continued to poſſeſs Entlibuch, as a feudal tenure under the Houſe of Auſtria, until 1405; when the archduke Frederic renounced all the rights of ſovereignty in favour of Lucerne.

For above a century and an half ſubſequent to that period, the inhabitants, inflamed with a ſpirit of independence, and excited by the example of the neighbouring popular cantons, frequently roſe in arms, and attempted to eſtabliſh a democracy; but without ſucceſs. Their laſt inſurrection broke out in 1653; ſince which time they have continued in a ſtate of perfect tranquility, under the wiſe adminiſtration of Lucerne; and have enjoyed, with contentment, the conſiderable privileges with which they are endowed.

The bailliage of Entlibuch extends from the Emme-thal in the canton of Berne, to the bridge near Wertenſtein, about fifteen miles in length, and nine in its greateſt breadth; and contains at leaſt 11,000 ſouls. It is governed by a bailif, who is always a ſenator of Lucerne: he continues in office two years, and generally reſides in that capital. The inhabitants enjoy conſiderable immunities, which they know how to prize

The bailliage is divided into three diſtricts; the Upper, or Eſchliſmat; the Middle, or Shuepfen; the Lower, or Entlibuch; each

whereof has its ſeparate courts of juſtice, from which an appeal lies to Lucerne.

That part of the bailliage which I traverſed, is a valley, watered by ſeveral lively rivulets, winding for ſome way between two ridges of well-wooded hills, and abounding in picturesque ſcenery. Afterwards the country was undulating, and the road, which was narrow and rugged, ran along continual acclivities and declivities, through well-cultivated fields of paſture. I paſſed through ſeveral villages, of which the principal were Eſchliſmat, Shuepfen, and Entlibuch, which takes its name from the rivulet Entle, and gives it to the whole diſtrict. Theſe places are ſmall; but the whole country is ſtrewed with cottages, and ſeems a continued village. The inhabitants chiefly follow agriculture; they rear large quantities of horned cattle, ſheep, goats, and ſwine; make and export cheeſes in great abundance. Though uſually richer than the inhabitants in the other parts of the canton, yet they did not appear ſo well cloathed, or to poſſeſs ſuch neat cottages, as their neighbours in the Emme-thal. The peaſants of Entlibuch are much eſteemed for their independent ſpirit, vigour, and ſtrength; remarkable for keenneſs and vivacity; for great quickneſs in repartee; for a peculiarity of garb; and for many ſtriking cuſtoms which diſtinguiſh them from the natives of the circumjacent diſtricts. Of various uſages, which eſcaped my notice during my ſhort ſtay among them, I chanced to gain information of one cuſtom, which reminds me of the *Feſcennina Licentia* mentioned by Horace, that prevailed among

among the Roman peaſants. Two neighbouring pariſhes ſend a challenge to each other; and, at the concluſion of the carnival, each diſpatches a man, *bedizened* with flowers and ſhells, called *ſhrove-monday-embaſſador*; who rides to the neighbouring village, and reads, or rather ſings, two ſatirical compoſitions in verſe: the one, a general ſatire againſt the pariſh, uſually begins by celebrating a period of Swiſs hiſtory accommodated to the circumſtances of time and place; then draws a compariſon between the two pariſhes, giving the preference to his own, either for the ſuperior learning and piety of the prieſt, the wiſdom and impartiality of the preſident, the induſtry and ſpirit of the men, the beauty and chaſtity of the women, and the education of the children. The ſecond compoſition conſiſts of a ſtring of epigrams in ridicule of particular perſons; in which any ſcandalous adventures, or ludicrous circumſtances, which have happened ſince the laſt year, are recorded with much exaggeration. The poet finiſhes his harangue with expreſſing a wiſh, that on the next Shrove-monday the inhabitants may improve, and not deſerve ſuch a ſevere reprimand.

On the concluſion of this lecture, which creates much laughter, the *mock embaſſador* returns; and the men of the two pariſhes repair, with drums beating and colours flying, to an open place, called the *Field of Battle*, followed and encouraged by the inhabitants of their reſpective pariſhes. When the two *armies* are drawn up in order of battle; the *combatants*, in imitation of the old Swiſs cuſtom, fall down upon their knees, offer

up

up a ſhort prayer, and ſtart up at the ſound of the trumpet.

Having formed themſelves into two columns of ſeveral ranks, they march arm in arm, with uniform ſtep and military attitude; both the foremoſt lines meet in front and joſtle againſt each other, being ſupported and puſhed forwards by the hinder files, frequently aſſiſted by the women, until one *phalanx* is broke. The victorious party is dignified with the name of the *Swiſs*, and thoſe who gave way are called *Auſtrians*, in alluſion to the ancient animoſity between thoſe two powers. The jurymen of the diſtrict are preſent as umpires, and to prevent any violent diſputes and quarrels. After the rencounter both parties ſit down to table, and the day is concluded with feaſting.

As thoſe ſatirical compoſitions occaſionally created much ill-will between the two neighbouring pariſhes, and the rencounters were attended with various accidents, the government of Lucerne aboliſhed the cuſtom; but has lately permitted it to be revived, with certain reſtrictions calculated to prevent any future miſchief.

The valley of Entlibuch may be conſidered as one of thoſe parts which unite the mild and cultivated, with the more wild and rugged ſcenery of Switzerland; its acclivities gradually aſcend and terminate in Mount Pilate, whoſe barren top is ſeen towering above the fertile and well-wooded hills.

On quitting this valley we croſſed the Emme over a covered bridge, admired the romantic poſition of Wertenſtein, a convent of Cordeliers, overhanging

overhanging the perpendicular banks of that torrent; and paſſed through a very ſteep and rocky country to Malters, a ſmall village within a league of the capital. Here being a conſiderable fair, I ſtopped and dined at the *table d'hote*, in company with ſeveral gentlemen from Lucerne. In walking through the fair, I obſerved ſeveral booths for the ſale of artificial flowers; which were purchaſed by the country girls. With theſe flowers, and with four bows of ribbands, they ornament their hats which they adjuſt obliquely, with a degree of ruſtic coquetry that is not unbecoming.

Another diſtrict of this canton, is that part which I viſited in 1786, along the high road leading from Berne to Lucerne. I paſſed the night at Zoffingen, a ſmall town in the canton of Berne, the inhabitants whereof enjoy greater immunities than any other place in that whole canton. They have their own magiſtrates; and what is peculiar, their own courts of juſtice, both civil and criminal, which decide in the laſt reſort, without an appeal to Berne. A bailif reſides there; but his whole employment conſiſts in collecting the tythes. The town contains about two thouſand ſouls.

Near Zoffingen I entered the canton of Lucerne, and paſſed through a narrow valley bounded by a chain of hills remarkable for the richneſs and variety of hanging woods. As we proceeded the valley expanded; we traverſed a gently waving country, and deſcended to Surzee, a ſmall neat town near the lake of Sempach. From thence we coaſted the weſt ſide of

of that lake, which is a ſmall but beautiful piece of water, about three miles in length, and one in breadth. The grounds on each ſide ſlope gently to the edge of the water, and are prettily checkered with wood. On the oppoſite banks of the lake, I obſerved the town of Sempach, celebrated for the battle which eſtabliſhed the liberty of the Swiſs; and which I have already mentioned in the preceding letter. The anniverſary of that battle, which happened on the 9th of July, 1386, is ſtill commemorated with great ſolemnity both at Sempach and Lucerne; and ſupplies a copious ſubject for many poems and ballads in the numerous collection of national ſongs.

On that anniverſary, a large body of perſons of all ranks aſſemble on the ſpot where the battle was fought; a prieſt aſcends a pulpit erected in the open air, and delivers a thankſgiving ſermon on the ſucceſsful efforts of their anceſtors on that happy day, which enſured to their country liberty and independence.

On the concluſion of this ſermon, another prieſt reads a deſcription of the battle, and commemorates the names of thoſe brave Swiſs who glorioufly ſacrificed their lives in defence of their freedom. Having exhorted thoſe who are preſent to pray for the ſouls of their countrymen, and of the enemies, who fell in that battle; they all repair inſtantly to a ſmall chapel, where maſſes are ſung for the ſouls of the deceaſed. During this ſervice, the people, falling on their knees, pray for their glorious anceſtors, either in the chapel, on whoſe walls are painted

painted the deeds of the Swiſs who immortalized themſelves in this conflict, or before four ſtone croſſes which diſtinguiſh the place of combat.

LETTER

LETTER 25.

The Lake of Lucerne—Geriſau—Schweitz—Origin of the Helvetic Confederacy—William Tell—Altdorf.

THE Waldſtætter See, or the Lake of the Four Cantons, is, from the greatneſs and ſublimity as well as variety of ſcenery, perhaps the fineſt body of water in Switzerland. The upper branch or the lake of Lucerne, is in the form of a croſs; the ſides of which ſtretch from Kuſſnacht to Dallenwal, a ſmall village near Stantz. It is bounded towards the town of Lucerne by cultivated hills ſloping gradually to the water, contraſted on the oppoſite ſide by an enormous maſs of barren and craggy rocks. Mount Pilate riſes boldly from the lake, and is perhaps one of the higheſt mountains in Switzerland, if eſtimated from its baſe, and not from the level of the ſea. According to General Pfiffer, its

its elevation above the lake is more than ſix thouſand feet: nevertheleſs its height above the Mediterreanean is trifling, in compariſon with that of the Alps we are going to viſit; nor indeed does the ſnow continue all the year upon its ſummit.

Towards the end of this branch, the lake contracts into a narrow creek ſcarcely a mile acroſs; ſoon after, it again widens, and we entered the ſecond branch, or the lake of Schweitz: on the weſtern ſide the canton of Underwalden, on the eaſtern that of Schweitz. Here the mountains are more lofty, and infinitely varied: ſome covered to their very ſummits with the moſt lively verdure; others perpendicular and craggy; here forming vaſt amphitheatres of wood; there jutting into the water in bold promontories.

On the eaſtern ſide of this branch, is the village or town of Geriſau, at the foot of the Rigi: it is the ſmalleſt republic in Europe. Its territory is about a league in breadth, and two in length; ſituated partly on a ſmall neck of land at the edge of the lake, and partly lying upon the rapid declivity of the Rigi. It contains about 1200 inhabitants: they have their general aſſembly of burgeſſes, their Landamman, their council of regency, their courts of juſtice, and their militia. I was informed, that there is not a ſingle horſe in the whole territory of the republic; as indeed might well be ſuppoſed: for, the only way of arriving at the town is by water, excepting a narrow path down the ſteep ſides of the mountain, which is almoſt impaſſable. Geriſau is entirely compoſed of ſcattered houſes and cottages

tages of a very neat and picturesque appearance. Each dwelling is provided with a field or small garden. The inhabitants are much employed in preparing silk for the manufactures of Basle. This little republic is under the protection of the four cantons, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden; and in case of war furnishes its quota of men. To the ambitious politician, who judges of governments by extent of dominion and power, such a diminutive republic thrown into an obscure corner, and scarcely known out of its own contracted territory, must appear unworthy of notice; but the smallest spot of earth on which civil freedom is cultivated and flourishes, cannot fail of interesting those who know the true value of liberty and independence; and are convinced, that political happiness does not consist in great opulence and extensive empire.

Towards the end of this branch the lake forms a considerable bay; in the midst of which lies the village of Brunnen, celebrated for the treaty, concluded, in 1315, between Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden. Here I landed, and walked through an agreeable and fertile plain, laid out in meadows, and planted with fruit trees, to Schweitz, which stands on the slope of a hill, at the bottom of two high, sharp, and rugged rocks, called the *Schweitzer-Haken*. Its position is extremely agreeable. The church, which is a large magnificent building, stands in the center of the place: near it the houses are contiguous to each other: but in the other part they are prettily dispersed about the gentle acclivities, in the midst of lawns and meadows, and sheltered by

by groves of trees. The principal object of curiosity in Schweitz, is a complete collection of the celebrated Hetlinger's medals, possessed by his nephew. This collection, which he inherited from his uncle, is very valuable, the medals being all of the finest impressions, and several extremely rare. From these medals Mr. de Mechel published his much esteemed engravings, to which he has prefixed a life of the artist, who was born in the canton of Schweitz, on the 28th of March 1691, and died in a very advanced age.

Having reimbarked at Brunnen, we soon entered the third branch, or the lake of Uri; the scenery of which is so grand and sublime, that its impression will never be erased from my mind. Imagine to yourself a deep and narrow lake about nine miles in length, bordered on both sides with rocks uncommonly wild and romantic, and, for the most part, perpendicular; with forests of beech and pine growing down their sides to the very edge of the water: indeed the rocks are so entirely steep and overhanging, that we scarcely observed more than four or five spots where we could have landed. On the right-hand, upon our first entrance, a detached piece of rock, at a small distance from the shore, engaged our attention. This rock is wholly formed by stones of the size and shape of bricks, so as to appear quite artificial. The same kind of natural masonry may be observed in the lofty cliffs which impend over this lake, not far from Brunnen. It rises to about sixty feet in height; is covered with underwood and shrubs; and reminded me of those crags that shoot up in the

Fall

Fall of the Rhine near Schaffhauſen: but here the lake was as ſmooth as cryſtal; and the ſilent, ſolemn gloom which reigned in this place, was not leſs awful and affecting than the tremendous roaring of the cataract in the other. Somewhat further, upon the higheſt point of the Seelisberg, we obſerved a ſmall chapel that ſeemed inacceſſible; and below it, the little village of Gruti, near which the three heroes of Switzerland are ſaid to have taken reciprocal oaths of fidelity, when they planned the famous revolution.

On the oppoſite ſide appears the chapel of William Tell, erected in honour of that hero, upon the very ſpot where (it is ſaid) he leaped from the boat, in which he was conveying as a priſoner to Kuſſnacht. It is built upon a rock that projects into the lake under a hanging wood: a ſituation amid ſcenes ſo ſtrikingly awful, as muſt ſtrongly affect even the moſt dull and torpid imagination! On the inſide of this chapel, the ſeveral actions of William Tell are coarſely painted. While we were viewing them, we obſerved the countenances of our watermen gliſtening with exultation, and they related to us, with much ſpirit and ſenſibility, the cruelties and tyranny of Geſler, governor of Uri, and the intrepid behaviour of their glorious deliverer. Indeed I have frequently remarked with pleaſure, the national enthuſiaſm which ſo generally prevails in this country; and have greatly admired the fire and animation with which the people diſcourſe of thoſe famous men among their anceſtors, to whom they are indebted for that happy ſtate of independence

independence which they now enjoy. This laudable ſpirit is continually ſupported and encouraged by the number of ſtatues, and other memorials, of the antient Swiſs heroes, which are ſo common in every town and village thoughout Switzerland. Among theſe, Tell is the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and he ſeems to be the peculiar favourite of the common people: the reaſon is obvious; for his ſtory partakes greatly of the marvellous.

A few years ago a treatiſe, entitled *Fable Danoiſe*, was publiſhed at Berne; in which the author calls in queſtion the hiſtory of William Tell. Tho' his arguments in general are by no means concluſive; yet he mentions two circumſtances, which, if true, are convincing proofs, that much fiction is interwoven with the whole account: for, the author aſſerts that the incident of Tell's ſhooting the apple from the head of his ſon, is not recorded in any of the contemporary hiſtorians, although they give the minuteſt accounts of the governor's tyranny; and that the firſt writer who takes notice of it, is Petermann Etterlin of Lucerne, who lived in the latter end of the fifteenth century, near two hundred years after the fact is ſuppoſed to have happened. Beſides, a ſtory of the ſame kind is related in the Daniſh annals by Saxo Grammaticus, with ſcarcely any difference but that of names: Herod king of Denmark ſupplies the place of the governor of Uri; and Tocco that of William Tell; and this event, which is ſaid to have happened in 965, is attended alſo with nearly the ſame incidents, as thoſe recorded in the Swiſs accounts.

accounts*. Nevertheleſs, it is far from being a neceſſary conſequence, that, becauſe the authenticity of the ſtory concerning the apple is liable to ſome doubts; *therefore* the whole tradition relating to Tell is fabulous. Neither is it a proof againſt the reality of a fact, that it is not mentioned by any contemporary hiſtorians. The general hiſtory of William Tell is repeatedly celebrated in ſeveral old German ſongs, ſo remarkable for their ancient dialect and ſimplicity, as almoſt to raiſe the deeds they celebrate above all reaſonable ſuſpicion: add to this, the conſtant tradition of the country, together with two chapels erected ſome centuries ago, in memory of his exploits.

The three cantons were ſo much offended with the author for throwing any doubt upon the exploits of their antient hero, that they preſented a remonſtrance to the ſovereign council of Berne: and the pamphlet was publicly burnt at Uri. In this inſtance their national prejudices (if they really deſerve that name) become, in ſome meaſure, meritorious and reſpectable.

Upon our landing at Fluellen, I had an opportunity of obſerving that the croſs-bow is ſtill much uſed in theſe parts, as I ſaw ſeveral very young boys, each with that inſtrument in his hand. There happened to be a butt at a ſmall diſtance from the place; and I gave them to underſtand, that thoſe who hit the mark ſhould receive a penny

* As Saxo Grammaticus is an author but little known, and the paſſage in queſtion is exceedingly curious; the reader will find it inſerted nearly at the end of this volume. It is but juſtice to add, that ſome perſons queſtion the authenticity of this paſſage, and ſuppoſe it to be ſpurious.

penny for their dexterity. Upon this intimation, three boys took aim ſucceſſively, two of whom touched the very center of the butt, and obtained the prize accordingly: but, the third miſſing, I made him ſhoot till he hit the mark; which, after two or three trials, he at length performed.

From Fluellen we walked to Altdorf, the capital burgh of the canton of Uri, ſituated in a narrow vale almoſt entirely ſurrounded by ſtupendous mountains. It contains ſeveral neat houſes; the tops whereof are covered with large ſtones, in order to prevent the roofs being carried away by thoſe violent hurricanes which are frequent in theſe mountainous countries.

When the greateſt part of Helvetia was ſubject to the empire; the inhabitants of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, had long enjoyed the moſt conſiderable privileges, particularly the right of being governed by their own magiſtrates: the clergy and many of the nobles, indeed, had fiefs and ſubjects in thoſe reſpective territories; but the bulk of the people formed ſeveral communities almoſt totally independent. During the twelfth century, various diſputes between theſe three cantons and the emperors, united them more firmly than ever; and they were accuſtomed, every ten years, to renew formally their alliance. Such was their ſituation at the death of Frederic II. in 1250. From this period, or ſoon afterwards, commences the interregnum in the empire: during which time of anarchy and confuſion, the nobles and biſhops endeavouring to extend their power, and to encroach upon the privileges of the people; Uri,

Schweitz, and Underwalden, put themſelves under the protection of Rhodolph of Hapſburgh, who, in 1273, being choſen emperor, terminated the interregnum. Rhodolph received a ſmall revenue from theſe cantons, and appointed a governor, who had cognizance in all criminal cauſes: the rights, however, and privileges of the people were expreſsly reſerved.

Rhodolph, ſome time after his acceſſion to the imperial throne, liſtened to the ambitious ſchemes of his ſon Albert, who was deſirous to form Helvetia into a dutchy. For this purpoſe the emperor purchaſed the domains of ſeveral abbeys, and other conſiderable fiefs in Switzerland, as well in the canton of Schweitz as in the neighbouring territories. The three cantons, induced by the great increaſe of power, which the emperor gained by this acquiſition, prudently renewed their alliance, and obtained a confirmation of their privileges: which, upon the death of Rhodolph, was confirmed by his ſucceſſor Adolphus of Naſſau. But when Albert was afterwards elected emperor, he refuſed to ratify their rights: and, in order totally to ſubdue the people, placed over them two governors, who were guilty of many flagitious acts of tyranny and oppreſſion.

Under theſe circumſtances Werner de Staffach of Schweitz, Walther Furſt of Uri, and Arnold de Melchthal of Underwalden, planned the famous revolution, which took place January 13, 1308, and reſtored liberty to the three cantons. Albert, while he was preparing to attack them, was aſſaſſinated by his nephew John of Hapſburgh.

Hapſburgh*. In 1315, Leopold duke of Auſtria marched againſt the confederate cantons, at the head of twenty thouſand troops, and, endeavouring to force his way into Schweitz at the ſtreights of Morgarten, received a total defeat from thirteen hundred Swiſs, who were poſted upon the mountains. If we may believe contemporary hiſtorians, the Swiſs loſt but fourteen men in this memorable engagement, which inſured their independence. In the ſame year the three cantons contracted a perpetual alliance, which was ratified at Brunnen; and is the grand foundation of the Helvetic Confederacy. Such were the feeble beginnings of a league, ſince become ſo formidable by the acceſſion of ten more cantons, and by the additional ſtrength of its numerous allies: and it is remarkable, that Switzerland is the only country which, on the one ſide, has confined the limits of the German empire; and, on the other, has ſet bounds to the French monarchy, which the latter has never tranſgreſſed.

The name of Schweitzerland, or Switzerland, which originally comprehended only the three cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, was afterwards extended to all Helvetia. It derived that appellation either from the canton of Schweitz, as having particularly diſtinguiſhed itſelf in the revolution of 1308, and alſo at the battle of Morgarten; or becauſe the Auſtrians called all the inhabitants of theſe mountainous parts, by the general denomination of Schweitzers.

* See Letter 14.

Switzerland was the rock on which the Houſe of Auſtria ſplit, during more than a century. Blinded with reſentment againſt their former ſubjects, and anxious to recover their loſt domains in theſe parts; the ſeveral dukes led in perſon conſiderable armies to ſubdue a nation, whoſe ſpirit was unconquerable; and to obtain poſſeſſion of a country, which, from its ſituation, was eaſily defended by a handful of men againſt the moſt numerous troops. Within the period above-mentioned, they neglected ſeveral opportunities of aggrandizing themſelves in other parts; and, ſlighting what was more feaſible, bent their whole efforts to acquire what in its very nature was unattainable. The conſequence of this miſtaken policy, was, a continued ſucceſſion of defeats, attended with a prodigious expence, and the loſs of their braveſt troops: until at length, convinced of their error, they totally relinquiſhed an attempt, in which they had expended ſo much fruitleſs blood and treaſure. But although ſeveral emperors of that Houſe occaſionally made alliances with the Swiſs cantons; yet it was not till the treaty of Weſtphalia that their independence was fully and finally acknowledged, by Ferdinand III. and the whole empire.

The government of Uri and Schweitz is entirely democratical, and nearly the ſame. The ſupreme power reſides in the people at large, who are divided into ſeveral communities, from which are choſen the councils of regency. In the *Lands-gemeind*, or general aſſembly, the Landamman, and the principal magiſtrates, are elected; and every burgher, at the age of fourteen in the cantons of Uri and Underwalden; and of

of fifteen in Schweitz; has a right to vote. The councils of regency in Uri and Schweitz conſiſt each of ſixty members, and reſide at the capital burghs. In this council the executive power is veſted, and from this body the principal magiſtrates are choſen.

Theſe two cantons contain, including their ſubjects, about fifty thouſand ſouls, and in caſe of neceſſity could furniſh above twelve thouſand militia. All the Catholic cantons enjoy conſiderable ſubſidies from France. Every burgher, at the age of fourteen, in Uri, receives annually about ſix livres, or five ſhillings; the Landamman and the magiſtrates more in proportion. The canton of Schweitz being for ſome time diſcontented with France, withdrew its troops from that ſervice: but this year the matter has been accommodated; and the king pays annually to every male child of a burgher four livres, commencing from the time of his birth.

The ſame kind of ſoil, and the ſame ſort of productions, are common to the two cantons: the whole country being rugged and mountainous, conſiſts chiefly of paſture, but raiſes little corn, and has no vines. We cannot but obſerve with aſtoniſhment, to what a degree of fertility the natives have improved a land, naturally barren, and for which they fought with as much zeal and intrepidity, as if they contended for the richeſt plains of Sicily or Aſia Minor. In theſe little democratical ſtates, ſumptuary laws are not neceſſary; for, they ſcarcely know, even in idea, what luxury is. Such indeed is the purity, or (as ſome perhaps would call it) the auſterity of morals, which ſtill prevails among

theſe

theſe people, as cannot eaſily be imagined by the inhabitants of great and opulent cities: and I cannot reflect on that affectionate patriotiſm which ſo ſtrongly attaches them to their country, without calling to mind that beautiful deſcription of the Swiſs peaſant, in Goldſmith's Traveller:

" *Dear is that ſhed to which his ſoul conforms,*
" *And dear that hill which lifts him to the ſtorms:*
" *And as a child, when ſcaring ſounds moleſt,*
" *Clings cloſe and cloſer to the mother's breaſt;*
" *So the loud torrent, and the whirlwind's roar,*
" *But bind him to his native mountains more.*"

Every ſtep we now advance is treading, as it were, upon ſacred ground; monuments continually occurring of thoſe memorable battles, by which the Swiſs reſcued themſelves from oppreſſion, and ſecured the enjoyment of their invaluable freedom. I am now indeed in the very center of civil liberty; would I could add of religious too! but the church of Rome is here excluſively eſtabliſhed. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that this intolerant ſpirit is not wholly confined to the Catholic cantons; for, in thoſe where the Proteſtants prevail, Calviniſm is alone admitted: and thus a nation, who prides herſelf upon her freedom, denies the free exerciſe of religion to every other ſect except that which predominates. Is not this ſtriking at the firſt principle, and moſt valuable privilege, of genuine liberty?

Long as my letter already is, I cannot forbear mentioning a peculiar cuſtom obſerved in ſome of theſe democratical ſtates: every perſon who is choſen

choſen for a bailliage, or any lucrative office, is obliged to pay a certain ſtipulated ſum into the public fund. This practice is attended with one ill conſequence at leaſt; as the ſucceſsful candidate is in ſome meaſure authoriſed to ſtretch his prerogatives, in order to ſwell the profits of his charge. Accordingly it is a general remark, that in the common bailliages the bailifs, appointed by the popular cantons, are more apt to be guilty of exactions than thoſe of the ariſtocratical republics.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 26.

Canton of Underwalden—Sarne—Saxelen—Tomb and Character of Nicholas de Flue—Stantz—Engelberg—Paſſage over the Suren Alps to Altdorf.

INSTEAD of proceeding, as in my former tour, from Lucerne to Altdorf by water, I made an agreeable excurſion to Sarne, Saxelen, and Stantz, in the canton of Underwalden, viſited the abbey of Engelberg, and traverſed the Suren alps to Altdorf.

Having diſpatched my baggage by water to Altdorf, I walked, in company with Mr. Meyer, member of the Great Council of Lucerne, through a pleaſant plain, lying between Mount Pilate and an oppoſite ridge of hills, to Winke, a village ſituated on an inlet of the lake of Lucerne. There I took boat, and rowing acroſs the inlet, diſembarked near Alpnach, in the canton of Underwalden,

derwalden, and continued along a foot-way, which winds through encloſures of rich paſture-land, browſed by numerous herds of fine cattle, and prettily checkered with ſcattered cottages. Having croſſed a ſmall river, I arrived at Sarne, the capital burgh of that diviſion of the canton called Oberwalden, wherein the *Land-rath*, or ſupreme court of judicature, aſſembles for the purpoſe of deciding civil and criminal proceſſes. This tribunal is compoſed of fifty-eight judges, who are choſen by the people, and continue in office for life. In criminal affairs of any notoriety, each of theſe fifty-eight is empowered to bring into court two individuals; and this whole tribunal, thus conſiſting of a hundred and ſeventy-four members, aſſembles in a large open hall in the town-houſe, and paſſes final ſentence.

At Sarne I embarked upon the Aa, and aſcending its ſtream, entered the lake of Sarne: this piece of water, about three miles long, and one and a half broad, is pleaſantly encloſed between the mountains, and its riſing borders are richly variegated with paſtures and trees. I landed at Saxelen, which ſtands on its weſtern ſhore; a neat village much frequented in theſe parts, as being the native place of the celebrated ſaint and patriot Nicholas de Flue, to whoſe honour a church has been lately erected at a conſiderable expence. The interior is ornamented in a pleaſing ſtyle of architecture. Ten elegant columns of black marble ſupport the roof: they are about twenty-four feet in height, and many of them are of a ſingle piece. They were hewn out of a quarry in the Melchthal, about nine

nine miles from Saxelen, and were dragged from thence by the peaſants, who voluntarily performed this taſk, which they conſidered as an act of religious duty: a laborious enterpriſe, to convey ſuch heavy burdens down ſteep precipices and over rugged pathleſs rocks, where they could neither be aſſiſted by horſes or oxen!

Under a glaſs-caſe in the midſt of this church, are depoſited the bones of this favourite object of national worſhip, fantaſtically ornamented, according to the Roman Catholic cuſtom, with gold and precious ſtones. His real burial place is ſtill to be ſeen in a ſmall adjoining chapel: it is a ſimple grave-ſtone, on which his figure is coarſely carved in ſtone, the work of the age in which he lived. At a ſmall height over this antient monument, is placed another grave-ſtone, bearing alſo his figure, executed in later times, leſs rude, but ſtill of coarſe workmanſhip.

On entering this chapel, I obſerved numerous pilgrims of both ſexes, who were kneeling before his tomb, and praying with the greateſt fervency. Many, in the ardour of devotion, threw themſelves between the two grave-ſtones, and ſtretching themſelves upon the moſt antient figure, repeatedly kiſſed and embraced it.

Nicholas de Flue, this object of national enthuſiaſm, was born at Saxelen in 1417. Deſcended from an antient family, he ſignalized himſelf in defence of his country, and particularly during the war which the Swiſs ſupported againſt Sigiſmond arckduke of Auſtria. He was no leſs remarkable for humanity than valour. He remonſtrated to his countrymen preparing to pillage and burn the convent of St. Margaret near

near Dieſſenhoſen. He exclaimed: "If God grants you the victory over your enemies, uſe it with moderation; and ſpare thoſe edifices which are conſecrated to him." This remonſtrance was attended with effect, and the convent was ſaved from deſtruction. To the moſt excellent qualities of the heart and underſtanding, to great political ſagacity he added the exterior graces of figure, dignity of character, and the moſt winning affability of manners. Raiſed by his countrymen to ſeveral high employments in the ſtate, he repeatedly declined the office of landamman from motives of delicacy, becauſe he diſapproved the principles of the governing party. At length, hurried away by his deteſtation of evil, and his zeal for monkiſh devotion, according to the ſpirit of the times, he quitted his family in the fiftieth year of his age, and retiring from the world, in a fit of gloomy ſuperſtition turned hermit. The place of his retreat was at Ranſt, a few miles from Saxelen; there he built an hermitage and a ſmall chapel, and practiſed all the ſeverities required by that auſtere mode of life with the ſtricteſt obſervance.

But the flame of patriotiſm, although ſmothered in his breaſt by an ill-directed zeal for miſtaken duties, was not extinguiſhed; and he was the happy inſtrument in reſtoring Switzerland from the impending horrors of civil diſcord. At the concluſion of the war with Charles the Bold, Friburgh and Soleure contracted an alliance with Zuric, Berne, and Lucerne. This treaty being conſidered by Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glarus, as a breach of the former union, thoſe five cantons refuſed to receive them. After various

various diſputes and fruitleſs conferences, the deputies of the eight confederate cantons aſſembled, in 1481, at Stantz, in order to compromiſe the differences.

Both ſides, however, were ſo heated with mutual animoſities, that the deputies were on the point of ſeparating without effecting a reconciliation, and civil war appeared inevitable. In this criſis of affairs, de Flue no ſooner heard, in the depth of his ſolitude, of thoſe public diſſenſions which threatened a fatal rupture between the confederate cantons, than his patriotiſm prevailed over his ſuperſtition; and he quitted his unprofitable hermitage, in order to exert thoſe active and public virtues, the very loweſt of which ſingly outweighs whole years of uſeleſs and unrequired mortifications. Accordingly this extraordinary man, having, though in the 64th year of his age, travelled during the night, arrived at Stantz on the very morning in which the deputies were preparing for their departure. He earneſtly conjured them to remain; and, having prevailed upon them once more to aſſemble, he ſo forcibly repreſented to them the deſtructive conſequences which would attend their diſunion, that they choſe him arbiter of the diſpute. By his ſole mediation all differences between the contending parties were amicably adjuſted; and Friburgh and Soleure were, by his advice, inſtantly received into the Helvetic Confederacy: ſuch was the effect of his perſuaſive and conciliatory eloquence! Having thus happily compoſed the public diſſenſions, he returned to his hermitage, where he died, 1487, in the 70th year of his age, regretted and eſteemed by all Switzerland.

Such

Such a general opinion of his extreme piety prevailed among his contemporaries, that the bigotry of thoſe times aſcribed to him an exemption from the common wants of humanity.

In the regiſter of the church of Saxelen, the following notice is inſcribed for 1485, the year antecedent to his death. "In 1417, Nicholas "de Flue, a ſaint, was born in the pariſh of "Saxelen; who afterwards retired into a deſert "called Ranft, where God ſuſtained him during "eighteen years, without eating or drinking for "a long time, namely when this was written; "and he is now in good eſtate, and holy "life."

On his tomb is inſcribed the following epitaph: "Nicholas de Flue quitted his wife and children "to go into the deſert: he ſerved God nineteen "years and a half without taking any ſuſtenance. "He died 1487."

This frivolous epitaph ſtrongly marks the bigotted ſpirit of that dark age in which it was compoſed: the narrow-minded author, totally overlooking the patriot in the hermit, ſaw nothing ſo truly meritorious in the life of the deceaſed, as his having ſuppreſſed thoſe ſocial and public energies which dignify human nature, in order to practiſe the debaſing auſterities of a ſuperſtitious religioniſt.—He ought to have inſcribed, "To the memory of Nicholas de Flue, who quitted his hermitage to appear in the world; who reſtored peace and harmony to the republics of Switzerland, and who ſerved God by ſerving his country."

From Saxelen we intended to have viſited Ranft, de Flue's hermitage, and from thence to have

proceeded

proceeded down the Melchthal and over the mountains to Engelberg; but as the evening was already beginning to close, we durſt not venture along ſo difficult a paſſage, which would have employed us at leaſt five hours; we thought it, therefore moſt prudent to continue our route towards Stantz. We followed the footpaths, which wind agreeably, ſometimes through foreſts, ſometimes over the fields and meadows; and paſſed through a fertile but wilder and more romantic part of the canton, than that which we traverſed in the morning. We continued for ſome way at the foot of the Stantzberg, croſſed a ſmall plain that was formerly a lake, in which ſtaples for mooring veſſels are occaſionally diſcovered; and, in about three hours after our departure from Saxelen, arrived at Stantz, in the duſk of the evening.

About three miles from Stantz is a ſmall wood called the *Kern-wald*, which we paſſed through in our route from Saxelen; it would not have been worthy of mention, if it did not ſeparate the canton into two diviſions, called * *Oberwald* and *Underwald*. Formerly the whole canton was under the ſame general adminiſtration; but the inhabitants of the two diſtricts ſeparating upon ſome diſpute, have ſince formed two republics, and have each their *lands-gemeind*, or general aſſembly, their landamman, and council of regency: for the management of external affairs, there is a joint-council, choſen equally by the two diviſions; at the Helvetic Diet they ſend but

* Above the wood, and Below the wood; *wald* in German ſignifying a wood.

but one deputy, and regulate their vote by mutual conſent.

Stantz is the ſeat of civil and criminal judicature; and it is worthy of remark, that every male of the age of thirty is permitted to give his vote for the acquittance or condemnation of a criminal.

Stantz, the capital of Underwalden, is ſituated in a beautiful plain of paſture, about two or three miles in breadth, at the foot of the Stantzberg, and at a little diſtance from the lake of Lucerne. The town and environs, which are delightfully ſprinkled with numerous cottages, are, for ſo ſmall a place, extremely populous, compriſing, perhaps, not leſs than five thouſand ſouls. The church is a tolerably handſome building, and is decorated in the inſide with ten black marble pillars of large dimenſions, but not ſo beautiful as thoſe at Saxelen. The women in theſe parts dreſs their heads in a ſingular manner, and extremely unbecoming: they wear black-beaver cocked hats, ſimilar to thoſe of the men, with black ears to their caps, which almoſt conceal their hair.

The next morning the abbot of Engelberg, having been previouſly informed of our intended viſit, politely ſent horſes to Stantz; and we rode through a fertile valley, encloſed between the Stantzberg and a chain of hills, until we arrived at Graffen-ort, a ſmall villa belonging to the abbot, about two leagues from Stantz. Here we began to aſcend along a road winding by the ſide of a ſteep precipice, and through "*unſunned foreſts*" of beech intermingled with poplar, mountainaſh, Spaniſh cheſnuts, and pines, the torrent Aa impetuouſly

impetuouſly foaming in a ſtony channel, and forming a ſucceſſion of cataracts. The wild horrors of the circumjacent rocks, the inceſſant roaring of the waters, and the ſolitary gloom of the foreſt, reminded me of Gray's beautiful Ode on the Grande Chartreuſe, in which he deſcribes ſimilar ſcenes with a ſublimity and truth which every perſon of taſte, who travels through theſe magnificent regions, muſt feel and admire.

Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
Clivoſque præruptos, ſonantes
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem.

Having iſſued from the dark foreſt, we deſcended for a little way; and unanimouſly broke into an exclamation of ſurpriſe and delight, as we ſuddenly looked down upon a pictureſque plain of an oval ſhape beautifully wooded, watered by ſeveral lively ſtreams, encloſed within a circle of gentle hills, and terminated by a majeſtic amphitheatre of "*cloud-capt alps*:" toward the extremity of this plain, the abbey, a large quadrangular building of ſtone, is ſituated, at the foot of the *Engelberg*, or Mountain of *Angels*, from which the whole diſtrict takes its name. On alighting from our horſes, the abbot politely received and conducted us into a large ſaloon, where ſoon afterwards dinner was ſerved with all the plenty of feudal times, and all the comforts of the preſent age. The company at table conſiſted of the abbot, five or ſix benedictines, ourſelves, and our ſervants, who, according to the cuſtom of the place, ſat down to the ſame hoſpitable board with their maſters. This intermixture

intermixture of ſociety, the politeneſs of the worthy abbot, and the facetious cheerfulneſs of one among the fathers, rendered the repaſt as agreeable as it was uncommon. After dinner we viſited the library, which contains about ten thouſand volumes: and, among many rare editions, above two hundred printed in the fifteenth century. I noticed a much larger collection of modern hiſtorical and miſcellaneous works, than are uſually found within the walls of a monaſtery; which does honour to the taſte of the abbot, and proves him to be a warm friend to polite literature.

The weather being fine and clear, I ſtrayed about the environs; admiring the ſcattered hamlets, the beautiful tufts of woods, and the lively ſtreams which murmur through the plain: of theſe, one called the Melt-bach, which I obſerved iſſuing copiouſly from the ground, begins to flow on the firſt melting of the ſnow in the month of May, and ceaſes towards the end of September; and the Grieſen-bach, that riſes at the foot of Mount Blake, runs only from mid-day to the ſetting ſun. Several other torrents, that pour down from the neighbouring glaciers, and numerous ſprings that burſt from the ground near the abbey, help to ſupply the Aa, which ruſhes from the Suren alps, and, ſwelled with theſe tributary waters, haſtens to throw itſelf into the lake of Lucerne. The amphitheatre of cloud-capt mountains, is formed by the Melkleberg, the Arniberg, the Blakeberg, the Spitze-ſtock, the Suren alps with their brown peaks boldly riſing from the boſom of the ſnow, the Engelberg

towering in naked majeſty, and, the moſt elevated and moſt beautiful in the whole chain, Mount Titlis, ſupporting on its top an immenſe glacier.

About ſeven in the afternoon we ſat down to ſupper; in the midſt of the repaſt we were ſuddenly ſtruck with an awful thunder-ſtorm, which, though it could not be called the muſic of the ſpheres, or ſuch as, according to the legends of the abbey, was performed on the top of the Engelberg, by a choir of angels, at the conſecration of the convent; yet produced a moſt ſublime effect, when re-echoed by the ſurrounding mountains.

The abbot of this convent, choſen by a majority of ſixteen benedictines, who compoſe the chapter, is ſovereign lord over the land of Engelberg, a ſmall tract of country about ſixty miles in circumference, and under the protection of Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden. The only habitable part of this diſtrict is the ſmall plain in which the abbey is ſituated, that contains fifteen hundred ſouls: the remaining portion, being entirely mountainous, affords in ſummer a retreat to numerous herds of cattle. The abbot, to whom we were indebted for ſo polite a reception, is Leodigar Saltzman, a native of Lucerne, who, ſince his elevation to his preſent dignity, has been a kind and indulgent maſter: finding many of his ſubjects extremely poor and indolent, he has excited them to induſtry; and, in order to aſſiſt them during the winter months, when agriculture is ſuſpended, he employs them in winding ſilk, which he imports from Italy. He poſſeſſes very conſiderable power,

power, which renders him nearly abſolute. In all criminal caſes he arreſts and impriſons; appoints the perſon who examines; can order, if he thinks it neceſſary, the infliction of torture; and can pardon or mitigate the ſentence given by the tribunal of the country, called *landſgericht*. In civil cauſes his influence is very conſiderable; he appoints, from twelve candidates ſelected by the people, the ſeven judges, who, in conjunction with the *thalamman* and *ſtathalter*, form the above-mentioned *landſgericht*, which decides in the firſt reſort: he can alſo diſplace them if he pleaſes; and abſolutely nominates all the judges of the *geiſtlichen-gericht*, or eccleſiaſtical court, which receives appeals from the deciſions of the former tribunal. His power is reſtricted in the following inſtances. If he is engaged in a lawſuit with an individual, the award of the country tribunal is final; and if with the whole community, the queſtion is decided by the four cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden.

His revenues amount to about £.5000; and are derived partly from tythes of certain eſtates in the free bailliages of Switzerland, from a few feudal rights, but principally from the exportation of cheeſes. Beſide thoſe which are made on the paſtures belonging to the abbey, he purchaſes others from the peaſants of his little territory, and diſpoſes of the whole on his own account. About eighteen hundred cows, including thoſe which are the property of the convent, are poſſeſſed by the natives of Engelberg, and annually ſupply cream for about 10,000 cheeſes, each weighing from 25 to 50 pounds, and ſelling, on

an average, for fifteen florins, or one pound five ſhillings per hundred weight: and it may be calculated that the abbot circulates annually to the value of £.4000. This revenue, however, cannot be conſidered as his own private property; for he pays the current expences of the abbey.

Several ineffectual expeditions have been made towards attaining the ſummit of Mount Titlis, the moſt elevated mountain in theſe parts, and perhaps ſcarcely inferior to the Schreckhorn and Jungfrauhorn: it was for a long time conſidered as inacceſſible; but, as tradition reported that in the year 1739, three men had aſcended it, Mr. Freygrabend, a native of Engelberg, and phyſician to the abbot, a few days after my departure from the convent, ſucceeded in a ſimilar attempt. The following account of this expedition is extracted from a German letter, written by the phyſician himſelf to a friend at Lucerne.

"Early in the morning on the 14th of September, the weather being fine and clear, I ſet out with eleven companions, among whom were Jerom Dopler and Conrad Stocher, two friars of the convent. About two in the morning, after aſcending through Gerſchne, and Unter and Ober-laub, we reached, at break of day, the ſummit of the Laubergrat. Here we enjoyed a fine view over the canton of Underwalden, the lake and canton of Lucerne, the free bailliages of Switzerland, and the canton of Zug. Having taken ſome refreſhment, and repoſed ourſelves a quarter of an hour, we put on our crampons, and purſued our route, eager,

eager, like the giants of old, to ſcale the ſteep ſides of Mount Faulblatten. We continued for about an hour along the piked ridge of this mountain, tottering by the ſide of tremendous precipices, and twice climbing an aſcent almoſt perpendicular. We could not obſerve any trace of the ſmalleſt vegetation. Having gained the higheſt point of the Faulblatten, we arrived at a glacier, which being fortunately covered with freſh ſnow, rendered the ice leſs ſlippery than uſual.

"Hitherto our courſe had been attended with ſome danger, but from hence we aſcended, and reached, with little difficulty, the top of the Titlis, called *Nollen*. But here we were obliged to croſs a deep chaſm, and to mount the ſides of the ice, which were as perpendicular as a wall, by forming ſteps for our feet with the iron ſpikes of our poles: below us was a valley of ice about ſixteen miles in length, deſcending rapidly towards Oberhaſli. It was now about ten in the morning, and the ſun was extremely bright. Having walked a few paces, the proſpect was on all ſides open and unbounded. This ſublime, yet dreary ſcene, though it ſurpaſſes all deſcription, made an impreſſion on my mind which I ſhall never forget.

"Here the painter and poet would find ample and endleſs employment, if the colours of the former and the conceptions of the latter could reſiſt the effects of the extreme cold. The firſt objects which caught our attention, were the alps of the Vallais, Berne, and Savoy, with their glaciers and vallies of ice, a majeſtic and tremendous ſcene. Among numerous mountains

tains which roſe before us, Mont-Blanc, though at ſome diſtance, reared its head above the reſt; near us towered the Schreckhorn, Wetterhorn, and Jungfrauhorn, but leſs elevated in appearance than the point on which we ſtood. Below us we obſerved a valley of ice about two miles in breadth, and of ſuch immenſe length, that one extremity ſeemed to join Mont-Blanc, and the other to be cloſed by the Titles. To the eaſt, the Rothſtock, the Plangen, and the mountains of Uri, neither ſo wild nor ſo elevated as thoſe to the ſouth; and towards the north-weſt, the eye repoſed itſelf over the leſs dreary and more cultivated parts of Switzerland, as far as the borders of Alſace and Suabia. Immediately below us we noticed the abbey; and we heard he found of ſeveral mortars, which the abbott ordered to be fired as a ſignal that we were alſo ſeen: by means of a ſmall teleſcope, I obſerved the fire and ſmoke; and five minutes elapſed before the ſound reached us, not in a ſtrait direction, but re-echoed between the ſurrounding rocks. We had propoſed to kindle a fire, and to let off ſome hand-grenade, but the cold prevented us from ſtriking fire. Not being able to ſupport its extremity more than three quarters of an hour, although the ſun ſhone very bright, and we kept ourſelves in continued motion, we placed a black flag on the higheſt point.

"We were as fortunate in deſcending as in mounting. We came to the Under-Titlis at half paſt eleven; to the Laubergrat at one, where we again took ſome refreſhment; and having let off our grenades, we reached the abbey at five in the afternoon. We felt no other inconvenience

convenience from this expedition, than that our faces were ſwelled, and our ſkins peeled, from the reflection of the ſun; and that for ſome hours after my returning to Engelberg, I loſt my ſight and my hearing, both which however I ſoon recovered. Undoubtedly the Titlis is the higheſt mountain in Switzerland, excepting Mont-Blanc, to which it is not much inferior."

It is to be regretted, that this expedition was only a mere object of curioſity; and that the ingenious phyſician carried with him neither a thermometer nor a barometer. His aſſertion that the Titlis is higher than any mountain in Switzerland, will, for this reaſon, and without further proofs, admit of much doubt; and its elevation, though very conſiderable, muſt be greatly inferior to that of Mont-Blanc; as will appear by conſidering that the expedition from the plain of Engelberg to the top of the Titlis was performed in eight hours; whereas Dr. Paccard and James Balma employed fifteen in attaining the ſummit of Mont-Blanc; and the place from which they took their departure, is probably much higher above the level of the ſea than the valley of Engelberg.

Auguſt 25.

Travellers, in going from Engelberg to Altdorf, uſually return to Stantz or Buochs, embark on the lake of Lucerne, and proceed the reſt of the way by water; but as I had already viſited thoſe places, I preferred following the route acroſs the mountains. The morning being obſcure and rainy, we were detained till nine o'clock, when

when the weather clearing up I ſet out, in company with Meſſrs. Balthazar and Meyer, of Lucerne. Paſſing through the plain of Engelberg, we admired, on our left a fine waterfal, which precipitates itſelf from mount Engel, and in about a league arrived at a cottage belonging to the abbey, where we found two peaſants employed in making cheeſes, and where we regaled ourſelves with ſome excellent cream. From this point we mounted gently by the ſide of the Aa, leaving on our right the high Suren alps, whoſe pointed tops occaſionally burſt forth amid the clouds and vapours; about a mile from the cottage we quitted the abbot's horſes, walked up a gradual aſcent, paſſed a ſuperb cataract of the Aa, and reached a chapel noted in theſe parts for a ſmall bell, which, according to tradition, was the gift of a French traveller. Near this chapel we obſerved a hut, which, is in the canton of Uri, and from thence the aſcent was ſteeper, but not difficult; we croſſed many drifts of ſnow, and were incommoded by a keen wind and frequent ſhowers of ſleet, hail, and rain. At length, in about four hours after our departure from the abbey, we reached a croſs planted on the higheſt point; from which elevation we ſhould have enjoyed a moſt ſuperb view, greatly admired by travellers, on one ſide towards Uri and the chain of the St. Gothard, and on the other towards Engelberg and the lake of Lucerne, if the weather had not totally obſcured the proſpect. From this point the Titlis is much extolled for its beautiful and majeſtic appearance.

From hence we deſcended the Enkeberg into a moſt barren region, amid a harveſt of pointed rocks,

rocks, and over numerous drifts of ſnow, and fallen fragments of ſtone, intermixed with ſmall patches of ruſſet herbage, which contributed to render the ſcene ſtill more dreary. Our deſcent along a bare ſlippery rock of ſlate, or in the beds of torrents, or over large maſſes of ice and ſnow, continued above an hour and an half, when we obſerved ſeveral huts lying in a ſmall plain. From their firſt appearance we concluded that we ſhould preſently reach them, but the precipices were ſo ſteep, the paths ſo rugged, and the diſtance ſo much greater than we at firſt imagined, that it employed us above an hour and an half.

The little valley, in which theſe huts are ſituated, is called *Wald-nacht Alp*, contains a ſmall quantity of underwood, and feeds a hundred and thirty-three cows, beſide a few ſheep, goats, and hogs. The peaſants employed in tending the cattle and making cheeſe, uſually arrive on the 20th of June, and remain about a hundred days: the owner of the hut in which we dried our clothes, makes every day, during that period, two cheeſes of twenty-five pounds each, from the milk of eighteen cows. Having taken ſome refreſhment, and recovered our fatigue, we continued along the valley, through ſome groves of poplars and firs, and at its furtheſt extremity we came to a ſingle cottage ſeated on an eminence, the firſt houſe on this ſide which is habitable in winter. A little further we had a proſpect of the town and environs of Altdorf; the fertile vale of Schackeren, which, though a very ſteep aſcent, yet from this elevation ſeemed a level plain; the lake of Uri, ſcarcely viſible, which looked like a

ſmall

ſmall rivulet; and the diſtant mountains reaching beyond the St. Gothard. The deſcent, through rich fields and paſtures, was extremely ſteep and tedious, as the graſs was rendered ſlippery by the rain; and we did not arrive at Altdorf till ſeven in the evening, wet and exceedingly fatigued, but much pleaſed with our expedition. This paſſage from Engelberg to Altdorf is eſtimated at ſeven leagues. A *chaſſeur* may perform it in four hours; a traveller accuſtomed to mountains, in ſix; and perſon unuſed to ſuch fatigue, will require eight or ten hours.

LETTER

LETTER 27.

Valley of Schoellenen—Devil's Bridge—Valley of Urſeren—Valley and Mountain of St. Gothard—Sources of the Teſino and Reuſs.

St. Gothard, Auguſt 9.

SWITZERLAND is a moſt delightful country, and merits the particular obſervation of the traveller, as well for the diverſity of the ſeveral governments, as for the wonderful beauties of nature: but the impoſitions of the innkeepers, and the difficulty of procuring horſes *, are inevitable

* I would recommend to all travellers, who traverſe the canton of Uri in order to viſit the alps, either to hire horſes at Lucerne, or to beſpeak them againſt their arrival at Altdorf. If we fortunately had not taken the latter precaution, we ſhould have found no leſs difficulty in procuring horſes in 1785, than in 1776; notwithſtanding all the good offices of our landlord at the Black Lion; who, knowing that I was the author of Letters on Switzerland, was extremely anxious to wipe

vitable taxes for the enjoyment of theſe its *delights*. Theſe little inconveniences, however, ſhould be borne with patience and good-humour; nor will I trouble you with any ſplenetic complaints of thoſe unpleaſant circumſtances which muſt occur to all travellers.

We quitted Altdorf after dinner, having with difficulty hired two horſes, beſide one for the baggage; we procured, however, another upon the road; ſo that we got on tolerably well. We paſſed at firſt through a fertile plain of paſture, in which the inhabitants were employed in mowing the ſecond crop of hay; and about nine miles from Altdorf, we began aſcending. The road winds continually along the ſteep ſides of the mountains; and the Reuſs in many places entirely fills up the bottom of the valley, which is very narrow: that river ſometimes appeared ſeveral hundred yards below us; here ruſhing a conſiderable way through a foreſt of pines; there falling in caſcades, and loſing itſelf in the valley. We paſſed it ſeveral times, over bridges of a ſingle arch, and behind it tumbling under our feet, in channels which it had forced through the ſolid rock; innumerable torrents roaring down the ſides of the mountains; which were ſometimes bare, ſometimes finely wooded, with here and there ſome fantaſtic trees clothing the ſides of the

wipe away certain aſperſions, which, in the beginning of this letter, ſeem to glance at his native town. The two Mr. Cliffords, whom we met at Engelberg, and who, to our great ſatisfaction, accompanied us in our tour as far as Geneva, were obliged to purſue their journey on foot, not being able to procure more than one horſe, which was appropriated to their baggage.

the precipice, and half obſcuring the river from our view. The darkneſs and ſolitude of the foreſts; the occaſional livelineſs and variety of the verdure; immenſe fragments of rock blended with enormous maſſes of ice; rocks of an aſtoniſhing height piled upon one another, and ſhutting in the vale;—ſuch are the ſublime and magnificent ſcenes with which this romantic country abounds.

Near Waſen, is the valley of Meyen; the torrent that daſhes through it, and falls into the Reuſs, forms a ſeries of the moſt ſuperb cataracts, which the traveller may enjoy by venturing to the edge of the precipice, and ſupporting himſelf againſt an impending pine, that overlooks the gulf.

We ſet out this morning early from Waſen, a ſmall village where we paſſed the night; and continued advancing for ſome way on a rugged aſcent, through the ſame wild and beautiful tract of country, which I have juſt attempted to deſcribe. We could ſcarcely walk a hundred yards without croſſing ſeveral torrents, that rolled with violence from the tops of the mountains. This being one of the great paſſages into Italy, we met many pack-horſes laden with merchandiſe: and as the road in particular parts is very narrow, it required ſome dexterity in the horſes to paſs one another without joſtling. Theſe roads, impending over precipices, cannot fail of inſpiring terror to thoſe travellers, who are unaccuſtomed to them; and more particularly as the mules and horſes do not keep in the middle of the track, but continue croſſing from the ſide of the mountain towards the edge of an abyſs, then turn aſlant abruptly;

abruptly ; thus forming, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, a conſtant zig-zag.

Thus far the valley of Schoellenen appeared to be tolerably well peopled ; and we paſſed through ſeveral villages ſituated towards the bottom and leſs narrow part of the valley : the ſides of the mountains were occaſionally ſtrewed with cottages ; covered with foreſts ; or enriched with paſtures. Still continuing to aſcend, the country beyond Waſen ſuddenly changing, became more wild and perfectly deſert : there were no traces of any trees, except here and there a ſtubbed pine ; the rocks were bare, craggy, and impending ; not the leaſt ſign of any habitation ; and ſcarcely a blade of graſs to be ſeen. We then came to a bridge thrown acroſs a deep chaſm over the Reuſs, which here forms a conſiderable cataract down the ſhagged ſides of the mountain, and over immenſe fragments of rock which it has undermined in its courſe. The bridge is called *Teufels-bruck*, or the Devil's bridge. As we ſtood upon the bridge admiring the cataract, we were covered with a kind of drizzling rain ; the river throwing up the ſpray to a conſiderable height. Theſe are ſublime ſcenes of horror, of which thoſe who have not been ſpectators, can form no idea : they defy the repreſentations of painting or poetry *.

* Many travellers have been diſappointed on the *firſt* view of the Devil's bridge. It ought therefore to be remarked, that the bridge itſelf, though of difficult execution, is a trifling object, and not ſo ſtupendous as many others in Switzerland ; and that it is the wild and majeſtic ſcenery that aſtoniſhes and exalts the beholder.

Not

Not far from this deſolate landſcape, the road led us into the *Urner-loch*, a ſubterraneous paſſage cut through a rock of granite*, which opened at the oppoſite entrance into the ſerene and cultivated valley of Urſeren : the objects that preſented themſelves were, a village backed by a high mountain, on the ſides of which was a wood of pines ; peaſants at work in the fields ; cattle feeding in the meadows ; and the river, which lately daſhed over rude fragments of rock in a continual cataract, now flowed ſilently and ſmoothly ; while the ſun, which had been hidden from us in the deep valley, here ſhone forth in its full ſplendour. In general there is a regular gradation from extreme wildneſs to high cultivation ; but here the tranſition was abrupt, and the change inſtantaneous : it was like the lifting up of a curtain, and had all the appearance of enchantment.

In this valley are four villages, Urſeren, Hopital, Realp, and Zundorf ; forming a ſmall republic under the protection of Uri. The territory of this little commonwealth is about nine miles in length and two in breadth, and contains about thirteen hundred ſouls. The people elect, in their general aſſembly, their *Talamman* or chief, as alſo ſome other magiſtrates : and there is a permanent council of fifteen members, who aſſemble in each of the different diſtricts. The inhabitants enjoy great privileges ; but are not

* This paſſage was hollowed in 1707, by Peter Moretini, a native of Val-Maggia, at the expence of the inhabitants in the valley of Urſeren. It is nine feet in breadth, ten in height, and two hundred and twenty in length.

abſolutely

abſolutely independent: for in civil cauſes an appeal lies from their courts of juſtice to Altdorf; and in criminal proceedings, two deputies from the government of Uri are preſent at the trial, and deliver to the judges of the valley the opinion of the council of Altdorf.

Notwithſtanding the conſiderable elevation of this valley, and the coldneſs of the air even at this ſeaſon of the year, it produces excellent paſture. The only wood therein, is the ſmall plantation of pines above the village of Urſeren, which is preſerved with uncommon care and reverence, and a ſmall quantity of under-wood and ſtubbed willows, that feather the banks of the Reuſs. In the adjacent country there are ſeveral mines of cryſtal; of which a conſiderable quantity is exported. The language of the country is a kind of provincial German, but almoſt every perſon ſpeaks Italian.

The valley of Urſeren is a ſmall plain ſurrounded by high mountains, covered with paſture to a conſiderable height, whoſe tops are barren rocks, in many parts capped with ſnow. Near the middle of this beautiful plain we turned to the left, and entered the valley of St. Gothard, filled with the ruins of broken mountains; the Reuſs, a moſt rapid and vehement torrent, burſting through it; on each ſide, immenſe ſhattered blocks of granite, of a beautiful greyiſh colour (and of which the ſummits of theſe alps are compoſed) confuſedly piled together.

The valley of St. Gothard, though not ſo wild as that of Schoellenen, is yet exceedingly dreary. It does not contain a ſingle ſhed, or produce a ſingle

ſingle tree; and the ſides of the mountains are barely ſprinkled with ſhort herbage. The extremity is cloſed by the ſtill ruder and naked rocks of the Feudo, ſupporting in its hollows vaſt maſſes of ſnow, while the ſuperb glacier of the Locendro towers above the adjacent heights. It is about two leagues from Urſeren to this place; but the road, conſidering the ruggedneſs of the rocks and the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, is not incommodious: it is from nine to twelve feet broad; and is almoſt as well paved as the ſtreets of London.

We are now lodged at a houſe inhabited by two Italian friars from the convent of Capuchins at Milan, who receive all ſtrangers that paſs through theſe inhoſpitable regions. One of the friars is abſent, ſo that I am in poſſeſſion of his bedchamber: it is a ſnug little room, where a man may ſleep very well without being an anchorite; and which, after the fatigues of our journey, I enjoy with a ſatisfaction much too ſenſible to envy the luxury of a palace. Our hoſt has juſt ſupplied us with a dinner, conſiſting of delicious trout, with which the neighbouring lake of Locendro abounds, eggs, and milk, together with excellent butter and cheeſe; both made in this dreary ſpot.

Upon our arrival we were rejoiced to find a good fire; the weather being ſo exceedingly cold, that I, who was only clad in a thin camlet coat, entered the houſe half frozen. It is ſingular to find, at the diſtance of only a day's journey, ſuch a difference in the climate: the air is abſolutely in a freezing ſtate; and I juſt now paſſed

a boy at work, who was blowing his fingers to warm them. If the cold is ſo piercing in the midſt of ſummer, how intolerable muſt it prove in December? The ſnow begins to fall the latter end of September; and the lakes about this ſpot are frozen during eight months in the year.

I am juſt returned from viſiting the ſources of the Teſino and the Reuſs; which riſe within a ſhort diſtance of each other. The Teſino has three principal ſources in the chain of the St. Gothard. The firſt is a ſpring which riſes towards the bottom of the Proſa, and is entirely covered with frozen ſnow, or, when that is melted, with fallen fragments of rock, through which it trickles in numerous currents, that unite and help to form a ſmall lake: from this piece of water it communicates with two other lakes, and iſſues in a more conſiderable torrent.

The lake of La Sella, in another part of the eaſtern chain, ſupplies the ſecond ſource; and the third is furniſhed by the ſnows of Mount Feudo. Theſe three ſources uniting with another branch, that flows from the Furca through the valley of Bedreto, form one great torrent, which takes its courſe towards the ſouth, enters the lake of Locarno, and traverſing part of the Milaneſe falls into the Po.

The ſource of the Reuſs is the lake of Locendro, an oblong piece of water about three miles in circumference, which is emboſomed between the mountains of Petina and Locendro, and is almoſt entirely ſupplied by the immenſe glaciers which crown the ſummit of the Locendro.

dro. The ſtream iſſuing from this lake ruſhes down the valley of St. Gothard, and joining in the vale of Urſeren the two branches which come from the Furca on one ſide, and from the Griſon mountains on the other, flows towards the north into the lake of Lucerne, and from thence throws itſelf into the Aar.

In alluſion to the oppoſite courſes of the Teſino and the Reuſs, M. de Boufflers ſaid, that from the top of the St. Gothard, a man might ſpit into the ocean and the Mediterranean.

Within a day's journey is the ſource of the Rhine in the Griſons; and about the diſtance of three leagues, that of the Rhone in the Furca: which mountain we ſhall paſs to-morrow. We are ſtill ſurrounded by very high, rugged rocks, and inacceſſible glaciers; ſo that our view is much confined: and though I walked above a league towards Italy, in hopes of enjoying an extenſive proſpect over that delightful country, yet I could obſerve nothing but rocks, precipices, and torrents.

I am at this inſtant near * ſeven thouſand feet perpendicular above the level of the ſea: no inconſiderable height, moſt certainly. Nevertheleſs, if I gave credit to thoſe, who aſſert, that this mountain is the loftieſt point of Europe, I ſhould raiſe myſelf in idea above twice as high: but I have reaſon to think, that this opinion is founded upon falſe calculations. Mikeli, who meaſured the principal mountains of Switzer-

* According to Mr. de Sauſſure, the ſpot upon which the houſe of the Capuchin friars is built, is 1,061 French toiſes above the ſea.

land, but who is very inaccurate in his calculations, conſiders the St. Gothard as the higheſt; and he eſtimates its elevation above the ſea as equal to 17,600 feet. But the truth is, that, ſo far from being of that height, it is by no means the higheſt ground of Switzerland; and there is probably not one mountain, either in Europe, Aſia, or Africa, of that altitude. According to general Pfiffer, the ſummit of the St. Gothard riſes above the ſea 9,075 feet: an elevation conſiderably leſs than that of Ætna and Teneriff; and ſtill more inferior to ſeveral mountains in the great chain of alps, to which we are bending our courſe.

POSTSCRIPT.

Auguſt 1785.

On my entrance into the little plain in which the friar's houſe is ſituated, although the air was exceedingly keen, I did not experience that piercing cold which I felt in 1776: but the day was fine, and the ſun ſhone unclouded. When we arrived at the houſe, the friar was ſaying maſs to an audience of about twenty perſons; many of whom deſcend from the neighbouring alps, where they are tending cattle, to divine ſervice on Sundays and feſtivals. At the concluſion of maſs, the friar, whoſe name is Francis, immediately recollected, and received me with great ſatisfaction. He is well known to all travellers that paſs

paſs this way, having already inhabited this dreary ſpot above twenty years. Since my laſt expedition, he has conſiderably enlarged his houſe, and rendered it extremely commodious. It contains at preſent, beſide ſeveral ſitting-rooms, kitchens, and one apartment for the family, nine ſmall but neat bedchambers appropriated to travellers. The expence of this addition has already amounted to £.300, part of which he collected in various diſtricts of Switzerland; and an equal ſum is required to diſcharge the preſent debts, and to make the further neceſſary improvements; which ſum he intends to procure by another collection.

Friar Francis obligingly accompanied me about the environs, and favoured me with the following particulars, in addition to my former account.

The chain of mountains, which immediately ſurround this place, takes the general appellation of St. Gothard; and its particular parts are called by different names; of which the principal are, the Salla, Proſa, and Surecha, to the eaſt; the Feudo, the Petina, and the Locendro, to the weſt; to the north, the Urſino; and to the ſouth, the ridge of naked and piked rocks of the Val-Maggia. Of theſe the Feudo is the moſt elevated: its higheſt point riſes above 2,000 feet above the plain in which ſtands the friar's houſe, and requires three hours to reach it. There are ſix paſtures on the neighbouring heights; on which are fed two hundred cows, a hundred and fifty goats, and thirty horſes.

On

On examining, at mid-day, Reaumur's thermometer, placed in the ſhade in a northern aſpect, I was much ſurpriſed to find, that the mercury ſtood at 6 $\frac{1}{10}$ above freezing point, or 46 of Fahrenheit, although the northern wind was exceedingly keen, and, if I had judged from my own feelings, I ſhould have concluded that the air was in a freezing ſtate.

About four years ago, the elector of Bavaria ſent to the friar ſeveral barometers, thermometers, and other meteorological inſtruments, which has enabled him to note the variations of the atmoſphere, and to form a ſeries of obſervations, of which he favoured me with the following reſult.

In the moſt extreme cold he ever experienced in theſe parts, the mercury in Reaumur's thermometer fell to 19 degrees below freezing point, or—10 of Fahrenheit.

In 1784. Greateſt heat on the 13th of September, it ſtood at 13, or 61½ of Fahrenheit. Greateſt cold at—17, or—8½ of Fahrenheit.

M. de Luc's barometer never roſe

higher than — 22. 3. 1.
or fell lower than — 20. 9. 9.

It appeared from obſervations made in 1784, that the average ſtate of the thermometer and barometer was as follows:

	Thermometer.			Barometer.
Nine in the morning,	2 $\frac{1}{10}$	of Reaumur,	or 28 of Fahrenheit	21 9 2
Mid-day	0	—	or 32 —	21 9 3
Nine in the afternoon,	1—3 lines,	—	or 29½ —	21 9 4

In

In the ſame year it ſnowed during ſome part of 118 days; rained 78; cloudy 293; tempeſt, with hail, 12; thunder and lightning 22; rainbow 4. Halos round the ſun 2, and round the moon 2. Serene days 87.

LETTER

LETTER 28.

Paſſage and Glacier of the Furca—Source of the Rhone.

Munſter in the Vallais, Auguſt 11.

I Arrived here late yeſterday evening; and ſo fatigued that I was incapable of writing: but I am this morning quite refreſhed with a comfortable ſleep, and in ſpirits to continue my journal. I took leave of our hoſt of St. Gothard, after having wiſhed him a pleaſant winter in that dreary ſituation; and walked alone, for about two leagues, down the valley of St. Gothard. I frequently quit my company, and either go on before, or ſtay behind, that I may enjoy uninterrupted, and with a ſort of melancholy pleaſure, theſe ſublime exhibitions of Nature in her moſt awful and tremendous forms. I entered the valley of Urſeren at Hopital; and was again ſtruck with

with the ſtrong contraſt between that cultivated vale and the deſolate country I had juſt quitted. At the ſame time I enjoyed a moſt ſublime view of the high chain that encloſes the vale of Urſeren; and particularly noticed the towering rocks, which ſtand in the country of the Griſons, one of them ſupporting on its rugged top a glacier, from which the Rhine takes its riſe. We paſſed through the ſmall village of Zundorf; and ſtopped at Realp, to procure ſome refreſhment, and bait our horſes. From thence we ſoon arrived at the extremity of the valley of Urſeren; where we began aſcending a path ſo narrow, ſteep, and rugged, that I could not forbear ſuſpecting we had miſſed our way, as it ſeemed almoſt impracticable for horſes: upon their arrival, however, I mounted, being fatigued with my walk from St. Gothard to Realp. It was a ſingle path, up a ſteep mountain, where a horſe, with ſome dexterity, could juſt put one leg before the other: and this path ſometimes lay upon the edge of a precipice, very craggy and ſtony; where, if my ſteed had happened to ſtumble, we muſt both inevitably have periſhed. But as I knew he had no more fancy than myſelf to roll down the precipice, I flung the bridle upon his mane, and entruſted myſelf to his direction. Nor had I any reaſon to repent of my confidence: for, in the bad and dangerous parts, he never once tripped; where it was ſmoother and ſafer, indeed, he knew he had a licence to be more careleſs.

We came at length to a torrent, which we paſſed by means of a plank, after having got our horſes

horſes over with ſome difficulty: a little way farther we arrived at another, deeper and more violent than the former, over which there was no bridge; not the leaſt appearance of any track on the other ſide; a conſiderable diſtance from any habitation; and our guide unacquainted with the road. After ſome obſervation we diſcovered, that the mountain had lately fallen down, and overwhelmed the path; leaving only a very faint narrow track on the ſide of the precipice: along which my companions ſcrambled upon their hands and knees. While I was croſſing the torrent on horſeback, I heard a ſcream; and turning round, ſaw one of our ſervants ſeized with a panic on the very edge of the precipice, and vehemently exclaiming, that he could neither get backwards or forwards. Nevertheleſs, with ſome aſſiſtance, he paſſed over; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would take care never to put himſelf again in a ſimilar ſituation. We now regained a kind of path, but ſo extremely ſteep, that we prudently diſmounted, and ſuffered the horſes to make their own way. With much difficulty, and after having croſſed ſeveral large drifts of ice and ſnow, the torrents at the ſame time rumbling under our feet; we reached, by a very ſteep aſcent, the ſummit of the Furca. A number of rugged and forked rocks, piled one above another, have occaſioned, it is ſaid, this chain to be called the *Furca*. The country immediately around was as dreary and deſolate as the valley of Schoellenen; all vegetation ſeemed to have ceaſed: lower down, the mountains were covered with herbage and ſweet-ſcented

ſcented flowers; near us, but higher, on the left, between the Blaueberg and the Lungnetz, lay a large body of ice, from which iſſued a torrent*, probably one of the firſt ſources of the Rhône. In a word, the ſeveral majeſtic objects that preſented themſelves to our view, formed a moſt aſtoniſhing and ſublime ſcene.

From hence we deſcended broken rocks and craggy precipices for a conſiderable way. By this time I was ſo conſiderably fatigued, that I was glad to ſit down, and take ſome refreſhment, conſiſting of bread, cheeſe, and hard eggs; the only proviſion we could procure at Realp. We were ſeated by a ſtream of clear water ripling down the ſide of a mountain, ſo exceedingly ſteep, that our humble repaſt would have rolled away, if it had not been well ſupported. In full view before us was the glacier of the Furca; an immenſe valley of ice, extending at leaſt three miles in length, and near a mile in breadth between the Gletcherberg and the Satzberg, rocks more ſhagged, if poſſible, than any of the neighbouring mountains: it ſtretches from their feet, fills up the intervening chaſm, and reaches almoſt to their ſummits. The ſun ſhining in an oppoſite direction, it gliſtened like cryſtal; while the blue tints, reflected on the

* I was informed by a friar of Realp, who is much uſed to travel in theſe parts, that this torrent, which is turbid in ſummer, is, in winter, as tranſparent as the cleareſt ſpring; and that when the accumulation of the ſnow prevents it from flowing under the glacier of the Furca, it then forms a lake, runs over the ice, and ruſhes to the Vallais with the waters it receives in its courſe.

ſurface,

ſurface, appeared inexpreſſibly beautiful. The ice ſeemed to break in ſeveral parts, as we heard ſome loud and deep cracks; the torrent of the Rhone at the ſame time roaring beneath. That river is chiefly formed by this glacier: the ſmall torrent, which burſts from the body of ice between the Blaueberg and the Lungnetz, being joined by ſeveral ſtreams, loſes itſelf under the vaſt arch of ice that forms the bottom of the glacier; iſſues conſiderably augmented; and is the great and principal ſource from whence the Rhone takes its riſe. The range of mountains on which we were ſitting, was overſpread with underwood and herbage; and ſome cattle were feeding along the heights; a fine contraſt to the ſterility of the oppoſite chain; which appeared, for ſome extent, nothing but bare rock, except where it was covered with ice and frozen ſnow.

After we had finiſhed our banquet, and repoſed ourſelves for a ſhort time, contemplating the ſingularity of the ſcene; we deſcended to the bottom of the glacier, where we admired the Rhone breaking forth with violence from the bed of ice, near the huge fragments of a fallen rock. We now followed the courſe of that river, and proceeded down a mountain ſo ſteep, that the ſeveral parts of the road winding along its ſides, were frequently parallel to each other. The ſcenery of the valley, which we now entered, was of the ſame kind as that of Schoellenen; the Rhone foaming with amazing rapidity, and falling in a continual cataract at the foot of irregular and immeaſurable alps. We travelled

travelled through this valley above two leagues, perpetually aſcending or deſcending the rugged ſides of rocks; one moment cloſe to the river, and the next ſome hundred yards above it. At firſt the rocks were either bare, or ſtudded with a few ſtraggling pines; but as we advanced, they became more and more clothed with wood and verdure; ſtill, however, we obſerved no traces of any habitation; and we had now meaſured at leaſt fifteen miles, from our firſt quitting the valley of Urſeren, without having ſeen a ſingle dwelling. I was here ſo ſtruck with the beauty of the foreſts through which we paſſed, and the luxuriance of the paſture, that I could not avoid expreſſing my aſtoniſhment on obſerving no appearance of any habitation in theſe delightful ſpots. I had ſcarcely made the remark, when four or five cottages, ſituated on the other ſide of the Rhone, upon a beautiful declivity, announced our approach to the Vallais. Not long afterwards, we unexpectedly came to an opening which commanded an extenſive view of that fertile vale, containing ſeveral ſcattered villages. In this very ſpot a peaſant of taſte, has built his cottage. Here we quitted the bad road; and deſcended into the Vallais.

We had propoſed paſſing the night at Oberwald, after the fatigues of the day: but, upon inquiry, we found it could ſupply us with no refreſhment. The maſter of a little hovel, which was called an inn, pointed to a large cheeſe, and told us that was all his proviſion; it was his bread, his fiſh, and his meat. Meeting with no better reception at Obergeſtlen, we continued on to Munſter, where we did not arrive till late: here

we

we found an excellent inn for this country, which afforded good bread, and even ſome meat; but what was far more comfortable to me, a quiet room, and a clean bed.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 29.

Mount Grimſel — Source of the Aar — Of the Chamois.

Spital upon the Grimſel, Auguſt 11.

THE Vallaiſans are remarkably attached to their liberty. Upon our quitting Munſter, this morning, we joined company with a peaſant, with whom we had a long converſation. He demanded our opinion of the country; and, pointing to the mountains, exclaimed: "Behold our "walls and bulwarks; Conſtantinople is not ſo "ſtrongly fortified." This upper part of the Vallais, I ſhould imagine, is not much frequented by travellers, if we may judge from the curioſity of the people, who all came out to gaze upon us; and when they diſcovered that we were Engliſhmen, they obſerved us with greater attention. But what particularly ſurpriſed us was, that the peaſant above-mentioned inquired concerning the ſtate of our war with the Americans. It ſeemed

ſeemed indeed ſomewhat extraordinary, that a common peaſant of the Vallais, ſhould know there was ſuch a place as Conſtantinople; but it was not leſs ſurpriſing, that he ſhould ever have heard of the conteſt between Great Britain and her American colonies.

After returning about a league thro' the ſame fertile and well-cultivated country which we traverſed yeſterday, we left the plain, and aſcended the Grimſel: one of thoſe Alps which ſeparate the Vallais from the canton of Berne. We employed four hours in climbing a ſteep and craggy road to the ſummit; and ſhould have conſidered the attempt as ſcarcely practicable, had we not been encouraged by the experience of yeſterday. We croſſed the ſeveral ſhades of vegetation: in the valley, and the lower parts of the mountain, corn and rich meadows; then foreſts of larch and pine; next, ſhort graſs, together with ſeveral ſpecies of herbs, that afford exquiſite paſture to the cattle; to theſe ſucceeded the various tribes of moſſes and lichens; and then bare rock and ſnow. It would be curious to conſtruct, or at leaſt to imagine, a ſcale of vegetation, according to the idea of a French writer; who aſſerts, that exceſſive cold and exceſſive heat are equally pernicious. The tops of theſe high mountains are barren, and produce no plants; and at certain heights nothing but moſſes and lichens will vegetate: the ſame occurs in climates where the heat is intolerable; as no other vegetable productions are obſerved in the burning ſands of Africa. The lichens and moſſes then, which ſupport the cold better than other plants, would form the firſt degree of a ſcale

ſcale adjuſted to determine, how far vegetation accords with the temperature of the atmoſphere. The ſame families of plants, as they bear alſo the heat much better than any other, would occupy the laſt degree in the ſcale above-mentioned. Thus, according to this fanciful ſcale, the two extremes touch each other ſurpriſingly.

From the top of the Grimſel we deſcended about two miles, and arrived at a ſmall plain or hollow in the midſt of the mountains; containing one ſolitary hovel: and from this hovel I am now writing to you. Notwithſtanding the wretched appearance it made at firſt ſight, we found in this deſert ſpot all the accommodations we could wiſh for, except beds; and theſe are the leſs neceſſary, after our ſound ſleep laſt night. Not to mention excellent cheeſe, butter, and milk (our ordinary fare) we obtained ſome good wine, a ſmall portion of kid, and a boiled *marmot**, which we have juſt devoured; although at another time we ſhould have revolted at the very idea. The landlord is ſtationed in this forlorn region by the canton of Berne, and he reſides in it about nine months. He uſually arrives here on the firſt of March, and retires in the beginning of December. His buſineſs is to receive all travellers; upon condition, however, that they pay for their accommodations. When he quits the place, he leaves a certain quantity of cheeſe, hard bread, ſalted proviſion, and fuel, in caſe any unfortunate wanderer ſhould happen to come this way, when the winter has ſet in: and we obſerved long poles fixed on both ſides of the track, at ſmall

 diſtances

* See an account of the Marmot in vol. ii.

diſtances from each other, in order to point out the path to travellers, who may chance to paſs this mountain after the ſnow has begun to fall. The road is ſeldom open for horſes before the firſt of June. Near the houſe, upon the top of a ſmall rock, our hoſt has contrived a kind of little garden, by bringing ſome earth from the neighbouring paſtures: and this ſmall piece of ground ſupplies him tolerably well with turnips and cabbages; although, on account of the height of the circumjacent mountains, it does not long enjoy the warmth of the ſun.

Numerous herds of goats are kept, during the ſummer months, upon theſe mountains; they are let out every morning to feed upon the paſtures; and return every evening before ſun-ſet to be milked and houſed. It was a pleaſing ſight to obſerve them marching homeward in the ſame herd; and following each other down the broken precipices, and along the rugged ſides of the rocks.

This hovel, beſide the ſtorehouſes for cheeſes, contains only a ſmall kitchen, a bed-chamber appropriated to the family, and a room, in which we are now ſitting. We occupy nearly one ſide; the other is taken up by our ſervants, the landlord and his wife, and half a dozen honeſt labourers: the latter are partaking of their homely ſupper, with all the reliſh of well-earned hunger; and are enjoying a ſhort reſpite from their toil, with that noiſy mirth which characteriſes this claſs of people.

The ſources of the Aar are in theſe mountains. Near our hovel are three lakes that ſupply waters to that river, which rolls down in an impetuous

petuous torrent from the neighbouring glaciers. While dinner was preparing, I walked by the ſide of that river ſearching for cryſtals; which are very common in theſe parts: we found pieces of divers colours, white, black, yellow, and green. Theſe mountains certainly abound alſo in rich veins of gold, and other metals; a conſiderable quantity of gold-duſt being found in the bed of the Aar *, and in the various torrents. I can conceive nothing more fatal to the intereſts of Switzerland, nor more repugnant to the liberties of the people, than to have theſe mines of gold or ſilver traced and opened. A ſudden overflow of riches would effectually change and corrupt their manners: and it is an inconteſtable truth, that the real power of a country, not ambitious of making conqueſts, is derived leſs from the wealth than from the induſtry of its ſubjects; the happineſs of a people, as well as of an individual, conſiſting in being contented.

What a chaos of mountains are here heaped upon one another! a dreary, deſolate, but ſublime appearance: it looks like the ruins and wreck of a world.

On the Grimſel, Auguſt 29, 1786.

You will recollect that, in 1776, I deſcribed the paſſage of the Furca as extremely difficult, and attended with ſome danger. But that was my firſt eſſay over the leſs frequented Alps. How

* It has been ſuggeſted to me, that no gold-duſt is found in the Aar, until it has received the Reichen-bach.

different are our ſenſations at different intervals! To-day, on meaſuring the ſame ground, though I did not find the road as *ſmooth as a bowling-green*, I yet never once diſmounted; but rode with my Letters on Switzerland in my hand, occaſionally making notes and obſervations: it muſt, however, be confeſſed, that in many parts, where a faint path along the crags and impending precipices was ſcarcely obvious, my ſituation was not very favourable for accurate compoſition.

From the top of the Furca, inſtead of immediately deſcending and purſuing the ſame road which I followed in 1776, we ſent our horſes forwards, and deſcended the Galleberg to the upper part of the glacier of the Furca: from thence we looked down upon the Vallais and the Rhone flowing through it, as upon a ſmall field watered by a rill; above and around, and as far as the eye could reach, we obſerved numberleſs pointed Alps, and particularly that ſtupendous chain called the *Aar-Gletchers*, which compriſes, among many others, the Finſter-aar-horn, the Wetter-horn, the Jung-frau-horn, and the Schreck-horn.

The upper part of this glacier of the Furca, is far more beautiful than the lower extremity; the ſnow is of a more virgin white; the pyramids of ice more bold; and the blue tints more lively and animated. Having enjoyed in different directions this icy ſcene, we deſcended near the edge of the glacier, and refreſhed ourſelves with ſome water from two tranſparent ſprings called *Aughſtweicht-brunnen*, that burſt from the ſides of the rock, at a ſmall diſtance from each other. We then went down a very ſteep deſcent, till we joined

joined the track which I purſued in 1776. I recollected, with a pleaſing ſatisfaction, the torrent, near which we eat on that occaſion our humble repaſt; and came to the Rhone about half a mile below the ſpot where it burſts into two ſtreams from the bottom of the glacier. In order to have a nearer view, we croſſed the two ſtreams, which, though ſcarcely three feet in depth, ruſhed with ſuch exceeding violence, as almoſt to overturn the guide, who conveyed me acroſs on his ſhoulders. Having admired the arch of ice, and paid our obeiſance to the majeſtic habitation of the River-God, we walked at the foot of the Satzberg, and noticed ſeveral lively ſprings iſſuing from the ground, which the inhabitants call *cold waters*; and a little further three warm ſources, in which the mercury in Reaumur's thermometer ſtood at ten degrees above freezing point, or 55 of Fahrenheit. Theſe ſources, uniting with ſeveral cold ſprings, fall, within a few paces from their riſe, into the great torrent that flows from the glacier, and are uſually conſidered as the *true* ſources of the Rhone. That honour is appropriated to theſe little rills, becauſe, being of an equal temperature in all ſeaſons of the year, they do not owe their origin, like the *cold waters*, to the melted ſnow and ice, and are as abundant in winter as in ſummer. It appears, however, extremely inconſiſtent, to dignify theſe little ſtreams with the *excluſive* title of the ſources of the Rhone, for that river undoubtedly owes its origin and greatneſs to the perpetual and inexhauſtible ſupplies from the ſurrounding glaciers.

We

We had now employed above nine hours from the time of our quitting the valley of Urſeren; and ſhould have continued much longer amid theſe majeſtic ſcenes, if the declining ſun had not reminded us of approaching night. Being ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance from any habitation, we continued our route, and began aſcending the weſtern ſide of the Grimſel, near the warm ſources above mentioned. The track, though extremely ſteep, and as perpendicular as a man could well mount, was not dangerous, becauſe the rocks were thickly covered with ſmall ſhrubs, herbage, and moſſes.

After an hour and a quarter's tedious aſcent, we reached the ſummit of the Grimſel, and deſcending a rugged ridge of granite rocks, we looked down upon a lake, from which iſſues a ſtream that falls into the Rhone. A little further we paſſed ſeveral ſmall rills and dark lakes which ſupply the Aar; in leſs than an hour we entered the road which leads to the Vallais, and came to the place of our deſtination, the ſame hovel on the Grimſel, where I paſſed the night on my former expedition. We arrived there about eight in the evening, after a journey which employed us more than twelve hours.

No ſituation can exceed the ſolitary horror of the ſcenery on the top of the Grimſel. Its appearance reſembled the inſide of a mine, and ſeemed as if the bowels of the earth had been violently rent aſunder; reminding me of that ſublime deſcription in the Æneis, when the inſide of Cacus's cave is inſtantaneouſly laid open by the arm of Hercules.

At

At ſpecus, et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
Regia, et umbroſæ penitus patuere cavernæ.
Non ſecus ac ſi quâ penitus vi terra dehiſcens
Infernas reſeret ſedes, et regna recludat
Pallida, Diis inviſa; ſuperq; immane barathrum
Cernatur, trepidentque immiſſo lumine manes. *

On entering the hovel I immediately recognized the ſame landlord, who was ſtationed here in 1776, to whom, at that time, I never expected to have owed a ſecond reception in ſo forlorn a ſpot. While ſupper was preparing, a peaſant and our guide, forgetful of his great fatigue, ſuddenly ſtarted up at the ſound of their favourite air, the *Renz des vaches*, played upon a rebec by a ſhepherd, and danced ſeveral *allemandes*, perfectly in time, and not without grace; a picturesque group of ſpectators looking on and applauding.

* *Dryden's Virgil*, Book viii.

The court of Cacus ſtands reveal'd to ſight;
The cavern glares with new admitted light,
So pent, the vapours with a rumbling ſound
Heave from below, and rend the hollow ground.
A ſounding flaw ſucceeds; and from on high,
The gods with hate behold the nether ſky,
The ghoſts repine at violated night,
And curſe th' invading ſun, and ſicken at the ſight.

Auguſt 30.

This morning we made a ſhort excurſion to the ſource of the Aar, which takes its riſe in the neighbouring glaciers. In leſs than half an hour

we

we entered a ſmall plain, ſkirted by high mountains, and entirely cloſed by a rugged chain of Alps, over which tower the Finſter-Aar and Lauter-Aar-horns, and at whoſe feet ſtretches a glacier ſo entirely covered with earth and ſtones, as to bear, at a ſmall diſtance, the appearance of a ſand-hill. From this glacier iſſues a "*torrent roaring loud*" of troubled waters, which is the ſource of the Lower Aar, and joins, in a few hundred paces, another ſtream called the Upper Aar, that falls from the Zinkeberg: the union of theſe two torrents forms the Aar, which ruſhes over a ſtony bed with great impetuoſity. At preſent it runs in a narrow channel; but at the firſt melting of the ſnow in ſpring, it overflows the whole ſpace between the mountains, and becomes a temporary lake.

Our guide is a *chaſſeur*, who frequently ranges over this vaſt chain of Alps, in purſuit of the chamois, an animal remarkable for its activity in ſcouring along the craggy rocks, and in leaping over the precipices. He informed me, that this glacier is the extremity of a valley of ice about twelve miles in length, and from one to four in breadth: it then divides into two branches; one extends towards the Schreckhorn, and the other towards the Vallais.

He expatiated with great enthuſiaſm on the profeſſion of a chaſſeur, though extremely laborious, and at times dangerous. He uſually kills from ſix to fifteen chamois in a year: with the fleſh, which is very delicate, he helps to ſupport his family, and diſpoſes of each ſkin for a guinea. He uſes a rifle-barrelled gun, and generally ſhoots them at the diſtance of three or four hundred yards.

The

The chamois are very timorous, and conſequently watchful animals. They uſually go out in herds of twenty or thirty; and while they are feeding, one of them poſted on an adjacent height ſtands *centinel*, and is relieved every quarter of an hour by another. The *centinel* looks around with great ſolicitude and attention; and on the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger, alarms the herd by a ſhrill cry; inſtantly the whole troop decamp, one following the other.

The chamois feed on various kinds of herbage, and particularly on the *Lichen Rangiferinus*, or rein-deer lichen, which is found in ſuch great quantities, as in many parts to cover the ſummits and ſides of the mountains. In order to get at their favourite food in winter, they, like the rein-deer, clear away the ſnow with their fore-feet, frequently thawing it with their breath, in order to looſen it more eaſily. But when, either from the depth or hardneſs of the ſnow, they cannot penetrate to the lichens, they browſe on the ſaplings of pine and fir.

In ſummer their bodies are of a yelloviſh brown, and whitiſh under the throat; the hair is ſhort and ſmooth: in winter their coat lengthens and grows dark, ſo as to reſemble that of a bear, and entirely to disfigure them. Sometimes, but very rarely, they have been found ſpeckled, or of variegated colours; and lately, a chamois, entirely white, was ſhot upon the Engelberg. It was in all other reſpects ſimilar to a common chamois; and it is uncertain, whether it owed its colour to age or accident.

Linnæus has claſſed the chamois in the goat genus, under the name of *rupicapra*, or mountain-goat;

tain-goat; his acquaintance with the antelopes having been too ſlender to enable him to form a genus of antelops, which Pallas firſt conſtructed, and where he has judiciouſly placed this animal. The example of Pallas has been followed by Pennant and ſucceeding zoologiſts.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 30.

Valley of the Aar—Land of Haſli—Meyringen.

Auguſt 1776.

I FOUND the cold upon the Grimſel more piercing than upon the St. Gothard; and laſt night it even deprived me of my ſleep. But then circumſtances were very different in the two lodgings: for on the St. Gothard I had a comfortable bed; whereas, laſt night, I lay in the hay-loft, without any covering: I declare, my blood has ſcarcely recovered its circulation. Take notice this is the twelfth of Auguſt.

Having quitted our wretched abode on the Grimſel, we paſſed along the valley of the Aar, through an uninterrupted chain of wild, rugged, and uninhabitable alps.

The

The road along this valley, though much narrower than that from Altdorf to the St. Gothard, is formed in the ſame manner along the ſteep acclivities and declivities, ſometimes laid on arches, and ſometimes carried over bridges thrown acroſs the tremendous precipices. It is paved with flat pieces of granite, ſo ſmooth and ſlippery, that the horſes would have perpetually ſtumbled, if they had not been rough-ſhod. In ſome parts this road ran along the bare and rugged ridges; in others, down ſteps, either cut in the rock, or formed by large ſtones, ſo that for ſeveral paces it reſembled a ſtaircaſe. The whole ſurface of the valley was thickly ſtrewed with vaſt fragments of rock; while thoſe, which ſtill hung on the ſides of the mountains, ſeemed threatening to overwhelm us; the river, during the whole way, thundering along in a continual fall. This valley exhibits the ſame kind of ſcenes to which we have been long accuſtomed; except that the Aar ruſhes with more impetuous rage even than the Rhone or the Reuſs; and is frequently ſo ſwelled with the torrents it receives in its courſe as to ravage all the adjacent country: we ſaw many marks of theſe terrible devaſtations. We croſſed it in ſeveral places, over ſtone bridges of a ſingle arch, one of which equalled, in the length of its ſpan and drearineſs of the landſcape, the Devil's Bridge in the valley of Schoellenen. About three leagues from Spital, we had a glimpſe, through the trees, of the Aar, falling from a conſiderable height. In order to gain a nearer view, we climbed along the ſides of a ſteep rock, well covered with moſs: I leaned

ed againſt a tree that impended over the precipice, and ſaw the river ruſhing from the rock, and ſpreading into a kind of ſemicircular expanſion in its deſcent. It fell with fury into a deep and narrow gulf, and then loſt itſelf in the midſt of the foreſt. The body of water was very conſiderable, and its perpendicular fall, as far as I could judge by the eye, at leaſt one hundred and fifty feet. The ſcenery alſo was ſolemnly majeſtic; the grey rocks on each ſide riſing perpendicularly, and totally bare, except their tops, which were fringed with pines.

This picturesque ſcene appeared to realize a favourite image of claſſic antiquity: as I viewed the Aar pouring its flood of waters from a crevice of the rock, I figured to myſelf the Nile or the Tiber burſting at once from the urn of a River-God.

In our way to Meyringen, we traverſed large foreſts of beech and pines, the Aar roaring along the valley and the road, which was as craggy and rugged as uſual, inceſſantly aſcending and deſcending. We now paſſed through ſeveral ſmall villages, which afforded a pleaſing ſight, after the deſolate country we had ſo lately quitted; and entered a beautiful little valley of a moſt lively verdure, and delightfully planted. All was calmneſs and repoſe: neither rapid river nor roaring torrent to interrupt the unuſual ſtillneſs and tranquillity of the ſcene. This ſhort interval of ſilence, rendered us more ſenſibly affected with the turbulence of the Aar and the loud clamour of the cataracts.

From

From this ſilent and ſequeſtered ſpot, we deſcended to a larger valley on the banks of the Aar. Perhaps no other part of Switzerland would yield more delight and occupation to the landſcape-painter than this pictureſque valley, from the agreeable and ever-changing colour of the rocks which bound it, their ſummits finely broken into irregular and fantaſtic forms, and from the variety and ſize of the fragments diſperſed near the banks of the river. Each fragment, each cottage, each ſhed, and each ſhrub, is a picture; the effect being conſiderably heightened by the tranſparency of the air, and the greatneſs of the back-ground.

We have now viſited the ſources of three great rivers in Switzerland, and have traced their impetuous progreſs through a tract of country, in which nature has exhibited the grandeſt and moſt auguſt of her works. But how impoſſible have I found it to lay before you adequate deſcriptions of theſe majeſtic, variegated, and aſtoniſhing ſcenes! They muſt all of them upon paper neceſſarily appear much the ſame: yet, in fact, every river and cataract, every rock, mountain, and precipice, are reſpectively diſtinguiſhed by an infinite diverſity of modifications, and by all the poſſible forms of beauty, or magnificence; of ſublimity, or horror. But theſe diſcriminating variations, though too viſibly marked to eſcape even the leaſt obſerving eye, elude every kind of repreſentation, and defy the ſtrongeſt powers both of the pen and the pencil. In a word, you muſt not judge of this romantic country, from the faint ſketches I have attempted to delineate: for,

for, upon the whole, they can no more convey an idea of theſe wonderful ſcenes, than if I were to aim at giving ſome notion of the pictures of Raphael and Corregio, by informing you, that they are compoſed of paint and canvaſs.

Meyringen, a large and neat village, is the capital burgh of Haſliland, a diſtrict in the canton of Berne, which enjoys conſiderable privileges. The people are governed by their own magiſtrates, and only take oaths of fidelity to the Sovereign Council of Berne. All the authority, which the bailifs in the other parts of this canton enjoy, is poſſeſſed in a great meaſure by the Landamman; who reſides at Meyringen. He is always a native of Haſliland, and is appointed by the Sovereign Council of Berne, at the recommendation of the bailif of Interlaken. Moſt of the other magiſtrates are elected by the people, who aſſemble as occaſion requires, and are convoked by the Landamman.

The inhabitants are a fine race of people: the men in general remarkably ſtrong and well made; the women tall and handſome. The latter have an elegant manner of wearing their hair, which is commonly of a beautiful brown: it is parted from the top of the forehead, from thence brought round and joined to the locks behind; which either hang down their back in long treſſes, are braided with ribband, or woven round the head in a ſimple plait. But the other part of the dreſs does not in the leaſt correſpond with this elegance; as their ſhapes, naturally fine, are ſpoiled by an abſurd faſhion of wearing their petticoats,

ticoats ſo high, that they all appear as if they were far advanced in pregnancy.

Meyringen is ſituated near the Aar, in a very romantic vale; ſurrounded by meadows of a moſt luxuriant verdure, and ſprinkled with cottages, which are occaſionally ſeparated from each other by huge intervening ſtones and deep channels, the remaining effects of ſtorms and inundations. Cloſe to the village, the Alp-bach, a torrent ſo called, falls from mount Houſli, in two perpendicular caſcades, but with ſo much violence, and in ſo large a body of water, as to cauſe frequent inundations: indeed the burgh itſelf has been in danger of being overwhelmed and deſtroyed by its repeated ravages; againſt which, however, it is now protected, by a wall of conſiderable height and ſolidity. Near this torrent another fall of water, called the Dorf-bach, glides gently down the bare rock; and further on, the Millebach gliſtened as it deſcended through a hanging grove of pines, that feather the ſides of the mountain.

As I ſtood on a platform of rock, about fifty feet above the bottom of the Alpbach, I looked over the delightful vale of Haſli, obſerved Mount Sheidec riſing from the banks of the Aar, and lowering in one part, as if on purpoſe to diſcover three tremendous peaks, in regular gradation one above the other; the one a naked conical rock; the ſecond more tapering and ſprinkled with ſnow; and the third, which is the higheſt point of the Wetterhorn, of a pyramidal form, mantled with gliſtening ice.

The

The following is the ordinary price of proviſions throughout the mountainous parts of Switzerland.

					s.	*d.*
Butcher's meat, *per* pound			—	—	0	2½
Bread	—	Do.	—	—	0	1½
Butter	—	Do.	—	—	0	2¾
Cheeſe	—	Do.	—	—	0	2½
Salt	—	Do.	—	—	0	1½
Milk, *per* quart			—	—	0	1½
Worſt wine, *per* Do.			—	—	0	1½
Pays de Vaud wine			—	—	0	6

By this liſt you will perceive, that, in proportion, bread is much dearer than the other articles; and the reaſon is obvious: for theſe mountainous parts conſiſt almoſt entirely of paſturages, and produce little corn. The peaſants, inhabiting the mountainous diſtricts of Switzerland, live chiefly upon milk and potatoes, which are here much cultivated. According to the price of proviſions in England, the above liſt will appear exceedingly reaſonable: but then it ought at the ſame time to be conſidered, that money is very ſcarce in theſe parts. Nor indeed is it ſo much neceſſary in a country, where there is no luxury; where all the peaſantry are tolerably well provided with every neceſſary of life from their own little domains. I had, to-day, a long converſation with one of the lads who accompanied us from Altdorf, and who takes care of our horſes. He lives upon the moun-

tains of Uri; and, as the winter laſts near eight months, during ſome part of which time there can be little communication between the ſeveral cottages, every family lays in ſufficient proviſion for the whole winter. His own family conſiſts of ſeven perſons, and is provided with the following ſtores: ſeven cheeſes, each weighing twenty-five pounds; a hundred and eight pounds of hard bread, twenty-five baſkets of potatoes, each weighing about forty pounds; ſeven goats and three cows, one of which is killed. The cows and horſes are fed with hay, and the goats with the boughs of firs; which, in a ſcarcity of fodder, are given alſo to the other cattle. During this dreary ſeaſon the family are employed in making linen and cloth: and, for this purpoſe, a ſmall part of the ground belonging to each cottage, is generally ſown with flax. That plant has lately been much cultivated, and with increaſing ſucceſs, in the mountainous diſtricts of Switzerland.

The houſes, like thoſe of Appenzel and Glarus are generally of wood; and it was a natural obſervation of one of our ſervants, in paſſing through a continued chain of rocks, that, as there was no deficiency of ſtone, it ſeemed extraordinary, wood alone ſhould be employed for the purpoſes of building. But it may be remarked, that theſe wooden houſes are ſooner conſtructed, and eaſily repaired; and being formed in a compact manner, with ſmall rooms, and low ceilings, are ſufficiently warm even for ſo cold a climate. The chief objection to them ariſes from the danger of fire; which, however, is in ſome meaſure

meaſure obviated by the method of building their cottages detached from each other. But this obſervation does not hold with reſpect to ſome of their largeſt burghs: which muſt conſequently be expoſed to the ravages of this dreadful calamity.

I am, &c.

LETTER 31.

Fall of the Reichenbach—Paſſage of the Sheidec—Valley and Glaciers of Grindelwald.

Grindelwald, Auguſt 13.

WE left Meyringen this morning, croſſed the Aar, and mounted the Sheidec through a beautiful foreſt of beech, poplars, mountain-aſh, and pines. About two miles from Meyringen we diſmounted at a ſmall village, and paſſed along ſome fields in order to view the fall of the Reichenbach, which is deſervedly celebrated for its variety and beauty.

The Reichenbach has its ſource at the foot of the Wetterhorn; and rolls in numerous cataracts down the ſteep ſides of Mount Sheidec, until it unites with the Aar near Meyringen.

The fall of the Reichenbach may be divided into three principal parts. The

The firſt, which alone is uſually viſited by travellers, precipitates itſelf from an overhanging rock, is reduced into ſpray and foam, and in that ſtate falls in a perpendicular column, at leaſt from an elevation of two hundred feet, into a natural baſon, from which it overflows, and is ſoon loſt in the abyſs beneath. The rock itſelf is concave, arched, totally bare, excepting its ſummit, which is feathered with ſhrubs; and being of black marble, forms a ſtriking contraſt with the pure whiteneſs of the deſcending foam. Part of the ſpray rebounds on the rock, and glides gently into the baſon in many a ſilvery current.

The ſecond cataract begins from the overflowing of the baſon; and is moſt advantageouſly ſeen from a large tree which impends on the ſides of the precipice. In this part the torrent forms a ſecond perpendicular column of water, which is half obſcured, as it daſhes through a chaſm of projecting rocks.

The beſt point of view for ſeeing the third cataract is in a meadow at the bottom of the ſecond. From that ſituation the whole Reichenbach ſeems one immenſe water-fall; the bottom of the firſt, and the top of the ſecond cataract, being concealed by the intervening hills. From thence it rolls nearly in a horizontal direction; is divided into two ſtreams by a rocky iſland beautifully ſprinkled with trees, and impetuouſly deſcends in two unequal bodies. It then daſhes over broken crags of black marble, through groves of beech, mountain-aſh, and pines, and rich grounds interſperſed with hamlets.

On

On viewing the various parts of this ſtupendous fall, I was as much intereſted and affected, as Ariſtæus is repreſented by Virgil, when his mother Cyrene points out to him the ſources of the principal rivers burſting at once from the earth.

Jamq; domum mirans genitricis et humida regna
Speluncíſque lacus clauſos, lucoſque ſonantes,
Ibat, et ingenti motu ſtupefactus aquarum.
Omnia ſub magnâ labentia flumina terra
Spectabat diverſa locis, Phaſimque, Lycumque,
Et caput, unde altus primum ſe erumpit Enipeus,
Unde pater Tiberinus, et unde Aniena fluenta,
Saxoſumque ſonans Hypanis, Myſuſque, Caicus,
Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta
*In mare purpureum violentior influit amnis**.

We next aſcended by the ſide of the Reichenbach, croſſed that torrent over a bridge; and, having traverſed ſeveral plains, or rather undulating vallies, beautifully ſprinkled with aſh, poplar, and other large trees, we continued our route at

* With wond'ring eyes he views the ſecret ſtore
Of lakes, that pent in hollow caverns roar;
He hears the crackling ſound of coral woods,
And ſees the ſecret ſource of ſubterraneous floods;
And where, diſtinguiſh'd in their ſev'ral cells,
The fount of Phaſis, and of Lycus dwells;
Where ſwift Enipeus in his bed appears,
And Tiber his majeſtic forehead rears;
Where Anio flows, and Hypanis profound
Breaks thro' th' oppoſing rocks with raging ſound;
Where Po firſt iſſues from his dark abodes,
And, awful in his cradle, rules the floods.

Dryden's Virgil, Georg. book iv.

at the foot of ſome enormous mountains, which are called by the general name of Wetterhorn †, or *Stormy Peak*. This enormous group, which formsthe Wetterhorn, is peculiarly ſtriking, as well from the naked majeſty and grandeur of its rugged peaks, as from its being more inſulated than the neighbouring mountains, and becauſe, in paſſing from Meyringen to Grindelwald, it preſents itſelf the firſt of this ſtupendous chain *.

After having aſcended about three hours from the time of our quitting Meyringen, we refreſhed ourſelves and our horſes in a delightful vale ſtrewed with hamlets; a ſloping hill, adorned with variegated verdure and wood, on one ſide; on the other, the Roſenlavir and Schwartz-wald glaciers

† The ſeveral peaks of this mountain go under different appellations; and are not aſcertained without much difficulty, the peaſants uſually miſtaking and confounding them. One is called the Wetter-horn, another the Nager-horn, a third the Engel horn, and the higheſt point takes the denomination of Jungfrau-horn, or Virgin's-horn, for the ſame reaſon as the mountain of that name in the Valley of Lauterbruennen, becauſe its ſummit is inacceſſible. Hence ſeveral travellers have miſtaken this peak for the real Jungfrau-horn.

I have mentioned theſe circumſtances, in order to prevent the confuſion of names puzzling future travellers as they once puzzled me.

The word *horn* in German, which bears the ſame ſignification as in the Engliſh tongue, is applied to the higheſt peaks, as in French *aiguille*, or needle.

* To thoſe who go from Grindelwald to Meyringen, the Wetterhorn is the laſt of this chain. Hence the traveller will not, perhaps, be ſo much affected with its majeſty and grandeur, as if he firſt obſerved it in aſcending from Meyringen. I mention this circumſtance, becauſe all deſcriptions are *comparative*.

glaciers ſtretching between impending rock; and before us the higheſt point of the Wetterhorn lifting its pyramidical top capped with eternal ſnow. As we were taking our repaſt, we were ſuddenly ſtartled by a noiſe, like the ſound of thunder, occaſioned by a large body of ſnow falling from the top of the mountain, which, in its precipitate deſcent, had the appearance of a torrent of water reduced almoſt into ſpray. Theſe *avalanches* (as they are called) are ſometimes attended with the moſt fatal conſequence: for, when they conſiſt of enormous maſſes, they deſtroy every thing in their courſe; and not unfrequently overwhelm even a whole village. The beſt preſervative againſt their effects being the foreſts, with which the Alps abound, there is ſcarcely a village, if ſituated at the foot of a mountain, that is not ſheltered by trees; which the inhabitants preſerve with uncommon reverence, as their common protector. Thus, what conſtitutes one of the principal beauties in the country, affords alſo ſecurity to the people.

We continued our courſe at the foot of the Wetterhorn, which in this part is ſo extremely perpendicular and tapering as to appear like half of an immenſe pyramid. Here we conceived it impoſſible, that any ſcenes could be more rude and majeſtic than thoſe before us; but on reaching the top of the Scheidec, we burſt upon a view which ſo far exceeded them in wildneſs and horror, that we unanimouſly exclaimed, "There is the *Schreckhorn*, or the *Peak of Tertor.*"

The deſcent from hence to Grindelwald is gentle but tedious: that village, conſiſting of numerous

numerous cottages, diſperſed over the plain and upon the riſing hills, exhibits an agreeable and picturesque ſcene, heightened at the ſame time by a view of the vallies of ice; which ſtretch along the ſteep ſides of the mountains in a regular curve, and are beautifully ſkirted with wood.

The two vallies of ice, which extend into the plain of Grindelwald, are called the Superior and Inferior Glaciers. The former lies between the Wetterhorn and the Mettenberg; the latter between the Mettenberg and the Eger-horn. The Mettenberg is the baſe of the Schreckhorn; and the Eger-horn, or *Pointed peak*, borders on the valley of Grindelwald, and ſlopes gradually from barren rock and ſnow to fertility and cultivation*.

Auguſt the 14th.

Dare I confeſs to you, that I am ſomewhat diſappointed, and that a nearer view of the glacier has not ſufficiently compenſated for the fatigue and trouble of the expedition? But I have promiſed to write from my own feelings, and not to ſend an account taken from exaggerated deſcriptions.—We ſallied forth this morning full of impatience; and arrived at the bottom of the Inferior glacier, forming a majeſtic arch of ice; from whence iſſued a loud torrent of ſnow-water juſt melted. This glacier is compoſed of numerous pyramids, which are more elevated towards the plain; being from about forty to fifty feet

* For a further account of this chain of alps, which are contiguous to the vallies of Grindelwald and Lauterbruennen, ſee Letter on the Chain of Alps obſerved from Berne.

feet high, and gradually ſhortening, until they terminate in a broad ſurface broken into deep and wide chaſms. We mounted a very difficult path at the edge of the frozen region, occaſionally paſſing over the ſteep and craggy parts of rock almoſt perpendicular, along the very ſides of the precipice: the danger of which makes me ſhudder even now. This glacier is ſeveral miles in length, and is ſuppoſed, by many travellers, to join the glacier of the Aar, which I viſited in my expedition to the top of the Grimſel. But the reverend Mr. Wyttenbach of Berne, who has frequently examined its direction from the adjacent heights, aſſured me, that thoſe two glaciers are ſeparated from each other by a chain of abrupt and perpendicular mountains.

After having employed above two hours in aſcending, we were prevented from continuing our progreſs by rugged rocks, and a riſing hill of ice; our guide aſſuring us at the ſame time, that it was impoſſible to proceed any farther. Of this we were by no means convinced; but not having any conductor who could lead the way, and not daring to explore theſe unknown regions by ourſelves, we deſcended with heavy hearts; much diſappointed, that what we had ſeen, though certainly a very curious and ſublime ſight, did not equal our expectations: and it added to our chagrin, on being afterwards informed, that though we could ſcarcely have proceeded further in the direction which we took, yet, that if we had followed another path, we might have penetrated to the Superior glacier, and have reached the baſe of the Schreckhorn. In that part between the mountains, now occupied by

by the Inferior glacier, there was formerly a road which communicated with the Vallais, but is at preſent impaſſable; and a ſpot was pointed out to us, now covered with ice, where once ſtood a ſmall chapel.

What peculiarly diſtinguiſhes the glacier of Grindelwald from that of the Furca, is, that the latter lies amid barren and craggy rocks, in a moſt deſolate, dreary, and uninhabited country; whereas this valley of ice joins to a very fertile plain, and borders upon cultivation: in other reſpects the Furca was a much more ſtriking object. Not far from this glacier of Grindelwald, pines, willows, aſh, and oaks, grow and come to perfection: and near the borders of the ice I gathered ſtrawberries and wild cherries, and obſerved hazel-nuts, barberries, and mulberry-trees. The valley of Grindelwald is extremely fertile; it produces barley, rye, hay, hemp, and fruit-trees in great abundance, and feeds above two thouſand large cattle.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 32.

Valley and Glaciers of Lauterbruennen—Fall of the Staubbach.

THE road from Grindelwald to this place is good, and we met a cart, which to us is become a remarkable object, not having ſeen any thing that moves upon wheels ſince we quitted Lucerne. The country is pleaſingly diverſified with hanging woods, immenſe rocks, deep precipices, and violent torrents. But I ſuppoſe you are by this time as much accuſtomed to rocks, precipices, and torrents, as the readers of Fingal to blue miſts and hollow winds*.

The

* A nearer and more intereſting but more difficult paſſage, conducts over the Sheidec from Grindelwald to Lauterbruennen. In my ſecond expedition into theſe parts, I propoſed traverſing this paſſage, and had actually ſet off for that purpoſe; but a violent ſhower obliging me to change my reſolution, I continued my journey along the ſame road as on the former occaſion.

It may be proper to apprize the traveller, that there are two Sheidecs, the one ſeparating the vallies of Grindelwald and Meyringen, the other thoſe of Grindelwald and Lauterbruennen.

The valley of Lauterbruennen is emboſomed in the midſt of the alps. The weſtern boundary of the valley, from which the Staubbach falls, would, in any other country, be called an enormous mountain: It here appears only a trifling hill in compariſon with the oppoſite chain, of which the higheſt point is the beautiful Jungfrau-horn, that ſtretches in a ſemicircular direction, and overlooking the adjacent peaks, riſes to a ſtupendous height.

We are now lodged at the houſe of the clergyman of Lauterbruennen; a little village, or rather collection of cottages, ſprinkled, like thoſe of Grindelwald, about the valley and acceſſible parts of the hills. Near the houſe, is the celebrated fall of the Staubbach, which I am juſt returned from viewing. This torrent rolls perpendicularly from ſo conſiderable a height, as to reſolve itſelf into fine ſpray; the greateſt part of it falls clear of the overhanging mountain, during its whole deſcent; but the remainder daſhes about half way againſt a projection from the rock, and flies off with great violence. The clergyman meaſured, a ſhort time ago, its perpendicular height, and found it nine hundred and thirty feet. The ſun ſhining in an oppoſite direction, a miniature rainbow was reflected towards the bottom of the fall: while I ſtood at ſome diſtance, the rainbow aſſumed a ſemi-

circular

circular figure; as I approached, the extreme points gradually coincided, and formed a complete circle of the moſt lively and brilliant colours. In order to have a ſtill finer view, I ventured nearer and nearer; the circle at the ſame time becoming ſmaller and ſmaller; and as I ſtood quite under the fall, it ſuddenly diſappeared. When I looked up to the torrent, in this ſituation, it reſembled a cloud of duſt: and from this circumſtance indeed it takes its name; Staubbach ſignifying, in the German language, a ſpring of *duſt*. I paid for my curioſity, by being extremely wet; but then I had the ſatisfaction, at the ſame time, of ſeeing a rainbow in miniature: no uncommon phænomenon, as it may be obſerved in any caſcade, upon which the ſun ſhines directly in a certain poſition. In the preſent inſtance, however, it was ſome conſolation to me, that the object happened to be peculiarly ſtriking.

The next morning we rode to the extremity of the vale, in which there are ſome noble points of view, and aſcended to the glaciers, which ſtretch from the feet of the Breit-horn and Groſſ-horn. In this delightful valley many ſtreams * of the cleareſt water guſh from the earth like ſmall rivers, and numberleſs torrents precipitate themſelves from the mountains. I noticed two in particular which fall from a greater height than even the Staubbach, but as their deſcent is not ſo direct, they are leſs extraordinary.

After

* From this circumſtance it receives its name, *Lauterbruennen*, in German, ſignifying *many ſprings*.

not many, but clear says a would be [illegible]

annotator

After mounting above three hours, we reached a ſmall hut, which in ſummer is inhabited by herdſmen, who make excellent cheeſes, and tend numerous herds of cows, goats, and ſwine. Here we feaſted upon cold chamois, which our hoſt had provided for us, and concluded our repaſt with a deſſert of delicious cream. From thence we aſcended ſtill further, with conſiderable difficulty arrived at the borders of the glaciers, and were entirely ſurrounded by rugged and almoſt impaſſable rocks. We wiſhed to proceed; but our hoſt aſſuring us, that we had but juſt time to return before night, we ſat down cloſe to the ice, and contemplated, with rapture and aſtoniſhment, part of the great central chain of the alps; rocks towering above rocks, and mountains riſing above mountains, not more diſtinguiſhed for their ſtupendous heights, than for the immenſe variety and rudeneſs of their forms. One of the peaks, which is called the Groſs-horn, is of a pyramidal ſhape, and is capped with frozen ſnow; another, the Breit-horn, is conical, and ſeems crowned with an enormous maſs of tranſparent ice, from which the reflection of the ſun-beams were inexpreſſibly beautiful. But the moſt elevated and moſt majeſtic of the whole group, is the Jungfrau-horn, or Virgin's-horn, which takes its name of *virgin*, becauſe its ſummit is inacceſſible.

The hollows between the mountains are filled with large vallies of ice, broken into a great variety of ſhapes; and ſeveral torrents burſting from the ſnow, and uniting in their courſe, form the Weiſs-Lutchine, a river which rolls rapidly through the valley of Lauterbruennen, joins the Schwartz-

Schwartz-Lutchine, which flows from Grindelwald, and falls into the Aar.

Many of the mountains are covered to a great height with verdure, on which the eye repoſes with delight amid the horrors of ſuch wintry ſcenes. We obſerved alſo, at conſiderable elevations, ſeveral ſmall villages, the acceſs to which muſt be almoſt as difficult as to the glaciers to which we aſcended.

Notwithſtanding, however, the magnificence and variety of this curious ſcenery, and the uncommon phænomenon of ice and ſnow in the midſt of ſummer, bordering on foreſts and cultivation; yet I muſt own, that the ideas which we had previouſly conceived, from the exaggerated accounts of others, concerning the boundleſs extent and magnificent appearance of the glaciers, were not ſufficiently anſwered. And it is remarkable, that every object in Switzerland has more than gratified our expectations, except the glaciers; which muſt, nevertheleſs, be conſidered as forming one of the moſt intereſting phænomena in the whole country. This diſappointment ſeems to have been occaſioned by the turgid accounts which we had heard and read of the glaciers of Grindelwald and Lauterbruennen: and we were led to ſuppoſed, that the glacier of the Furca was much inferior in magnitude to thoſe of Grindelwald and Lauterbruennen; whereas, in fact, it was in all reſpects equal, if not ſuperior, to them.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

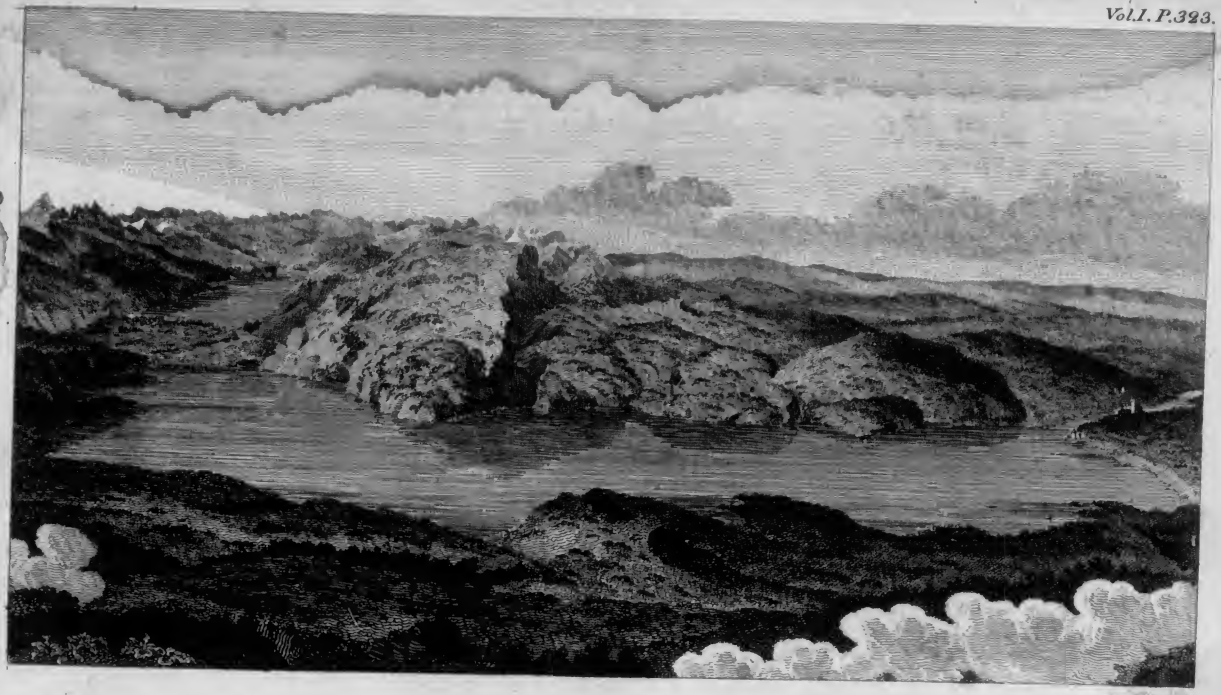
September 1, 1785.

In 1785, I was conſiderably more delighted and aſtoniſhed with the vallies of Grindelwald and Lauterbruennen than in 1776; becauſe my imagination was not, in this as in the former inſtance, exalted by exaggerated deſcriptions, and led to expect more than could be reached, even by nature herſelf, however prodigal in theſe her ſublimeſt works. But the vallies of ice appeared to me, in the latter as well as in the former period, inconſiderable objects, when viewed at ſome diſtance, and compared with the ſurrounding mountains, whoſe ſummits and ſides are clothed with vaſt regions of ice and ſnow. On a nearer approach they become more intereſting, particularly when they are broken into abrupt ridges, and immenſe chaſms; and when their aggregate maſs, and numerous branches, are obſerved from the ſurrounding heights. Still, however, the traveller may be diſppointed, whoſe imagination has been previouſly filled with turgid deſcriptions; or who applies to the vallies of ice that ſublimity and magnificence, which are only due to the Alps above and around them.

LETTER 33.

Lakes of Thun and Brientz—Paſſage of Mount Gemmi—Baths of Leuk.

THE neareſt route from Lauterbruennen to the Baths of Leuk, leads acroſs the mountains to Kanderſteig. It is called *le chemin vert*, or the *green way*, becauſe the rocks are, for the moſt part, covered with herbage. It is only practicable to foot-paſſengers; and I was informed by a Swiſs gentleman who paſſed it, though ſteep and difficult, that it is not dangerous. Its diſtance may be about three leagues, and, to a perſon not wholly unaccuſtomed to alpine paſſages, would require about five or ſix hours. A *chaſſeur* would perform it in leſs than half the time. In my ſecond expedition, in 1785, I had propoſed croſſing this way; but was obliged to decline it, as



View of the Lakes of THUN and BRIENTZ from the top of the Nieps.

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View of the Lakes of THUN and BRIENTZ from the top of the Neufs

as I could not procure a guide who was acquainted with the road.

I purſued, therefore, the uſual route, which runs from the entrance of the valley of Lauterbruennen, through a fertile plain, between the lakes of Thun and Brientz. About two leagues from Lauterbruennen, I came to the Aar, near the ſpot where it iſſues from the lake of Brientz, and followed its courſe, until it entered the lake of Thun, ſo called from a town of that name, ſituated upon its north-weſtern extremity. This lake is about four leagues long and one broad; and, and if we may judge from the ſteepneſs of the mountains with which it is bounded, muſt be very deep: the borders are richly variegated; and preſent ſeveral fine points of view, greatly heightened by many rugged rocks riſing boldly from the edge of the water. We coaſted this lake, through a delightful country, to the ſmall village of Leiſingen; then aſcended to Æſchi, from whence we looked down upon the lakes of Thun and Brientz. In all the maps of Switzerland, which have fallen under my obſervation, theſe two lakes are repreſented as if they extended almoſt in a ſtrait line; whereas they are ſituated nearly at right angles to each other. You may judge of their true poſition, by the annexed engraving, communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Wyttenbach of Berne.

Having deſcended from Æſchi, we ſoon entered the rich valley of Frutigen, parallel to that of Lauterbruennen, and enjoyed, for a conſiderable way, a proſpect of thoſe glaciers we had viſited the day before. This valley ends at the

ſmall town of Frutigen: from thence commences that of Kander, watered by a river of the ſame name, and bounded by mount Kander. In all theſe vallies, the rudeneſs and height of the mountains, which almoſt encloſe them, contraſted with the beauty and fruitfulneſs of the plains, always fertilized by ſome lively torrent, form a thouſand pictureſque ſcenes, ever changing, and impoſſible to be deſcribed: and they are ſtill further embelliſhed by the number of ruined caſtles perched upon points ſeemingly inacceſſible.

The road continued good as far as the village of Kanderſteg; from whence delicate travellers, who do not chuſe to mount a rugged aſcent, either on foot or on horſeback, are carried in an arm-chair ſupported by means of poles upon men's ſhoulders. We proceeded, however, on horſeback, having before rode up ſteeper and more difficult paths. After having aſcended about an hour and a half, we arrived at the ſummit of the Kander, where a wooden croſs marks the entrance in the Vallais; then traverſed a waving plain of paſture, in which we obſerved a few huts and ſeveral herds of cattle; and at length reached a ſingle houſe on the Gemmi, where we procured ſome refreſhment: here we ſaw nothing but immenſe rocks piled upon one another, with no appearance of vegetation; and the weather was exceedingly cold. We then paſſed over a large drift of ſnow, and came to the lake called the Dauben See, about a league in circumference, ſupplied by a conſiderable torrent from a neighbouring glacier. This lake has no viſible outlet; but

but it doubtleſs finds a ſubterraneous paſſage into the *Vallais*.

The chain of mountains, which here ſeparates the canton of Berne from the Vallais, is called the Gemmi: from the point of which, over-looking and almoſt over-hanging the Vallais, we had at once a moſt extenſive proſpect over that fertile country, and the rugged Alps of Savoy. The mountain which we deſcended, is in many places almoſt perpendicular; and yet a horſe-road has been hewed in the hard rock down this very formidable deſcent. It was begun in 1736, and finiſhed in 1741, at the joint expence of the Vallais, and the canton of Berne: an aſtoniſhing work! which proves that nothing is impracticable to human induſtry. More than a league has been blown up with gunpowder, and a way formed which ſeems dangerous to thoſe, who are unuſed to mountainous countries, or whoſe heads are apt to turn giddy. It is about nine feet broad, and quite hangs over the precipice: in ſome parts, for a conſiderable ſpace, it is a hollow way, open only at one ſide, the rock above projecting over it, of the ſame breadth, and in the ſame direction. The appearance is peculiarly ſingular: for, as the road winds continually, the ſcene alſo continually changes; ſo that one moment we commanded an extenſive view, and the next were totally encloſed with barren rock.

The deſcent from the top to the plain, is about two leagues: when you are arrived at the bottom, and look up, you cannot obſerve the ſmalleſt traces of a road; ſo that a ſtranger would hardly believe

believe it poſſible, that a paſſage has been formed down the rock, until convinced by his own experience.

About thirty years ago, the troops of Berne deſcended this road for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the canton of Uri againſt the inhabitants of the valley of Levino, who had revolted; and, what is almoſt incredible, they deſcended with heavy artillery.

This place is famous for its hot medicinal ſprings; and is much frequented by invalids of various kinds, during this ſeaſon of the year: the patients either bathe or drink the waters. As far as I can judge from the accounts which I have received concerning their warmth, their analyſis, the method of uſing them, and their efficacy in curing the gout, rheumatiſm, obſtructions, and cutaneous diſorders; they ſeem nearly to reſemble thoſe of Bath. There are ſeveral ſprings, of different warmth and of different qualities: according to the moſt accurate experiments made by the Rev. Mr. Wyttenbach, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, when plunged into the principal ſource, ſtood at 115; and at 120 in the ſpring which flows near the bridge over the Dala.

The accommodations for the company are very inconvenient: each perſon having for his own uſe a ſmall apartment not more than a few feet ſquare; in which there is juſt room for a bed, a table, and two chairs. The public dining-room is upon rather a larger ſcale, as is alſo an apartment where the company occaſionally aſſemble. Formerly the accommodations were tolerably

tolerably good; but unfortunately, in 1719, an *avalanche* fell with ſuch impetuoſity from a neighbouring glacier, upon the village, as to overwhelm the greateſt part of the houſes and the baths, and to deſtroy a conſiderable number of the inhabitants.

The company, conſiſting of perſons from different quarters of Switzerland, are exceedingly affable and obliging: inſomuch that ſeveral of them have invited us to their reſpective houſes; and this invitation was made with that openneſs and unaffected frankneſs ſo peculiarly characteriſtic of the Swiſs. We dined this morning at eleven; the bell for ſupper is now ringing, and it is ſcarce ſeven. Theſe are primitive hours: but we have travelling appetites; and, provided we meet with refreſhment, the hour and place are of little conſequence.

You are now probably drinking tea in your withdrawing room, from whence you are enjoying that beautiful proſpect I have ſo often admired. The ſituation of this ſpot is more romantic than that of Bath, and the waters perhaps not leſs efficacious: yet this village contains only a few miſerable houſes, while Bath is one of the fineſt towns in Europe. I had a converſation today upon this topic, with a very ingenious and well-informed gentleman of the Valláis. I obſerved to him, that, conſidering the great credit and efficacy of theſe waters, I could not forbear wondering, that the chiefs of the republic had not conſidered the improvement of the accommodations, an object worthy of their attention; for, if they were rendered more convenient for the reception

ception of invalids, it would undoubtedly be the means of drawing a great number of ſtrangers; and conſequently muſt be highly beneficial to the country. He aſſured me, it had more than once been in contemplation: that ſome perſons of great credit and authority oppoſed all improvements, upon a principle ſimilar to the policy of Lycurgus; conceiving that a concourſe of ſtrangers would only ſerve to introduce luxury among the inhabitants, and inſenſibly deſtroy that ſimplicity of manners, for which the *Vallaiſans* are ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed.

How far the ignorance of a people contributes to their true felicity? or how far a ſimplicity of manners may be corrupted by *national* improvement? are queſtions, which have been much agitated; and will never be decided, ſo long as it ſhall be held juſt reaſoning to argue from the abuſe againſt the uſe. But it will readily be allowed, that ſuperſtition is ever the companion of ignorance; and that a people who are both ignorant and ſuperſtitious, muſt neceſſarily be benefited by an intercourſe with nations more improved and enlightened than themſelves.

We walked to a ſpot not far from hence, where a communication has been formed with the village Albenen. Where the mountain inclines towards a ſlope, a foot-path has been cut; but in thoſe parts where the rock is directly perpendicular, ladders are placed; and the peaſants aſcend and deſcend with heavy burdens upon their ſhoulders. We counted ſeven of theſe ladders. I mention this circumſtance, not as being an object ſo remarkable, perhaps, as is repreſented by ſome tra-

travellers; but as it will convey to you an idea of the extreme ruggedneſs and ſingularity of the country.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 34.

Republic of the Vallais—Cardinal Schinner—Town of Sion—Martigny—St. Maurice.

Sion, Auguſt 19.

SION being nearly the point where the German language terminates, and where the French begins; the natives in this part of the Vallais conſequently ſpeak both tongues. Nothing is more curious or intereſting to thoſe, who have entered into inquiries of this nature, than to inveſtigate the cauſes which occaſion the gradations of language: but acknowledging my ignorance in this branch of literature, I can only mention the ſimple fact.

We ſet out this morning at five, and came down a very ſteep valley to Leuk, a ſmall town built upon an eminence near the Rhone: that river is here very rapid; and, if we may judge by

by the breadth of the channel, often overflows its banks. We croſſed it at this place, and continued for ſome way through a foreſt of firs, till we again paſſed the river to Siders: from thence we coaſted its banks to Sion, the capital of the Vallais.

Another road leading from the Baths of Leuk to Siders, which I traverſed in 1785, though more ſteep and incommodious, is far more intereſting to the traveller, who delights in picturesque views. It is called the *galleries*; is cut along the ſides of an abrupt and rugged rock, in a zig-zag direction, and bounded by a wooden railing, which overhangs a dreadful abyſs, ſo deep and obſcure, that the river Dala, which rolls impetuouſly through it, is neither ſeen nor heard. The oppoſite chain of mountains is clothed with dark foreſts, enlivened with paſtures, and interſperſed with occaſional villages, which are ſituated one above the other, to a conſiderable height, and ſeem ſcarcely acceſſible but to foot-paſſengers.

This tract of country, called the Vallais, ſtretches from eaſt to weſt about a hundred miles; and contains about a hundred thouſand inhabitants, who all profeſs the Roman Catholic religion. It is divided into Upper and Lower Vallais: the former reaches from the Furca to the Morge, below Sion; and the latter from that river to St. Gingou, ſituated upon the lake of Geneva.

The Upper Vallais is ſovereign of the Lower Vallais; and compriſes ſeven independent *dixains* or commonwealths; namely, Sion, Goms, Brieg, Viſp, Leuk, Raren, and Siders: of theſe Sion

is

is ariſtocratical, and the others democratical. They are called *Dixains*, becauſe the Upper Vallais being divided into ſeven, and the Lower into three diſtricts, each diviſion is a *dixain*, or *tenth* of the whole.

The biſhop of Sion was formerly abſolute ſovereign over the greateſt part of the Vallais; but his authority is at preſent limited to the following particulars. He has the ſole power of pardoning criminals; and ſigns all the warrants for execution: the money is coined in his name, and with the arms of the republic. In his acts he ſigns himſelf biſhop of Sion, prince of the German empire, and count and præfect of the Vallais: in days of high ceremony he dines in public, and is waited upon by the firſt noble of the Vallais, who is hereditary treaſurer. He nominates alſo the bailifs or governors of the two bailliages of Martigny and Arden; and he poſſeſſes conſiderable influence from his patronage of church preferment. Upon a vacancy in the ſee, the canons of the chapter of Sion preſent from their own body four candidates, from whom one is appointed biſhop by the *Landſrath*, or general diet.

The ſeven dixains form, conjointly with the biſhop, the republic of the Vallais; and all affairs are tranſacted in the diet, called *Landſrath*, which meets twice every year at Sion. This aſſembly conſiſts of nine voices; the biſhop; the *lands-hauptmann*, who is choſen or confirmed by the diet every two years; and the ſeven communities. The biſhop preſides, and the *lands-hauptmann* collects the votes; and all reſolutions are decided by the majority. Each dixain, although

though it has but one vote, ſends as many deputies as it pleaſes: they generally conſiſt of four; —a judge, a banneret, a captain, and a lieutenant. The judge and the lieutenant are appointed every two years; the two others hold their offices for life.

In all civil cauſes of a certain importance, an appeal lies to the diet in the laſt reſort, from the inferior courts of juſtice in the ſeveral dixains. Thus, by the inſtitution of this ſupreme council, the ſeveral communities in this country are firmly united, and form in conjunction one body politic, or republic, for the general affairs of the nation. In other caſes, each of the commonwealths is governed by its own particular laws and cuſtoms.

Both the Upper and Lower Vallais were formerly dependent upon the biſhop of Sion; but the inhabitants of the two diſtricts united in order to limit his power; and, having ſucceeded in the attempt, they quarrelled among themſelves for the ſuperiority. A bloody war enſued; which terminated, in 1475, by the total defeat of the Lower Vallaiſans. Since that period, they have continued ſubject to the Upper Vallais; enjoying however ſome very conſiderable privileges.

The republic of the Vallais is an ally of the thirteen cantons; and has formed a particular league with the ſeven Catholic cantons, for the defence of their common religion.

The biſhops of Sion had formerly a conſiderable influence over the political affairs of Switzerland; and Matthew Schinner, the cardinal biſhop, is famous in hiſtory for his great abilities, his

his daring ſpirit of intrigue, and his turbulent and reſtleſs ambition. He was born at Milbach, in the dixain of Goms; and in 1500 was appointed biſhop of Sion. It was entirely owing to his repreſentations and influence, that the Swiſs troops gave a ſingular inſtance of infidelity to their public engagements, by breaking a treaty which they had juſt contracted with Francis the Firſt. When that monarch invaded the Milaneſe, he endeavoured to gain the Swiſs; who having taken the duke of Milan under their protection, were the only obſtacles to the progreſs of his arms. After much heſitation, they were prevailed upon, by the offer of conſiderable ſubſidies, to enter into a treaty: but the alliance was no ſooner concluded, than the cardinal of Sion perſuaded them to break it, and continue the war. The Swiſs hiſtorians however record, with triumph, the patriotic conduct of two officers upon this occaſion; who, remonſtrating againſt this breach of faith, drew off eight thouſand troops; and returning to Switzerland, in ſome meaſure retrieved the honour of the nation.

The remainder of the army, inſtigated by the plauſible and artful eloquence of the cardinal, engaged Francis the Firſt near Marignano, in one of the moſt furious and obſtinate battles that was fought during the bloody wars of Italy. Night alone put a ſtop to the engagement, without ſeparating the combatants; both armies were blended upon the field of battle: and Francis ſlept upon the carriage of a cannon, at no great diſtance from a battalion of the enemy. At daybreak the Swiſs renewed the charge with their uſual courage, and were received with equal bravery.

very. At length the intrepidity of the king, and the deſperate valour of the French, roſe ſuperior to the furious and repeated attacks of the Swiſs; the latter retreated to Milan, leaving Francis in poſſeſſion of the field of battle: an advantage, however, which he gained by the loſs of his braveſt troops.

The ſame cardinal, actuated by the moſt inveterate enmity to the French, occaſioned alſo, by his ſole intrigues, the loſs of the Milaneſe to Francis. Lautrec, in the year 1521, commanded a body of 12,000 Swiſs, who formed the principal ſtrength of his army. On the other ſide, the cardinal had obtained, by his influence over his countrymen, a ſecret levy of the like number, to join the enemies of France: and thus, for the firſt time, the Swiſs were ſeen combating under oppoſite banners, and ready to commit hoſtilities againſt each other. Upon this occaſion the cantons immediately diſpatched meſſengers, with peremptory orders for the Swiſs in both armies, to return to their country. The cardinal bribed the meſſengers to conceal theſe orders from the Swiſs in the army of the confederates, and to deliver them only to thoſe who were in the French ſervice. The latter obeyed accordingly; and this deſertion weakening the army of Lautrec, Milan, and the principal towns, ſurrendered to the confederates. Soon after this inſtance of his intrigues and influence, the cardinal ended his turbulent life in the conclave, which aſſembled, on the death of Leo the Tenth, for the election of a new pope.

The inhabitants of this part of the Vallais are very much ſubject to *goiters*, or large excreſcences

cences of flesh that grow from the throat, and often increases to a most enormous size: but, what is more extraordinary, idiocy also remarkably abounds among them. I saw many instances of both kinds as I passed through Sion: some idiots were basking in the sun with their tongues out, and their heads hanging down; exhibiting the most affecting spectacle of intellectual imbecillity that can possibly be conceived. The causes which produce a frequency of these phænomena in this country, is a curious question, which very much excites my inquiry: but I shall defer giving my opinion, until I shall have obtained farther information.

The weather in this enclosed vale is so exceedingly hot, that I am at this instant, although the evening is far advanced, quite oppressed with the extreme sultriness. This languid heat is probably one of the causes, which occasion the inconceivable laziness and indolence of the inhabitants: much, however, must at the same time be attributed to the richness of the soil; which prevents labour by almost spontaneously producing the fruits of the earth. In fact, the people assist nature very little: we passed several vineyards, in which the vines were suffered to trail upon the ground; whereas, if the branches were properly raised and supported, the owner would be well rewarded by the superior quantity and quality of their produce.

The uncleanliness of the common people, is disgusting beyond expression. I have just been holding a conversation upon this subject with my landlord; who, though himself a notorious example, yet severely censured the dirtiness

nes of his countrymen; and seemed to assign t as one cause of *goiters*. This assertion induced me to consider the person of my host with somewhat more attention, in order to discover how it stood with himself in that respect; and I was rather disappointed to find, that he proved an exception to his own remark. Let me not, however, be understood as insinuating that the inhabitants in general are either goitrous, idiots, indolent, or dirty; like that traveller who asserted, that all the women of a certain town were crooked, red-haired, and pitted with the small-pox, because his landlady happened to be so. Indeed, I look upon national reflections in general, to proceed from the narrowest and most illiberal turn of mind: and have always been cautious not to judge of the physical, or moral character of any people from a partial and superficial view. But as to the singular prevalency in the present instance, of goiters and idiocy, it is a fact which I can venture to affirm, both from my own experience, and from various conversations I have held with several men of learning and observation of this country; and with respect to the general dirtiness and indolence of the common people, it is too notorious to escape the observation of the most careless traveller.

Sion is situated near the Rhone, at the foot of three insulated rocks, that rise immediately from the plain. The highest, called Tourbillon, supports the ruins of the old episcopal palace, still containing two or three untenanted apartments, in one of which are the portraits of the several bishops. On the second rock, denominated

nated Valeria, are obſerved the remains of the old cathedral, and a few houſes belonging to the canons. On Mayoria, the third rock, ſtands the epiſcopal palace, an antient edifice of ſtone, built, in 1547. On ſeeing the apartments, I was greatly ſtruck with their plainneſs, and could not avoid reflecting with pleaſure on the ſimplicity of manners, which muſt neceſſarily prevail in this country; when the rooms, inhabited by the ſovereign, inſtead of beſpeaking the magnificence of a court, are ſcarcely ſuperior to the dwelling of a peaſant. Two apartments principally engaged my attention. The firſt is that in which the Diet aſſembles: at the upper end are two armed chairs for the biſhop and the *lands-hauptmann*, and on each ſide a row of ſmaller ſeats for the deputies of the ſeven *dixains*. The other apartment is the hall, in which the biſhop holds his court, like the feudal lords of antient times: at the further extremity is a raiſed ſeat, called a throne, ſurrounded by a wooden baluſtrade; and, as an incitement to wiſdom and impartiality, the figures of Juſtice, and Solomon's judgment, are coarſely painted upon the walls.

Sion is an antient town, and was formerly the capital of the *Seduni*, who inhabited this part of the country in the time of Julius Cæſar. A few remaining inſcriptions ſtill prove its antiquity; and, among others, ſo obliterated that I was not able to decypher them, I obſerved one which was more legible: it is in honour of the emperor Auguſtus, during his eleventh conſulſhip. In this inſcription the town is called *Civitas Sedunorum*.

At

At Sion we parted with our horſes and guides, who had accompanied us from Altdorf; and procured a piece of luxury, to which we had been for ſome time unaccuſtomed; I mean a coach. But, notwithſtanding the concentrated heat of the climate, and the great ſultrineſs of the air, I prefer riding or walking; as by that means I enjoy a more unobſtructed view of the country: and indeed the ſcenes are ſo beautiful, and ſo perpetually changing, that the attention is every moment engaged by a variety of new objects that ſtrongly demand admiration.

Upon entering the Lower Vallais, I perceived as much uncleanlineſs, but a greater appearance of induſtry; and I am informed, that the natives are not altogether ſo indolent as the inhabitants of Sion and its environs.

This imputation of indolence will not hold good with reſpect to all the inhabitants of the Upper Vallais: for in the eaſtern part of that diſtrict, which we entered after having croſſed the Furca, the ſoil, though far inferior in richneſs and fertility, was much better cultivated; and the people ſeemed induſtrious. Some phyſical reaſons may be aſſigned for this difference: for *there* the weather is not ſo ſultry, the water is not unwholeſome, and the air is remarkably ſalutary. Accordingly, upon our firſt entering the Vallais, we did not obſerve any of thoſe goitrous perſons or idiots, who ſtruck us ſo much in the midland parts.

We ſtopped at the village of Martigny, which according to antiquarians, was the antient *Octodurum*. It is ſaid, that near this place may be traced the ſite of Sergius Galba's camp, one of

Julius Cæſar's lieutenants, who was ſent by that general to ſubdue the *Veragri*, the *Nantuates*, and the *Seduni*; the antient inhabitants of theſe diſtricts. It ſeems evident indeed from Cæſar's deſcription, in the third book of his Commentaries, that *Octodurum* could not be far from the preſent ſituation of Martigny; which ſtands in a ſmall plain, encircled by high mountains, and divided by the Dranſe, that falls into the Rhone. I cannot however aſcertain from my own obſervation, whether any traces of a Roman encampment ſtill remain; nor could I gain the leaſt information from the inhabitants: ſo that the conjecture concerning the ſituation of *Octodurum* reſts only upon the faith of antiquarians, and on the general poſition of the country.

Martigny is a place much frequented by travellers: it leads to the valley of Chamouny, to St. Maurice and the lake of Geneva, and is the paſſage of the merchandize, which is conveyed over the Great St. Bernard into Italy. Near Martigny we paſſed under the majeſtic ruins of La Bathia, an old epiſcopal caſtle, ſtanding upon the ſummit of a craggy rock, and impending over the impetuous Dranſe. The road from hence to St. Maurice runs under a chain of rocks, the Rhone flowing at a ſmall diſtance through the middle of a fertile vale. Having croſſed the Trient, a turbid torrent which iſſues from a narrow and obſcure glen, remarkable for its rugged and romantic ſcenery, we arrived at the Piſſe-Vache, a cataract much noticed by travellers. The characteriſtic beauty of this fall is, that it ſeems to burſt from a cleft in the middle of

of the rock, through hanging ſhrubs that ſtart abruptly from the crevices, and forms a perpendicular column of water about two hundred feet in height. The body of water being very ample, and the elevation not ſo conſiderable as to reduce it entirely into ſpray, render the effect very ſtriking. I enjoyed alſo the additional pleaſure of ſeeing the ſun riſe oppoſite to this waterfall. The regular expanſion of the rays enlightening the different parts of the column of water; and the gradual deſcent of the rainbow formed by the ſpray, were inexpreſſibly beautiful. Theſe torrents are my delight, but perhaps they recur too often in my letters to continue to be yours. Formerly travellers paſſed cloſe to the Piſſe-Vache; but a few years ago part of the rock falling down totally obſtructed the road, which now runs through the middle of the valley. I traverſed on foot, not without ſome difficulty amid the fallen fragments, where, on a former occaſion, I had paſſed in a carriage.

At the extremity of the Lower Vallais, the two chains of mountains that bound this country, approach toward the Rhone, which nearly fills the interval between them. In this ſpot is ſituated the town of St. Maurice, built almoſt totally upon the rock, at the foot of ſome ſteep mountains, and at a ſmall diſtance from the river. Its antient appellation was *Agaunum:* it takes that of St. Maurice from an abbey, erected in the beginning of the ſixth century, by Sigiſmond king of Burgundy, in honour of a ſaint, who is ſuppoſed to have ſuffered martyrdom in this place. This ſaint was the leader of

of the famous Theban legion, which is recorded to have been maſſacred by order of the emperor Maximin, for not renouncing Chriſtianity. This hiſtory has given riſe to much controverſy: while ſome authors have treated it as a mere forgery, others have contended for its authenticity, with as much warmth and zeal, as if the truth of Chriſtianity depended upon the deciſion. Without entering into the merits of the queſtion, I cannot but remark, that the cauſe of Chriſtianity has ſuffered more from weak and imprudent defenders, than from the ſharpeſt attacks of its moſt inveterate adverſaries. Indeed, the queſtion concerning the number and ſufferings of the martyrs, has occaſioned much idle diſputation: for, reduce the popular accounts of both as low as probability can reaſonably carry them, there will ſtill remain ſufficient evidence of the wonderful conſtancy and calm reſolution of thoſe primitive victims: and whether a hundred thouſand, or only fifty, ſuffered for the cauſe of Chriſtianity, it will equally ſtand upon the ſame firm and immoveable foundation. Nor is the inquiry more material concerning the motives that actuated its powerful and cruel adverſaries. It matters not whether Decius ordered the Chriſtians to be maſſacred, becauſe they had been favoured by his predeceſſor Philip, or from his attachment to the Pagan rites; whether Maximin perſecuted them from intereſted motives: Diocleſian as introducing innovations in his government; or whether Conſtantine protected them from conviction or policy. For the truth of Chriſtianity is in no reſpect affected either by the imprudence of its early profeſſors (if

(if with any they were juſtly chargeable) or the political reaſons that influenced the conduct of thoſe emperors.

A few Roman inſcriptions, chiefly ſepulchral, and two defaced columns are the only uncontroverted remains of the antiquity of St. Maurice. It is principally diſtinguiſhed as being the chief entrance from the canton of Berne into the Vallais. This entrance is formed by a narrow paſs, ſo ſtrongly fortified by nature, that a handful of men might defend it againſt a conſiderable army.

The ſtone bridge over the Rhone is much admired for its bold projection: it is of a ſingle arch, and the ſpan is a hundred and thirty feet. Half of this bridge belongs to the Vallais, and the remainder to the canton of Berne.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 35.

Of the Vallais—Goiters and Idiots.

Trient, Auguſt 22.

I AM now writing from the village of Trient, on my way to Mont Blanc and the alps of Savoy. From the mountain of the Furca, its eaſtern boundary, two vaſt ranges of alps encloſe the Vallais: the ſouthern chain ſeparates it from the Milaneſe, Piedmont, and part of Savoy; the northern divides it from the canton of Berne. Theſe two chains, in their various windings, form ſeveral ſmall valleys, watered by numerous torrents that ruſh into the Rhone, as it traverſes the whole diſtrict from the Furca to St. Maurice. A country thus entirely encloſed within high alps, and conſiſting of plains, elevated valleys, and lofty mountains, muſt neceſſarily exhibit a great variety of ſituations, climates, and productions. Accordingly,

Accordingly, the Vallais preſents to the curious traveller a quick ſucceſſion of proſpects, as beautiful as they are diverſified: Vineyards; rich paſture-grounds covered with cattle; corn, flax, fruit-trees, and occaſionally bordered by naked rocks, the ſummits whereof are crowned with everlaſting ſnow. This ſtrong and ſtriking contraſt between the paſtoral and the ſublime, the cultivated and the wild, cannot but affect the mind of an obſerver with the moſt pleaſing emotions.

As to the productions of the Vallais; they muſt evidently vary, according to the great diverſity of climates, by which this country is ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed. It ſupplies more than ſufficient wine and corn for interior conſumption: and indeed a conſiderable quantity of both are yearly exported; the ſoil in the midland and lower diſtricts being exceedingly rich and fertile. In the plain, where the heat is collected and confined between the mountains, the harveſt is uſually finiſhed in July: whereas, in the more elevated parts, barley is the only grain that can be cultivated with any ſucceſs; and the crop is ſeldom cut before November. About Sion, the fig, the melon, and all the other fruits of Italy, come to perfection: in conſequence of this ſingular variety of climates, I taſted in the ſame day, ſtrawberries, cherries, plums, pears, and grapes; each of them the *natural* growth of the country.

With reſpect to manufactures; there are none of any conſequence: and indeed the general ignorance of the people is no leſs remarkable than their indolence; ſo that they may be conſidered, in

in regard to knowledge and improvements, as ſome centuries behind the Swiſs, who are certainly a very enlightened nation. The peaſants ſeldom endeavour to meliorate thoſe lands where the ſoil is originally bad; nor to draw the moſt advantage from thoſe, which are uncommonly fertile: having few wants, and being ſatisfied with the ſpontaneous gifts of nature, they enjoy her bleſſings without much conſidering in what manner to improve them.

Before I take leave of the Vallais, I ſhall communicate to you the reſult of my inquiries concerning the cauſes, which contribute to render goitrous perſons and idiots ſo remarkably common in theſe parts: premiſing, at the ſame time, that I muſt ſtand greatly in need of your candour, when you peruſe the following conſiderations on a ſubject ſo extremely complicated; and on which ſo many different opinions have been advanced by various naturaliſts and phyſicians.

Firſt, with reſpect to goiters. The notion that ſnow-water occaſions theſe excreſcences, is totally void of foundation. For on that ſuppoſition, why are they common in the midland and lower parts, and extremely unfrequent in the higher regions of Switzerland; and particularly what reaſon can be aſſigned, why the natives of thoſe places that lie moſt contiguous to the glaciers, and who drink no other water than what deſcends immediately from thoſe immenſe reſervoirs of ice and ſnow, are not ſubject to this malady? Why are the inhabitants of thoſe countries in which there is no ſnow, afflicted with it? For, theſe guttural tumours are to be found in the

the environs of Naples, in the iſland of Sumatra, and at Patna and Purnea, in the Eaſt Indies, where ſnow is unknown.

But as it would be needleſs to mention the various opinions on this ſubject, I ſhall at preſent confine myſelf to what, from repeated inquiries, from my own particular obſervations, and from poſitive facts, appears to be the *primary* cauſe of goiters.

The ſprings, that ſupply drink to the natives, are impregnated with a calcareous matter, called in Switzerland *tuf**, nearly ſimilar to the incruſtations of Matlock in Derbyſhire, ſo minutely diſſolved as not in the leaſt to affect the tranſparency of the water. Will it be deemed improbable, that the impalpable particles of this ſubſtance, thus diſſolved, ſhould introduce themſelves into the glands of the throat, and produce goiters? I ground this opinion on the following obſervations and facts.

To ſpeak in general: during my travels thro' Europe, I never failed to obſerve that *tuf*, or this calcareous depoſition, abounds in all thoſe diſtricts wherein goiters are common. I noticed goitrous perſons and much *tuf* in Derbyſhire, in various parts of the Vallais, in the Valteline, at Lucerne, Friburgh, and Berne, near Aigle and Bex,

* The Porus of the older authors
The Tophus glareoſo, argillaceus Polymorphus, of Linnæus, 186. 1.
The Tophus Polymorphus of Wallerius, Syſt. vol. ii. p. 394.
The Tophi of Kirwan, p. 25, called *Duckſtein* by the Germans.

Bex, in ſeveral places of the Pays de Vaud, near Dreſden, in the vallies of Savoy and Piedmont, near Turin and Milan.

To deſcend to particular inſtances. The inhabitants of Friburgh, Berne, and Lucerne, are much ſubject to guttural excreſcences. With reſpect to Friburgh, I obſerved that one of the principal ſprings which ſupplies the town with water, iſſues from a neighbouring ſtone-quarry, and has formed large depoſitions of *tuf* on the rock from which it bubbles. The pipes, alſo, which convey water to the public fountains at Berne, are extremely charged with the ſame calcareous ſediment; and a gentleman, on whoſe veracity I can depend, aſſured me, that he is ſubject to a ſmall ſwelling in the throat, which uſually increaſes in winter, when he is chiefly reſident at Berne, and diminiſhes in ſummer, on his removal to other places, where the waters are not loaded with *tuf*.

I was, moreover, informed by General Pfiffer, that at Lucerne all the waters, excepting one ſpring, are impregnated with *tuf*, and that the natives, who dwell near that ſpring, are much leſs ſubject to goiters than the other inhabitants; that the ſame difference is obſerved among the members of the ſame family, between thoſe who drink no water but what is drawn from that ſpring, and the others who do not uſe that precaution. The General ſhewed me alſo the tin veſſel, in which water was every morning boiled for his uſe, and which was ſo ſpeedily and thickly incruſtated as to render it neceſſary to have it cleanſed

cleanſed twice a week. The water which yields this depoſition, is as tranſparent as cryſtal*.

I may add likewiſe, that I viſited many places which border upon thoſe diſtricts wherein goiters and *tuf* are frequent, and which have preciſely the ſame ſituation and climate, yet whoſe inhabitants were not goitrous, and where I did not obſerve any appearance of *tuf*.

But the ſtrongeſt proof, in favour of this opinion, is derived from the following facts. A ſurgeon, whom I met at the Baths of Leuk, informed me, that he had not unfrequently extracted concretions of *tuf-ſtone* from ſeveral goiters; and that from one in particular, which ſuppurated, he had taken ſeveral flat pieces, each about half an inch long. He added, that the ſame ſubſtance is found in the ſtomachs of cows, and in the goitrous tumours to which even the dogs of the country are ſubject. The ſame gentleman aſſured me, that in the courſe of his extenſive practice, he had diminiſhed and cured the goiters of many young perſons by emollient liquors and external applications; that his principal method, in order to prevent them in future, conſiſted in removing the patients from the places where the ſprings are impregnated with *tuf*; and, if that could not be contrived, by forbidding the uſe of water which was not purified.

* Although it appears that wherever there are goiters there is tuf-ſtone; yet the reverſe is by no means true, that wherever the waters depoſit tuf, there are *always* goiters. For perhaps the natives do not drink of the ſprings which are loaded with tuf; or that ſubſtance is not ſufficiently diſſolved in the waters; abſolute ſolution being, perhaps, neceſſary to produce theſe ſwellings.

fied. He confirmed the report that infants are occaſionally born with guttural ſwellings; particularly thoſe whoſe parents are goitrous; and remarked, that one of his own children had at its birth a goiter as large as an egg, although neither he nor his wife who were both foreigners *, were afflicted with that malady. He had diſſipated it by external remedies; and ſince that period, had invariably prohibited his family from taſting the ſpring waters, unleſs they were diſtilled, or mixed with wine or vinegar; by which means he was able to preſerve them from thoſe tumours in the throat, that were extremely common among the natives of the town which he inhabited.

Although it is by no means my intention to trouble you with the various opinions which have been advanced on this ſubject: yet it would be unjuſt to withhold from you that of M. de Sauſſure, whoſe accurate reſearches and profound inveſtigation on philoſophical ſubjects, deſerve to be weighed with the greateſt attention. That able naturaliſt, in a recent publication †, attributes the production of goiters not to the waters, but principally to the concentrated heat of the climate, and ſtagnation of the air. He informs us, that in all his travels through the Alpine countries, he never obſerved goiters in any place, which are elevated more than 500 or 600 toiſes

* In the former inſtance, goiters may, though perhaps erroneouſly, be eſteemed hereditary; but in the latter, where the parents are both foreigners and not goitrous, can ſcarcely be derived from any other cauſe than the aliment of the mother.

† See Voyages dans les Alpes, ch. 48. vol. ii. p. 480.

toiſes † above the level of the ſea: he noticed them in thoſe vallies where the heat is concentrated, and the air ſtagnates; and that they uſually ceaſe wherever the valley terminates, and the country expands into a large plain. With great deference, however, to his opinion, may I be permitted to obſerve, that the concluſion does not abſolutely follow from theſe premiſes? For it may be remarked, that in places elevated more than 500 to 600 toiſes above the level of the ſea, the ſprings are too near their ſources, to have diſſolved a ſufficient quantity of calcareous matter, or ſo minutely as may be requiſite for the generation of goiters; and that when the valley expands into a plain, the waters may depoſit their ſediment by mixing with the rivers and lakes, or by filtrating through the earth and gravel. But although the two cauſes mentioned by M. de Sauſſure do not produce, they may *aſſiſt* in producing guttural excreſcences, by relaxation. In fine, although the concentrated heat, and ſtagnation of the air, may be allowed to affect the human body to a conſiderable degree; yet they do not of themſelves ſeem ſufficient for the effect in queſtion, without the intervention of ſome more powerful agent: and this agent *ſeems* to be the water; if the facts already ſtated, prove conſonant to truth and experience.

It may be neceſſary, however, to obviate an objection which maintains, that goiters muſt rather originate from climate and ſituation; becauſe foreigners, eſtabliſhed in the country, are *never*

† 3200 and 3840 Engliſh feet.

never afflicted with thoſe tumours, while their children are no leſs ſubject to them than the natives. But is it an uncontrovertible fact, that *no* foreigner has ever been afflicted with this malady? The queſtion, I ſhould preſume, can ſcarcely be replied to in the affirmative. And all that can be eſtabliſhed, with any degree of certainty, is, that foreigners are *leſs* ſubject to theſe ſwellings than their children or the natives. In this reſpect the anſwer is evident. Perſons who uſually ſettle in foreign countries are adults; and adults are doubtleſs much leſs liable than children to an endemial malady, whoſe operation is gradual, and which requires much length of time, before its effects are in the leaſt viſible. And it is remarked, that, among the natives themſelves, thoſe perſons, who have eſcaped this diſorder during their infancy, are ſeldom attacked by it to anyconſiderable degree at a more advanced age.

In reaſoning upon this, as well as on ſimilar ſubjects, where a cauſe is ſought for, capable of producing a certain effect; it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh a primary and general cauſe, which *always neceſſarily* exiſts, wherever that effect is produced; and to exclude thoſe circumſtances, which do not *always* and *neceſſarily* exiſt, wherever that effect is produced. Thus, in the preſent inſtance: If ſnow-water occaſions goiters, wherever there are goiters, there *muſt* be ſnow-water; which is contrary to fact and experience. If the concentrated heat of the climate, and ſtagnation of the air, are *neceſſary* to the formation of goiters, thoſe excreſcences could never be formed where theſe cauſes are wanting; which is

is not confirmed by fact and experience. If waters, impregnated with *tuf*, or with certain calcareous ſubſtances, produce goiters; wherever there are goiters, the natives muſt drink waters ſo impregnated; and this *ſeems* agreeable to factand experie nce.

The ſame cauſes, which generate goiters, *probably* operate in the caſe of idiots: for, wherever the former prevail to a conſiderable degree, the latter invariably abound. As ſuch is the nice and inexplicable connection between our bodies and our minds, that the one ever ſympathiſes with the other; it is by no means an ill-grounded conjecture, that the ſame cauſes which affect the body ſhould alſo affect the mind; or, in other words, that the ſame waters, which create obſtructions and goiters, ſhould alſo occaſion mental imbecillity and diſarrangement.

Although theſe idiots are frequently the children of goitrous parents, and have uſually thoſe ſwellings themſelves; yet they are ſometimes the offspring even of healthy parents, whoſe other children are properly organized, and are themſelves free from guttural excreſcences. I obſerved ſeveral children, ſcarcely ten years of age, who had very large goiters. Theſe tumours, when they increaſe to a conſiderable magnitude, check reſpiration, and render thoſe who are afflicted with them exceedingly indolent and languid. Some perſons have, in oppoſition to the opinion which I have ventured to advance, ſuppoſed, that the ſmall guttural ſwellings, which are common in many other parts, and the large excreſcences, which are more particularly obſerved in the Vallais, in the Valley of Aoſt and

in ſome other places, do not proceed from the ſame cauſe, and are not the ſame diſorder. But ſufficient reaſons have not been aſſigned for this opinion. During my expedition through the Vallais and other parts of Switzerland, I noticed ſome of all proportions, from the ſize of a walnut to almoſt the bigneſs of a peck loaf. As the ſame gradation may be alſo obſerved in the ſpecies of idiots; by a ſimilar mode of argument, thoſe who poſſeſs ſome faint dawnings of reaſon might be diſcriminated from others, who are totally deaf and dumb, and give no proof of exiſtence but the mere animal ſenſations. Whereas it is probable, that in both inſtances the greater or leſſer diſarrangement of the body or mind does not indicate a difference of complaint, but only greater or leſſer degrees of the ſame complaint.

It is to be preſumed, that a people accuſtomed to theſe excreſcences, will not be ſhocked at their deformity; but I do not find, as ſome writers aſſert, that they conſider them as beauties. To judge from the accounts of many travellers, it might be ſuppoſed, that the natives, without exception, were either idiots or goitrous: whereas, in fact, the Vallaiſans, in general, are a robuſt race; and all that with truth can be affirmed, is, that goitrous perſons, and idiots, are more abundant in ſome diſtricts of the Vallais, than perhaps in any other part of the globe.

It has been aſſerted alſo, that the people very much reſpect theſe idiots, and even conſider them *as bleſſings from Heaven*; which is ſtrongly contradicted by others. Upon my queſtioning ſome gentlemen

gentlemen of this country, at the baths of Leuk, they treated the notion as abſurd and falſe: but whether they delivered their real ſentiments, or were unwilling to confirm what might lower their countrymen in the opinion of a ſtranger, will admit perhaps of ſome doubt. For having, ſince that time, repeatedly inquired among the lower ranks, I am convinced, that the common people eſteem them as bleſſings. They call them "*Souls of God, without ſin:*" and many parents prefer theſe idiot-children to thoſe whoſe underſtandings are perfect; becauſe, as they are incapable of intentional criminality, they conſider them as certain of happineſs in a future ſtate. Nor is this opinion entirely without its good effect; as it diſpoſes the parents to pay greater attention to ſuch helpleſs beings. Theſe idiots are ſuffered to marry, as well among themſelves as with others.

I am, &c.

LETTER 36.

Paſſage of the Tete Noire—Col de Balme—Mont Blanc—Its great Elevation.

Geneva, Auguſt 28.

UPON quitting Trient, we traverſed ſome narrow vallies, through foreſts of pines, by the ſide of a ſmall but impetuous torrent, which takes its riſe from the glacier of the ſame name. The road, which is very rugged, is carried over the ſteep crags of a mountain called *La Tete Noire*. A little way from Trient we entered the dutchy of Faucigny, ſubject to the king of Sardinia. Our road was very rough, till we arrived at the vale of Chamouny; the great mountains and glaciers of Savoy riſing majeſtically before us.

Another

Another way leads from Trient to Chamouny over the *Col de Balme*. I paſſed it on a mule the 7th of September 1785; it is exceedingly ſteep, but not dangerous, as repreſented by many travellers; for I did not even find it neceſſary to diſmount. The path, which is in no part bare rock, runs through a thick wood that clothes the ſides of the mountain. We ſet off from Trient on this expedition about half paſt four, with the expectation of ſeeing the ſun riſe on the ſummit of Mont Blanc, but were diſappointed; for we did not reach the Col de Balme in leſs than two hours, and day had already begun to break. We enjoyed, however, from the ſummit an extenſive proſpect, which many travellers conſider as the moſt ſublime view in all Switzerland: on one ſide it commands the Vallais, the alps of St. Bernard, and the diſtant mountains of the cantons of Underwalden and Berne; the other comprehends Mont Blanc and the circumjacent heights. I obſerved the *Point de Mouſſon*; the *Mortine*, ſupporting on its top the glacier of *Buet*, on which Monſieur de Luc made his celebrated experiments to aſcertain the ſtate of the atmoſphere; the *Point de la Tour*, *Les Aiguilles d'Argentiere*; the *Aiguille de Midi*, a piked rock ſtarting out of a large maſs of ſnow; and, laſtly, *Mont Blanc* itſelf. The higheſt point of this gigantic mountain is in the ſhape of a compreſſed hemiſphere, and is called from its form *La Boſſe du Dromedaire*; from that point it gradually ſinks, preſents a kind of concave ſurface of ſnow, in the midſt of which is a ſmall pyramid of ice: it then riſes into a ſecond hemiſphere, called by ſome *Little Mont Blanc*, but

with

with more propriety by others *Le Dome du Milieu*, or the *Middle Dome;* thence it deſcends into another concave ſurface, terminating in a point indiſcriminately ſtyled by the natives *Aiguille de Goute*, *Point de Goute*, and *Dome de Goute*, and which I ſhall name the *Dome of Goute:* from that dome it ends abruptly, and loſes itſelf amid the mountains that bound the vale of Chamouny.

Mont Blanc is particularly diſtinguiſhed from other mountains, by having its ſummit and ſides clothed to a conſiderable depth with a mantle of ſnow, almoſt without the intervention of the leaſt rock to break the glare of the *white* appearance; from whence its name is derived. This circumſtance frequently deceives the eye unaccuſtomed to ſuch objects, and in many ſituations renders it leſs lofty in appearance, than it is in reality. Although its ſummit was elevated more than ſeven thouſand feet above the ſpot where I ſtood, yet it did not impreſs me with that aſtoniſhment which might be expected from its ſuperior height and magnitude above the circumjacent mountains. I was indeed more ſtruck with the firſt view of the Shreckhorn from the top of the Scheidec, than of Mont Blanc from the Col de Balme. The ſummit of Mont Blanc being of a roundiſh form, and covered with ſnow, unites beauty with grandeur; whereas the Schreckhorn being piked, naked, and its ſhagged ſides only ſtreaked with ſnow, its grand characteriſtics are ruggedneſs and horror; and hence, indeed, it derives its name of Schreckhorn,

horn, or the *Peak of Terror**. But Mont Blanc ſoon re-aſſumed its real importance, ſeemed to increaſe in ſize and height, and ſolely attracted our attention, until we entered the vale of Chamouny.

You, who are totally unacquainted with alpine ſcenes, may, perhaps, conceive a faint idea of the elevation of this gigantic mountain, on being informed, that the mantle of ſnow, which appears to cover its top and ſides, exceeds an altitude of four thouſand feet perpendicular, and nine thouſand feet in a horizontal direction from the *Dome of Goute* to the ſummit; and that the height of the ſnow and ice, eſtimated from the ſource of the Arveron, at the bottom of the glacier of Montanvert, to the ſummit of Mont Blanc, cannot be leſs than twelve thouſand perpendicular feet, or near three times as high as Snowdon, in North Wales.

Five glaciers extend into this vale of Chamouny, and are ſeparated from each other by foreſts, corn-fields, and meadows; ſo that large tracts of ice are blended with cultivation, and perpetually ſucceed each other in the moſt ſingular and ſtriking viciſſitude. Theſe glaciers, which lie chiefly in the hollows of the mountains, and are ſome leagues in length, unite at the foot of *Mont Blanc*; the higheſt mountain

* The traveller will recollect, that I am here deſcribing Mont Blanc, as obſerved from the Col de Balme, and the vale of Chamouny. Thoſe who have ſeen it from the valley of Aoſt aſſure me, that it is not on that ſide covered with a mantle of ſnow, but exceeds even the Schreckhorn in ruggedneſs and horror.

tain in Europe, and probably of the antient world.

According to the calculations of Mr. De Luc, (by whoſe improvement of the barometer, elevations are taken with a degree of accuracy before unattainable), the height of this mountain above the level of the ſea is 2,391$\frac{1}{3}$ French toiſes, or 15,304 Engliſh feet *; or, according to Sir George Schuckborough, of 15,662 feet; which gives a difference of only 358 feet.

Mr. de Luc having found the altitude of the *Buet*, from thence took geometrically the elevation of *Mont Blanc*. The labours of this celebrated naturaliſt, and his rules for computing heights by the barometer, are to be found in his very valuable treatiſe, "*Sur les Modifications de l'Atmoſphère.*" Theſe rules are explained, and his tables reduced to Engliſh meaſure, by Dr. Maſkelyne, R. A.; and ſtill more fully by Dr. Horſley: both theſe treatiſes are publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year 1774.

The accuracy of the barometrical meaſurements made by Mr. de Luc, was verified by Sir George Schuckborough, in a number of ingenious experiments towards aſcertaining the elevation of ſeveral mountains of Savoy, a ſhort time before I arrived at Geneva. He followed Mr. de Luc's

* In reducing the French toiſe, which is equal to ſix French feet, to Engliſh meaſure, I have conſidered the proportion of the Engliſh to the French foot as 15 to 16. Its real proportion, according to the accurate calculation of Sir George Schuckborough, is $\frac{12}{12\frac{7}{854}}$, or 15 to 16 and a ſmall fraction: but the error in my calculation being not one toiſe in a thouſand, I have, in order to prevent confuſion, omitted the ſmall fraction.

Luc's method; computed the heights of ſeveral mountains, reciprocally, by barometrical and geometrical obſervations; and perceived that the former coincided almoſt exactly with the latter. Having found the elevation of the ſummit of the *Mole* above the ſurface of the lake of Geneva, he took from thence the geometrical altitude of *Mont Blanc*. During the courſe of theſe experiments, he was enabled to correct ſome trifling errors that had crept into Mr. de Luc's calculations; to improve ſtill further the diſcoveries of the latter; and has facilitated the means of taking elevations, by ſimplifying the tables and rules neceſſary for that purpoſe.

I am convinced, from the ſituation of *Mont Blanc*, and from its ſuperior altitude above the ſurrounding mountains, that it exceeds the loftieſt point in Switzerland, which, beyond a doubt, is, next to *Mont Blanc*, the moſt elevated ground in Europe. That it is higher than any part of Aſia and Africa, is an aſſertion which can only be proved by comparing the judicious calculations of modern travellers, with the exaggerated accounts of former writers; and by ſhewing that there is probably no mountain in thoſe two quarters of the globe, the altitude whereof, when accurately taken, ſurpaſſes 15,000 feet.

Perhaps in no inſtance has the imagination of man been more given to amplification, than in aſcertaining the heights of the globe. Gruner, in his deſcription of the Swiſs glaciers, has mentioned the elevation of ſome remarkable mountains, agreeably to the calculations of ſeveral famous

mous geographers and travellers, both antient and modern :

	Toiſes.	Eng. Feet.
According to Strabo, the higheſt mountain of the antient world was about -	3,411	21,830
According to Riccioli —— —	58,216	372,382
According to Father Kircher, who took the elevations of mountains by the uncertain method of meaſuring their ſhadows,		
Ætna is —— —— —	4,000	25,6 o
The Peak of Teneriff —— —	10,000	64,000
Mount Athos —— —— —	20,000	128,000
Lariſſa in Egypt —— —	28,000	179,200

But theſe calculations are evidently ſo extravagant, what their exaggeration muſt ſtrike the moſt common obſerver. If we conſult more modern and rational accounts ; it appears, that the Peak of Teneriff and Ætna have been frequently ſuppoſed to be the higheſt points of the globe. The former is eſtimated by ſome natural philoſophers, to be 3,000 toiſes, or 19,200 feet above the level of the ſea; but, according to Feuillé, this elevation is reduced to 2,070 toiſes, or 13,248 feet; whereas Ætna, by the accurate computations of Mr. de Sauſſure, riſes only * 1,672 toiſes, or 10,709$\frac{4}{5}$ feet above the ſea.

* According to Sir George Schuckborough, 1,672 toiſes, or 10,954 feet : who ſays, " I have ventured to compute the " height of this celebrated mountain from my own tables, " though from an obſervation of Mr. de Sauſſure, in 1 73, " which that gentleman obligingly communicated to me. " It will ſerve to ſhew that this volcano is by no means " the higheſt mountain of the old world ; and that Veſu- " vius, placed upon Mount Ætna, would not be equal to " the

the ſea. Hence it will appear, that there are no mountains except thoſe in America, the elevation whereof, according to Condamine, ſurpaſſes 3,000 toiſes, or 19,200 feet, which are equal to the altitude of Mont Blanc.

In order, however, to determine with abſolute certainty that Mont Blanc is the higheſt point of the old world, it would be neceſſary to eſtimate, by the ſame mode of menſuration, Mont Blanc, the Schreckhorn, the Peak of Teneriff, the mountains of the Moon in Africa, the Taurus, and the Caucaſus.

The chain of the Caucaſus has long been deemed the higheſt mountains of Aſia ; and ſome philoſophers, upon conſidering the great ſuperiority of the eaſtern rivers over the European, both in depth and breadth, have drawn a preſumptive argument, that the Aſiatic mountains are much more lofty than thoſe of Europe. But conjectures are now baniſhed from natural philoſophy : and, until it ſhall be proved from undoubted calculations,

" the height of Mont Blanc, which I take to be the moſt " elevated point in Europe, Aſia, and Africa."

I am happy to find my conjectures corroborated by that ingenious and accurate obſerver.

	Feet.
Height of Ætna, according to Sir George —	10,954
Of Veſuvius, according to M. de Sauſſure —	3,900
Of both together — — —	14,854
Height of Mont Blanc, according to Sir George	15,662
Difference,—or the height of Mont Blanc above that of Ætna and Veſuvius united —	808

For ſtill further information on this curious ſubject, the reader is referred to Mr. Trembly's *Analyſe d'Experiences ſur la Meſure des Hautures, in Sauſſure's Voyages dans les Alpes*, vol. ii. p. 616.

calculations, that the higheſt part of the Caucaſus riſes more than 15,000 feet above the level of the ſea, Mont Blanc may be fairly conſidered as more elevated.

LETTER

LETTER 37.

Glacier of Boſſon—Montanvert—Expedition acroſs the Valley of Ice.

AUGUST 23d, we mounted by the ſide of the glacier of Boſſon, to *les Murailles de glace*, ſo called from their reſemblance to walls: they form large ranges of ice of prodigious thickneſs and ſolidity, riſing abruptly from their baſe, and parallel to each other *. Some of theſe ranges appeared to us about a hundred and fifty feet high; but, if we may believe our guides, they are four hundred feet above their real baſe. Near them were pyramids and cones of ice of all forms and ſizes, ſhooting to a very conſiderable height, in the moſt beautiful and fantaſtic ſhapes. From this glacier, which we croſſed without much

* In 1785, theſe *murailles de glace* no longer exiſted.

much difficulty, we enjoyed a fine view of the vale of Chamouny.

The 24th. We had propoſed ſallying forth this morning very early, in order to viſit the valley of ice, in the glacier of Montanvert, and to penetrate as far as the time would admit; but the weather proving cloudy, and likely to rain, we deferred our departure till nine. Having procured three guides, we aſcended on horſeback about three miles: we were then obliged to diſmount, and ſcrambled up a ſteep and rugged path, called "the road of the *cryſtal-hunters*." From the ſummit of the Montanvert we deſcended to the edge of the glacier; and made a refreſhing meal upon ſome cold proviſion which we brought with us. A large block of granite, called "*La pierre des Anglois*," ſerved us for a table; and near us was a hovel *, where thoſe, who make expeditions towards Mont Blanc, frequently paſs the night. The ſcene around us was magnificent and ſublime; numberleſs rocks riſing boldly above the clouds, ſome of whoſe tops were bare, others covered with ſnow. Many of theſe peaks gradually diminiſhing toward their ſummits, end in ſharp points, and are called *Needles*. Between theſe rocks the valley of ice ſtretches ſeveral leagues in length, and is nearly a mile broad; extending on one ſide towards Mont Blanc, and on the other, towards the plain of Chamouny.

The

* Since my firſt expedition, Mr. Blair, an Engliſh gentleman, has built a more commodious wooden hut, which, from him, is called Blair's Cabin.

The names of the principal needles are, Aiguilles de Midi, de Dru, de Bouchard, de Moine, de Tacule, de Charmeaux: and the five glaciers, that ſtretch towards the plain of Chamouny, and unite at the foot of Mont Blanc, are called Tacona, Boſſon, Montanvert, Argentière, and Tour.

After we had ſufficiently refreſhed ourſelves, we prepared for our adventure acroſs the ice. We had each of us a long pole ſpiked with iron; and in order to ſecure us as much as poſſible from ſlipping, the guides faſtened to our ſhoes *crampons*, or ſmall bars of iron, provided with four ſmall ſpikes of the ſame metal. The difficulty of croſſing theſe valleys of ice, riſes from the immenſe chaſms. We rolled down large ſtones in ſeveral of them; and the great length of time before they reached the bottom, gave us ſome conception of their depth: our guides aſſured us, that in ſome places they are not leſs than five hundred feet deep. I can no otherwiſe convey to you an image of this body of ice, broken into irregular ridges and deep chaſms, than by comparing it to a lake inſtantaneouſly frozen in the midſt of a violent ſtorm.

We began our walk with great ſlowneſs and deliberation, but gradually gaining courage and confidence as we advanced, we ſoon found that we could ſafely paſs along thoſe places, where the aſcent and deſcent were not very conſiderable, much faſter even than when walking at the rate of our common pace: in other parts we leaped over the clefts, and ſlid down the ſteeper deſcents. In one place, where we deſcended and ſtepped acroſs an opening upon a narrow ridge of ice

ſcarcely

ſcarcely three inches broad, we were obliged to tread with peculiar caution: for on each ſide were chaſms of a great depth. We walked ſome paces ſideways along this ridge; ſtept acroſs the chaſm into a little hollow, which the guides contrived on purpoſe for our feet; and got up an aſcent by means of ſmall holes which we made with the ſpikes of our poles. This account appears terrible; but at the time we had not the leaſt apprehenſions of danger, as the guides were exceedingly careful, and took excellent precautions. One of the ſervants had the courage to follow us without *cramptons*, and with no nails to his ſhoes; which was certainly dangerous, on account of the ſlipperineſs of the leather when wetted.

We had now almoſt reached the oppoſite ſide, when being ſtopped by a broad chaſm, we were obliged to make a circuit of above a quarter of a mile, in order to get round it. This will give you ſome idea of the difficulty attending excurſions over ſome of theſe glaciers: and our guides informed us, that when they hunt the chamois and the marmots, theſe unavoidable circuits generally carry them ſix or ſeven miles, when the direct diſtance is only two miles, if they could proceed in a ſtrait line. A ſtorm threatening every moment, we were obliged to haſten off the glacier as faſt as poſſible: for rain renders the ice exceedingly ſlippery; and in caſe of a fog, which generally accompanies a ſtorm in theſe upper regions, our ſituation would have been extremely dangerous. And indeed we had no time to loſe; for we had ſcarcely quitted the ice before the tempeſt began; and ſoon became very violent,

lent, attended with frequent flaſhes of lightning, and loud peals of thunder, which being re-echoed within the hollows of the mountains, added greatly to the awful ſublimity of the ſcene.

We now crawled for a conſiderable way upon our hands and feet along a ſteep and bare rock, and down one of the moſt difficult and rugged precipices I ever deſcended in Switzerland; the ſtorm at the ſame time roaring over us, and rendering the rock extremely ſlippery. After much difficulty, but without the leaſt accident, we gained the valley of Chamouny, and returned to the inn, as wet as if we had been plunged into water; but perfectly ſatisfied with our expedition.

POSTSCRIPT.

In my ſecond expedition to the valley of Chamouny, in 1785, inſtead of croſſing the glacier, I aſcended, in company with three Engliſhmen and a Swiſs gentleman, from Blair's Cabin, about an hour and a half, over the bare and rugged rocks, to a ſummit under the *Aiguille des Charmeaux*, near the ſpot from which a Genevan unfortunately fell and was daſhed to pieces. On this ſummit, at the very edge of the fearful precipice which overlooks the vale of Chamouny, ſtood a collection of ſtones, about three feet high, called by the natives *le bon homme*. We immediately raiſed this heap to the height of ſix feet, and piled up another of the ſame elevation, which we ſtyled, in the language of the country, *le mo-*

nument de quatre Anglois, in memory of the four* Engliſhmen who amuſed themſelves in forming it.

I employed an hour in aſcending part of the Montanvert on horſeback; the ſame time in walking up to Blair's Cabin; an hour and a half to the *monument de quatre Anglois*; half an hour in deſcending to Blair's Cabin, and three quarters of an hour in paſſing from thence to Chamouny.

I made this expedition in company with M. Exchaquet, a Swiſs gentleman, native of Aubonne, and director general of the mines of Savoy. His repeated expeditions into theſe regions have enabled him to execute a model in relief of the valley of Chamouny, Mont Blanc, the circumjacent alps, and glaciers. In order to render theſe models ſtill more valuable to the naturaliſt, he collects ſpecimens of the different ſpecies of ſtones which compoſe the mountains repreſented on the plan. M. Exchaquet is now employed by the government of Berne, in conſtructing a model of the diſtrict of Aigle.

M. Exchaquet has diſcovered a more commodious route, than that hitherto followed, to aſcend the Buet and Mount Breven, which are deſcribed by M. van Berchem, ſecretary to the Society of Sciences at Lauſanne, in his letter† to Mr. Wyttenbach of Berne, relating an expedition

* Mr. Whitbread, the two Mr. Cliffords, and myſelf. We were accompanied and aſſiſted by M. Exchaquet, a Swiſs gentleman, remarkable for his numerous expeditions into theſe alps.

† Excurſion dans les Mines de Haut Faucigny, &c. Lauſanne, 1787.

dition to the mines of Faucigny, and the glaciers which extend at the foot of Mont Blanc. In theſe letters the reader will find, beſide much accurate and picturesque deſcription, an account of ſeveral foſſil and vegetable productions of the higher alps.

LETTER 38.

Excurſion towards the Summit of the Couvercle.

IN my ſubſequent expedition to the valley of Chamouny, I had propoſed puſhing my courſe ſtill further towards the glacier of Talefre, but particularly to the Couvercle, of which I had read a very curious deſcription in Mr. de Sauſſure's work. But having hurt my foot in my aſcent to the Montanvert, I was prevented from executing my intended purpoſe. You will, however, have no reaſon to regret my diſappointment, on receiving the following account of that expedition, extracted from notes communicated by a friend.

We quitted the Priory at ſix in the morning, accompanied by Michael Paccard and Marie

Marie Coutet, two guides of Chamouny. We traverſed the plain, and aſcended the Montanvert through a wood of pines. We had fine views of the glacier which gives riſe to the Arveron, and of the vale of Chamouny, chequered in a moſt ſingular manner with alternate rows of arable and paſture land. After continuing about an hour, we quitted our mules, proceeded on foot, and in about an hour and a half reached Blair's Hut, on the top of the Montanvert, where we reſted for a few minutes.

We then deſcended to the glacier, coaſted it by the path of the cryſtal hunters, and in about half an hour came to ſome difficult paſſes called *Les Ponts*, or the Bridges, which run over a perpendicular rock, at the edge of a frightful precipice. Theſe paſſages, though ſtill difficult, were extremely dangerous, until, by order of M. de Sauſſure, the rock was in ſome parts blown away with gunpowder, and ſmall holes formed for the hands and feet. The firſt bridge was about forty paces in length, and the two other paſſes ſomewhat leſs difficult, of about ten paces each. In about a quarter of an hour we arrived at a fountain which drops from the roof and ſides of a natural grotto, the inſide whereof is overgrown with large tufts of the *Ranunculus glacialis*. Having walked about eight miles ſince our departure from Chamouny, we ſat down in this ſequeſtered grotto, and made our firſt repaſt.

From hence we croſſed ſome ſnow, the remains of a laſt winter's *Avalanche*, and immediately got upon the *Moraine*, the term given to the ſtones and

and earth which the glaciers diſgorge on each ſide, after having received them from the ſuperimpending mountains: they are very treacherous and difficult to walk upon. The ice upon which theſe ſtones reſt is more hard and elevated than that of the reſt of the glacier; and the earth is laid in ſuch regular and equable heaps, as to give the appearance of art. As we looked from hence over the valley of ice, it ſeemed impracticable; ſo numerous and broad were the chaſms which interſected it in every direction, many bearing a tremendous appearance, and of an aſtoniſhing depth: but we ſoon found that it only required courage and activity. Inſtead of *crampons*, we had large nails in our ſhoes, which more effectually anſwered our purpoſe, and our ſpiked ſticks were on this occaſion particularly ſerviceable. Having deſcended upon the glacier, we found the ice ſoftened by a warm wind, which rendered it leſs ſlippery than uſual. We continued along it about a quarter of an hour, then regained and walked along the Moraine near half an hour. We now embarked upon the great valley of ice called *Glacier des Bois*, I own not without emotion to ſee ourſelves upon this extraordinary deſert, broken into frightful chaſms, through the maze of which we were to paſs. It was curious to obſerve the numerous little rills produced by the collection of drops occaſioned by the thawing of the ice on the upper part of the glacier: theſe little rills hollow out ſmall channels, and torrent-like precipitate themſelves into the chaſms with a violent noiſe; increaſing the body of waters formed by the melting of the interior ſurface, and finding an outlet under the immenſe

immenſe arch of ice in the valley of Chamouny, from which the Arveron ruſhes. This ice-water was agreeable to the palate, and extremely refreſhing from its coolneſs.

The field of ice, which at firſt ſight ſeemed impervious to all but the chamois and marmot, and ſcarcely practicable even for the daring footſteps of man, is traverſed by flocks of ſheep, driven to the ſcanty paſturage which the oppoſite rocks afford. The ſhepherds leave them in theſe deſolate ſpots, and viſit them at different intervals. We traced their track over the ice, and ſaw a flock returning. One ſhepherd preceded as a guide, and another followed the herd. We had the good fortune to preſerve one ſheep which had ſtrayed from the flock.

As we were continuing our courſe, we were ſurpriſed by a loud noiſe; and, looking round, perceived a large fragment of rock which had detatched itſelf from one of the higheſt needles: it bounded from precipice to precipice with great rapidity, and, before it reached the bottom, was diſſolved almoſt entirely into duſt. Having proceeded about an hour, we were aſtoniſhed with a view far more magnificent than imagination can conceive: hitherto the glaciers had ſcarcely anſwered my expectations, but now they far ſurpaſſed them. Nature had clad herſelf in all her terrors. Before us was a valley of ice twenty miles in extent, bounded by a circular glacier of pure unbroken ſnow, called Takul, which leads directly to the foot of Mont Blanc, and is ſurrounded by large conical rocks, terminating in ſharp points like the towers of an antient fortification; to the right roſe a range of magnificent peaks, their intervals

tervals filled with glaciers; and far above the reſt, the majeſtic ſummit of Mont Blanc, his higheſt point obſcured with clouds. He appeared of ſuch immenſe magnitude, that at his preſence the circumjacent mountains, however gigantic, ſeemed to ſhrink before him, and "*hide their diminiſhed heads**." In half an hour we arrived at the Moraine, which forms a boundary of the valley, croſſed it, and proceeded upon a body of ice about three quarters of a mile broad. Here the ice was more even and free from chaſms than in the great valley. We then paſſed a ſecond Moraine, and beyond that another maſs of ice to a third Moraine: deſcending from thence, we came upon the laſt ridge of ice, broader conſiderably than the two former, and full of large chaſms: it is ſeparated from the rock only by a very narrow Moraine. Theſe Moraines contain great quantities of cryſtal.

Here we turned a little to the right, and aſcended the valley of ice, the ſcene every moment increaſing in magnificence and horror. In a ſhort time we arrived at the foot of the Couvercle, having walked about ſix miles on the ice. We now found it difficult to quit the ice; and the firſt part of the deſcent was really perilous. One ſtep was truly dreadful: a bulging rock entirely ſmooth, and preſenting a precipice of very conſiderable depth, which was terminated by an immenſe crevice in the ice, ſeemed to forbid our progreſs: a ſmall hollow, however, in the middle ſerved for one foot, and from thence we bounded over to the firm ground. One guide went

* Milton.

went firſt, and held out his hand on the oppoſite ſide, whilſt the other helped and directed us where to place our feet. We continued mounting along a path which now ſeemed without danger, though very narrow and ſteep, and carried along the ridge of precipices. The ſcenery around was indeed ſo ſublime as to baniſh all ideas of fatigue and apprehenſion. Half an hour more brought us to the ſide of a fountain, where we ſat down to our dinner. We had now employed five hours and a half from Chamouny, and notwithſtanding all difficulties and neceſſary halts, had walked fifteen miles, but none of us complained of fatigue.

The clouds beginning to gather, warned us to haſten to the top of the Couvercle. From that ſtation we had the view of three ſtupendous vallies of ice, the glacier of Talefre to the left, in front that of l'Echaut, and the Takul to the right; all uniting in one great valley of ice called the *Glacier des Bois*, which ſtretched under our feet, and was ſurrounded and ornamented by the rugged needles.

The dead ſilence, which reigned in this place, was only interrupted by the bounding of diſtant chamois, and the cries of alarm which the marmots gave to their tribes at our approach.

Having refreſhed ourſelves, we proceeded to the top of the Couvercle, a moſt extraordinary rock: it has the appearance of a large irregular multilateral building placed on a mountain. The rock is granite, the aſcent was laborious, but perfectly ſecure. Towards its foot we found a bottle containing the names of two Engliſhmen who had reached that place about a fortnight before,

before, and probably flattered themſelves that no ſtranger would go beyond them. We wrote our names on the reverſe of the paper, and carried the bottle with us to the ſummit of the Couvercle. Three quarters of an hour brought us to the point, and we reached a rock overhanging a precipice which my eyes dared not meaſure. In this ſituation we were ſurpriſed with a thunder ſtorm, which added great horror and magnificence to the ſcene. We took ſhelter under an impending rock, and liſtened to the roaring of the ſtorm with a mixed ſenſation of fear and pleaſure. On reflecting in this place that we were to meaſure back the ſame ground, and to undergo a repetition of the ſame difficulties, we were not exempted from alarm; but recollecting that it is the duty of man to encounter ſome dangers, in order to behold ſuch glorious ſcenes, we from that moment baniſhed all apprehenſions.

Our view from the top of the Couvercle comprehended the ſame ſublime ſcenes we had enjoyed from its baſe, but conſiderably heightened and enlarged; and the ſtupendous extent of ice appeared like a rugged expanſe of frozen ſea, bounded by the moſt gigantic rocks, and terminated by Mont Blanc, the Atlas of the globe.

Although we were thus entirely encloſed between ice and ſnow, and barren crags, where all vegetation might be ſuppoſed to ceaſe; yet our eyes repoſed on a triangular rock, clothed with graſs and alpine plants, and ſtarting up like a fertile iſland in the midſt of a deſolate ocean. It is known by the name of the *Garden*, and exhibits a curious contraſt to the ſurrounding drearineſs.

During

During our expedition into the Alps, we had frequently found occaſion to remark the peculiarly deep ſhade of blue colour in the "*pure Empyreal**;" and to-day we were more particularly affected with this circumſtance. It conveyed a moſt ſublime idea of the infinity of ſpace: the higher we aſcended, the more beautiful it ſeemed; and we were informed by a perſon accuſtomed to alpine ſcenes, that on conſiderable elevation he had frequently obſerved the ſtars at noon day.

Our deſcent from theſe icy regions was no leſs fortunate than our aſcent; we reached the Priory at ſeven in the afternoon, without the leaſt accident, and wrapt in aſtoniſhment on the recollection of ſcenes, which ſurpaſs the imagination, as much as they defy deſcription.

I am, &c.

* Milton.

LETTER

LETTER 39.

Various attempts to reach the ſummit of Mont Blanc —Succeſsful Expedition of James Balma and Dr. Paccard—Of Monſieur de Sauſſure—His phyſical Obſervations.

VARIOUS attempts having been made to reach the ſummit of Mont Blanc, as well by the guides of Chamouny, as by Meſſieurs de Sauſſure and Bourrit; a chronological account of the principal expeditions, which have at length terminated ſucceſsfully, will not, perhaps, be unintereſting.

The firſt enterprize was formed by Mr. Couteran and three guides of Chamouny, Michael Paccard, Victor Tiſſay, and Marie Coutet. On the thirteenth of July 1776, theſe adventurers ſet off from the Priory about eleven in

in the evening. They paſſed between the glaciers of Boſſon and Tacona; and after having employed above fourteen hours in mounting rugged and dangerous aſcents, in croſſing ſeveral vallies of ice, and large plains of ſnow, they found themſelves upon the top next to Mont Blanc. At firſt ſight, it appeared ſcarcely a league diſtant; but they ſoon diſcovered that the clearneſs of the air, the extraordinary whiteneſs of the ſnow, and its great height, made it ſeem nearer than it was in reality: and they perceived with regret, that it would require at leaſt four hours more to reach the ſummit, even ſuppoſing it practicable. But as the day was far advanced, and the vapours towards the ſummit of Mont Blanc began to gather into clouds, they were obliged to relinquiſh their enterprize. As they were returning in great haſte, one of the party ſlipped in attempting to leap over a chaſm of ice. He held in his hand a long pole, ſpiked with iron, which he ſtruck into the ice; and upon this he hung dreadfully ſuſpended for a few moments, until he was releaſed by his companions. The danger he had juſt eſcaped, made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he fainted away, and continued for ſome time in that ſituation: he was at length brought to himſelf, and, though conſiderably bruiſed, ſufficiently recovered to be able to continue his journey. They arrived at Chamouny about eight that evening, after having employed two and twenty hours: as ſome ſort of recompence for ſo much fatigue, they enjoy the ſatisfaction, at leaſt, of having approached nearer to Mont Blanc than any former adventurers.

According

According to Sir George Schuckborough, the ſummit to which they arrived, is more than 13,000 feet above the Mediterranean. Theſe perſons, however, did not take the neceſſary precautions for ſo perilous an enterprize: for the expedition was not only extremely hazardous, but was alſo far too fatiguing and difficult to be accompliſhed within twenty-four hours. They ought to have ſet out in the morning, and to have found ſome proper place in which they might paſs the night; they would then have been ſufficiently refreſhed the next morning to purſue their expedition; and would not have found themſelves, after advancing within four hours of Mont Blanc, unable to proceed, and in danger of being overtaken by darkneſs in ſo dreary a ſituation. The failure of this expedition ſeemed for ſome time to repreſs all future attempts to attain the top of Mont Blanc, until the indefatigable Monſ. Bourrit infuſed a new ſpirit into the inhabitants of Chamouny. After reiterated though unſucceſsful attempts, on the 11th of September 1784, Mr. Bourrit, accompanied by ſix guides, departed from Bionaſay; and was *ſcaling*, as he expreſſes himſelf, the *rampart* of Mont Blanc, when he ſuddenly found himſelf ſo extremely affected by the intenſe cold, that he was unable to proceed.

Marie Coutet and Francis Guidet, two of the guides who attended him in this expedition, had preceded their company, and aſcended to the Dome of Goutè, which is about 9,400 feet in a ſtrait horizontal direction from the ſummit. Marie Coutet informed me, that they paſſed the Middle Dome, and walked along the

the ridge between that dome and the ſummit as far as ſome high rocks, which appear from the vale of Chamouny like ſmall points riſing out of the ſnow; but night approaching, obliged them to return.

On the 4th of September 1785, Maria Coutet and James Lambat reached a place under a rock at a conſiderable elevation, where they paſſed the night: ſetting off before ſun-riſe, found themſelves about ſeven on the Dome of Goutè: and were proceeding towards the ſummit, with a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, when a violent ſtorm of hail enſued, accompanied with ſuch a ſtrong wind, as compelled them to return.

On the 13th of September, Meſſieurs de Sauſſure and Bourrit, attended by twelve guides well provided with barometers, thermometers, and other inſtruments, for the purpoſe of making the neceſſary obſervations, departed from Bionaſay, and arrived at a hut, which they had ordered to be conſtructed at *Pierre Ronde* 7,808 feet above the level of the ſea. Here they paſſed the night, and early the next morning reached the Dome of Goutè without the leaſt accident, and without much difficulty; where they were ſtopped by a freſh fall of ſnow, into which they ſunk ſo deep, that all further progreſs was impracticable.

Mr. de Sauſſure informs us, that the mercury in the barometer ſunk eighteen inches and a half, and that he reached an elevation of 1,290 toiſes, or 8,256 Engliſh feet.

At length, in July 1786, ſix guides of Chamouny having failed in another attempt, James Balma, one of the company, being overtaken by

by darkneſs, as he was rambling upon the ice, miſſed his way, and paſſed the night in a ſpot above the Dome of Goutè, elevated more than 12,000 feet above the level of the ſea. His youth, and the ſtrength of his conſtitution, having preſerved him from the effects of the nocturnal cold in ſo ſevere an atmoſphere, at the approach of morn he reconnoitred the ſituation, and obſerved a part which appeared to him more eaſy of acceſs than any of the others that had been hitherto attempted.

On his arrival at Chamouny he was ſeized with a very ſevere indiſpoſition, the effect of extreme fatigue, and of the intenſe cold. Being attended by doctor Paccard, a phyſician of the place, James Balma communicated his obſervations; and, in gratitude for his attendance, offered to conduct him to the ſummit of Mont Blanc.

On the 7th of Auguſt, theſe two daring adventurers ſallied from Chamouny upon this memorable expedition, and reached before dark the mountain of *La Cote*, which overhangs the upper part of the glacier of Boſſon. Here they paſſed the night; and at three in the morning purſued their route over the ice, aſcended the Dome of Goutè, paſſed under the Middle Dome, and at the laſt pyramid of rock turned to the eaſt, and continued along the ridge, which is ſeen from Geneva, and lies on the left of the ſummit. Here they firſt began to experience ſuch intenſe cold, and ſuch extreme fatigue, that Dr. Paccard was almoſt induced to relinquiſh the enterprize: being, however, encouraged by James Balma, more accuſtomed to ſuch fatiguing

ing and dangerous expeditions, he followed his companion. The wind was ſo violent and piercing, that in order to avoid its blowing in their faces, they were obliged to walk ſideways for a conſiderable time. About ſix in the afternoon, they at length attained the ſummit of Mont Blanc; and ſtood triumphantly on a ſpot of ground, which no one had reached before, and at the elevation of 15,662 feet above the ſea, which is undoubtedly the higheſt point in the antient globe. They remained on the ſummit no more than half an hour, the cold being ſo intenſe, that the proviſion was frozen in their pockets, the ink congealed in their inkhorns; and the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer ſunk to 18½ degrees. Doctor Paccard had juſt time to obſerve the ſtate of the barometer, which he has not communicated to the public.

They had employed fifteen hours in aſcending; and though they again reached the mountain of La Cote in five hours, they found great difficulty in deſcending, their ſight being debilitated by the reflection from the ſnow. They arrived at La Cote about midnight, after twenty hours unremitted fatigue. Having repoſed themſelves two hours, they again ſallied forth, and returned to Chamouny at eight in the morning. Their faces were excoriated, and their lips exceedingly ſwelled; Dr. Paccard was almoſt blind, and his eyes continued to be affected for a conſiderable time.

We cannot expect any accurate experiments from theſe two perſons, to whom the glory of having firſt aſcended the ſummit of Mont Blanc is undoubtedly due. But they prepared the way

for the obſervations and diſcoveries of future naturaliſts, and particularly of M. de Sauſſure, whoſe indefatigable zeal did not permit him to reſt, until he had reached the top of Mont Blanc, and made thoſe experiments which cannot fail greatly to elucidate the theory of the atmoſphere.

That able naturaliſt ſet out on this ſucceſsful expedition, from the valley of Chamouny, on the 13th of Auguſt, 1787. He was accompanied by eighteen guides, who carried a tent, matraſſes, all neceſſary accommodations, and inſtruments of experimental philoſophy. They paſſed the firſt night on the top of the mountain of La Cote, in a hut previouſly conſtructed for that purpoſe. At four o'clock in the following afternoon they reached an elevation of 9,312 feet above the priory, or 12,762 above the level of the ſea. Here they encamped, and formed an excavation in the congealed ſnow, which they covered with a tent. In this icy habitation, inſtead of ſuffering from the cold, M. de Sauſſure felt ſuch a ſuffocating heat, from the cloſeneſs of the tent, and the number of perſons crouded in ſo ſmall a compaſs, that he was frequently obliged to go into the open air in order to breathe.

The next morning the whole company departed at ſeven; and found the aſcent in ſome places ſo ſteep, that they who preceded were obliged to hew out ſteps with a hatchet. At eleven they reached the ſummit of Mont Blanc. Here they continued three hours and a half, during which time M. de Sauſſure enjoyed, with rapture and aſtoniſhment, a view the moſt extenſive as well as the moſt rugged and ſublime in

in nature; and made thoſe obſervations which will render this expedition no longer a matter of mere curioſity. Until a complete and ample detail of thoſe obſervations ſhall be communicated to the public, you will perhaps not be diſpleaſed with the following particulars ſelected from a temporary publication of M. de Sauſſure himſelf*.

He did not find the cold ſo extremely piercing as was experienced by Dr. Paccard and James Balmat. By comparing his experiments on Mont Blanc with thoſe made at the ſame time by M. Senebier at Geneva, he was enabled to make the following compariſons. Reaumur's thermometer ſtood in the ſhade at $2\frac{3}{10}$ below freezing point, or 27 of Fahrenheit; at Geneva at 22.6, or 82 of Fahrenheit, which gives a difference of near 25 degrees of Reaumur, or 45 of Fahrenheit, between the ſtate of the atmoſphere at both places.

De Luc's barometer fell to $16.0\frac{144}{180}$, and as it ſtood at Geneva at $27.2\frac{1095}{1800}$, it gives a difference of 11.2, without regarding the fraction. On eſtimating the height of Mont Blanc from barometrical experiments, he found it almoſt exactly correſpond with that given by Sir George Shuckborough, or 15,662 Engliſh feet above the level of the ſea, and which reflects the higheſt honour on the accuracy of the Engliſh obſerver.

* A tranſlation of this account, by the Rev. Mr. Martyn, profeſſor of botany in the univerſity of Cambridge, printed by Kearſley, forms an Appendix to his Sketch of a Tour through Switzerland, which I would recommend to the traveller.

By experiments with the hygrometer, the air on the top of Mont Blanc contained ſix times leſs humidity than that of Geneva; and to this extreme dryneſs of the atmoſphere, he imputes the burning thirſt which he and his companions experienced. It requires half an hour to boil water on the top of Mont Blanc, fifteen or ſixteen minutes are ſufficient at Geneva, and fourteen or fifteen by the ſea ſide. By experiments on the electrometer, the balls diverged only three lines; the electricity was poſitive. On the ſummit he noticed two butterflies on the wing; obſerved, at the elevation of 11,392 feet above the ſea, the *Silene Acaulis*, or moſs campion, in flower; and ſtill higher up, on the moſt elevated rocks, the *Lichen Sulphureus* and *Lichen Rupeſtris* of Hoffman.

He adds, that the ſummits of Mont Blanc and the adjacent mountains are compoſed of granite; and that, after Mont Blanc, the Schreckhorn and Mount Roſa in Piedmont, appeared the moſt elevated points.

M. de Sauſſure, as well as many of his party, found themſelves extremely affected by the rarefaction of the air; and at two began returning. They deſcended a little lower than the place in which they paſſed the preceding night, and arrived the next morning at the valley of Chamouny without the leaſt accident; and, as they had taken the precaution to cover their faces with crape, their ſkins were not excoriated, nor their ſight debilitated.

On the eighth of Auguſt, a few days after M. de Sauſſure's expedition, Mr. Beaufoy an Engliſh gentleman,

gentleman, ſucceeded in a ſimilar attempt, though it was attended with greater difficulty, ariſing from the enlargement of the chaſms in the ice. An account of this expedition was read before the Royal Society on the 13th of December 1787, and will probably be communicated to the public.

LETTER

LETTER 40.

Conjectures on the Formation and State of the Glaciers.

NO ſubject in natural hiſtory is more curious than the origin of theſe glaciers, extending into fields of corn and paſture, and lying, without being melted, in a ſituation, where the ſun is ſufficient to bring the earth to maturity: for it is almoſt literally true, that with one hand I could touch ice, and the other ripe corn. But as in my firſt expedition to the alps my ſtay was exceedingly ſhort, I declined entering upon a ſubject too important to be ſuperficially treated, and only threw together a few haſty remarks, which occurred to me on the ſpot. But I find that theſe remarks, however haſty and ſuperficial, ſerved

ſerved to excite your curioſity; and have induced you to inquire, "*Which is the moſt rational ſyſtem concerning the formation of the glaciers? Are they in a ſtate of augmentation or diminution; or do they remain within the ſame limits?*"

Although in my ſubſequent journeys to the alps I made this ſubject a particular object of reſearch; and although I have attentively peruſed the principal ſyſtems, which have been formed concerning the formation of glaciers; yet it is not without great diffidence, that I can preſume to reply to your very arduous queſtions.

The theory of Gruner, confirmed and amended by that able naturaliſt M. de Sauſſure, appears to me the moſt ſimple and rational; and I do not know how I can better ſatisfy your curioſity, than by forming an extract from his much eſteemed work*, interſperſing it with a few additional remarks drawn from my own particular obſervations.

If a perſon could be conveyed to ſuch an elevation as to embrace at one view the alps of Switzerland, Savoy, and Dauphiné, he would behold a vaſt chain of mountains, interſected by numerous vallies, and compoſed of many parallel chains, the higheſt occupying the center, and the others gradually diminiſhing in proportion to their diſtance from that center.

The moſt elevated, or central chain, would appear briſtled with pointed rocks; and covered, even in ſummer, with ice and ſnow, in all parts that are not abſolutely perpendicular. On each ſide of this chain he would diſcover deep vallies clothed

* Voyages des Alps, v. i. c. 7.

clothed with verdure, peopled with numerous villages, and watered by many rivers. In conſidering theſe objects with greater attention, he would remark, that the central chain is compoſed of elevated peaks and diverging ridges, whoſe ſummits are overſpread with ſnow; that the declivities of the peaks and ridges, excepting thoſe parts that are extremely ſteep, are covered with ſnow and ice; and that the intermediate depths and ſpaces between them are filled with immenſe fields of ice, terminating in thoſe cultivated vallies which border the great chain.

The branches moſt contiguous to the central chain would preſent the ſame phenomena, only in a leſſer degree. At greater diſtances no ice would be obſerved, and ſcarcely any ſnow, but upon ſome of the moſt elevated ſummits; and the mountains diminiſhing in height and ruggedneſs, would appear covered with herbage, and gradually ſink into hills and plains.

In this general ſurvey, the glaciers may be divided into two ſorts; the firſt occupying the deep vallies ſituated in the boſom of the alps, and termed by the natives *Vallées de Glace*, but which I ſhall diſtinguiſh by the name of *Lower Glaciers*; the ſecond, which clothe the ſummits and ſides of the mountains, I ſhall call *Upper Glaciers*.

1. The Lower Glaciers are by far the moſt conſiderable in extent and depth. Some ſtretch ſeveral leagues in length; that of des Bois in particular is more than fifteen miles long, and above three in its greateſt breadth.

The Lower Glaciers do not, as is generally imagined, communicate with each other; and but

but few of them are parallel to the central chain: they moſtly ſtretch in a tranſverſe direction, are bordered at the higher extremity by inacceſſible rocks, and on the other extend into the cultivated vallies.

The thickneſs of the ice varies in different parts. M. de Sauſſure found its general depth in the glacier des Bois from eighty to a hundred feet; but queſtions not the information of thoſe who aſſert, that in ſome places its thickneſs exceeds even ſix hundred feet.

Theſe immenſe fields of ice uſually reſt on an inclined plain: being puſhed forwards by the preſſure of their own weight, and but weakly ſupported by the rugged rocks beneath, are interſected by large tranſverſe crevices; and preſent the appearance of walls, pyramids, and other fantaſtic ſhapes, obſerved at all heights and in all ſituations, wherever the declivity is beyond thirty or forty degrees.

But in thoſe parts, where the plain on which they reſt is horizontal, or only gently inclined, the ſurface of the ice is nearly uniform; the crevices are but few and narrow, and the traveller croſſes them on foot, without much difficulty.

The ſurface of the ice is not ſo ſlippery as that of frozen pond or rivers: it is rough and granulated, and is only dangerous to the paſſenger, where there is a ſteep deſcent. It is not tranſparent, is extremely porous and full of ſmall bubbles, which ſeldom exceed the ſize of a pea, and conſequently is not ſo compact as common ice: its perfect reſemblance to the congelation of ſnow impregnated with water, in its opacity, roughneſs,

roughneſs, and in the number and ſmallneſs of the air-bubbles, led M. de Sauſſure to conceive the following ſimple and natural theory on the formation of the glaciers.

An immenſe quantity of ſnow is continually accumulating in the elevated vallies which are encloſed within the Alps, as well from that which falls from the clouds during nine months in the year, as from the maſſes which are inceſſantly rolling from the ſteep ſides of the circumjacent mountains. Part of this ſnow, which is not diſſolved during ſummer, impregnated with rain and ſnow-water, is frozen during winter, and forms that opaque and porous ice of which the Lower Glaciers are compoſed.

2. The Upper Glaciers may be ſubdivided into thoſe which cover the ſummits, and thoſe which extend along the ſides of the Alps.

Thoſe which cover the ſummits of the Alps, owe doubtleſs their origin to the ſnow that falls at all ſeaſons of the year, and which remains nearly in its original ſtate, being congealed into a hard ſubſtance, and not converted into ice. For although, according to the opinion of ſome philoſophers, the ſummit of Mont Blanc, and of other elevated mountains, is, from the gliſtening of the ſurface, ſuppoſed to be covered with pure ice; yet it appears, both from theory and experience, that it is not ice but ſnow. For, in ſo elevated and cold a region, there cannot be melted a quantity of ſnow ſufficient to impregnate with water the whole maſs, which remains undiſſolved. Experience alſo juſtifies this reaſoning. M. de Sauſſure found the top of Mont Blanc only encruſted with ice, which, though of a firm conſiſtence,

conſiſtence, was yet penetrable with a ſtick; and on the declivities of the ſummit he diſcovered, beneath the ſurface, a ſoft ſnow without coherence.

The ſubſtance which clothes the ſides of the Alps is neither pure ſnow like that of the ſummits, nor ice which forms the Lower Glaciers, but is an aſſemblage of both. It contains leſs ſnow than the ſummits, becauſe the ſummer heat has more power to diſſolve it, and becauſe the liquefied ſnow deſcending from above, the maſs is penetrated with a larger quantity of water. It contains more ſnow than the Lower Glaciers, becauſe the diſſolution of the ſnow is comparatively leſſer. Hence the ice is even more porous, opaque, and leſs compact than the ice of the Lower Glaciers; and is of ſo doubtful a texture as renders it, in many parts, difficult to decide, whether it may be called ice or frozen ſnow.

In a word: there is a regular gradation from the ſnow on the ſummits to the ice of the Lower Glaciers, formed by the intermediate mixture of ſnow and ice, which becomes more compact and leſs porous in proportion as it approaches the Lower Glaciers, until it unites and aſſimilates with them. And it is evident, that the greater or leſſer degree of denſity is derived from the greater or leſſer quantity of water, with which the maſs is impregated.

In regard to your ſecond queſtion, "*Whether the glaciers are in a ſtate of increaſe or diminution*," though I declined on a former occaſion to enter minutely upon a ſubject, which required much accurate obſervation and repeated experimental inveſtigation; yet I ventured to make one

one remark, which ſeemed to prove the occaſional increaſe and diminution of the glaciers; contrary to the opinion of ſome philoſophers, who maintain, that they continue always the ſame; and of others, who aſſert, that they are continually increaſing.

The borders of the glacier of Montanvert, are moſtly ſkirted with trees: towards its baſe a vaſt arch of ice riſes to near a hundred feet in height; under which the Arveron ruſhes with conſiderable force, and in a large body of water. As we approached the ice, we paſſed through a wood of firs: thoſe trees which ſtand at a little diſtance from the arch are about eighty feet high, and are undoubtedly of a very great age. Between theſe and the glacier, the trees are of a later growth; as is evident from their texture and inferior ſize. Others, ſtill ſmaller, have been overturned and enveloped in the ice: there ſeems to be a kind of regular gradation in the age of theſe ſeveral trees, from the largeſt which are ſtanding to the ſmalleſt that lie proſtrate.

Theſe facts juſtly lead to the following concluſions:—that the glacier once extended as far as the row of tall firs; that, upon its gradual diſſolution, a number of trees ſhot up in the very ſpots which it formerly occupied; that, ſince that period, the ice has again advanced; and has overturned the trees of later date, before they had grown to any conſiderable height.

To theſe circumſtances, the following fact may be added. Large ſtones of granite are uſually found at a ſmall diſtance from the extremities of the glacier. Theſe ſtones have certainly fallen from the mountains upon the ice; have been

been carried on in its progreſs; and have tumbled into the plain upon the diſſolution or ſinking of the ice which ſupported them. Theſe ſtones, which the inhabitants call *Moraine*, form a kind of border, towards the foot of the valley of ice, and have been puſhed forward by the glacier in its advances: they extend even to the place occupied by the larger pines.

As ſeveral writers upon Switzerland have, in contradiction to theſe facts, endeavoured to prove, that the ſnow and ice are continually accumulating in the Alps, I ſhall here throw together a few additional remarks, that may tend to confirm the contrary opinion.

The Inferior Glacier of Grindelwald was ſo conſiderably diminiſhed ſince my firſt expedition in 1776, that the ſpot which its extremity then occupied was, in 1785, removed at leaſt four hundred paces from its former ſite. In the valley of Chamouny, the *Murailles de Glace*, which I deſcribed as forming the border of the glacier of Boſſon, no longer exiſted; and young trees had ſhot up in the parts which were then covered by the glacier of Montanvert.

The advocates, however, for the increaſe of the glaciers, admitting theſe facts, yet deny that any judgment can be formed concerning the ſtate of the more elevated regions, from what paſſes in the vallies, where the ſun has power to bring the fruits of the earth to maturity. They aſſert that it appears, both from theory and fact, that more ſnow falls, and more ice is annually formed in the Alps than can be annully diſſolved.

To judge from theory; they argue, that the cold occaſioned by the maſs of ice already formed ought

ought to augment it ſtill further; and in regard to experience, it is evident, that within the memory of the preſent generation, many mountains have been covered, many paſtures and habitation invaded, and many paſſages irrecoverably obſtructed by the ice.

In conſidering the arguments drawn from theory, we may obſerve, that the cauſes which tend to the diminution of the ice, are no leſs powerful than the augmentation of the cold, which is ſuppoſed to occaſion its indefinite increaſe. Theſe cauſes are principally; 1. rain and ſleet in the leſs elevated regions; 2. evaporation; 3. deſcent of the ſnow and ice, both precipitous and gradual; 4. heat of the atmoſphere; 5. mean temperature of the earth.

1. The rain and ſleet, which fall during ſummer upon the Lower Glaciers, not only thaw the ice, but increaſe thoſe rills that collect on the ſurface, excavate channels, deſcend into the cleſts, and aſſiſt in forming them.

2. Evaporation is a ſtill more powerful cauſe; as it acts at all heights, and in all ſeaſons.

3. The deſcent of the ſnow and ice, as diſtinguiſhed by precipitous and gradual. The precipitous, or contiual fallings of congealed ſnow, termed by the natives *avalanches*, are detached either by their own weight, ſoftened from their hold by the heat of the ſun or the warm air which blows from the ſouth, or overthrown by the violent hurricanes that are extremely common in the Upper Alps. When theſe maſſes are precipitated into a milder air, though they may ſometimes indeed reſiſt the influence of heat, and form valleys of ice, yet they are more uſually diſ-

ſolved.

ſolved. Theſe *avalanches* are moſt common in the Upper Glaciers; whereas the gradual deſcent of the ice is chiefly confined to the Lower Glaciers, and is a very powerful agent in leſſening the aggregate maſs.

All the Lower Glaciers, or vallies of ice, reſt on an inclined plain, arched or hollow, and are undermined and weakened by the torrents, which are conſtantly flowing, as well from the Upper Glaciers, as from their own interior ſurface.

The natural tendency of a heavy body in ſuch a poſition is to deſcend; and its progreſſive motion is accelerated in proportion to its own weight, and the greater inclination of its baſis. This propreſſive motion, which acts though imperceptibly, yet gradually and uniformly, carries the ice into thoſe cultivated plains and vallies, where the ſun ripens the fruits of the field; and where a period is neceſſarily put to its further increaſe.

If you require a proof of this imperceptible deſcent, the anſwer is obvious. It is to be collected from the facts which I have already enumerated; namely, from the trees which are occaſionally overturned by the ice in its progreſs, and by the moraine of ſtones which is obſerved at the bottom of the Lower Glaciers. Theſe ſtones being ſimilar to the mountains of the upper alps, and eſſentially different from the rocks below, muſt have been conveyed by the ice in its deſcent from the Upper Glaciers.

4. The heat of the atmoſphere, or the efficacy of the ſun's rays on the outward ſurface of the

glaciers,

glaciers, is too evident to require any proof, even to thoſe who have never been in the alps.

Another cauſe of a thaw, derived from the heat of the atmoſphere, which will not be expected by thoſe who have not viſited theſe icy regions, is the warm winds which blow by night as well as by day in the Upper no leſs than in the Lower Glaciers. Theſe warm winds are, during ſummer, ſo common in theſe parts, that I never croſſed a glacier without feeling, in ſome particular poſitions, a warmth ſimilar to the air of a hot-bath.

5. But as theſe two cauſes only operate in ſummer; and as the ſun's rays do not produce ſufficient effect in the higheſt parts, we muſt have recourſe to the mean temperature of the earth, which ſeems to be the greateſt and moſt powerful agent in preventing an indefinite augmentation of ice and ſnow. This mean temperature, termed by ſome philoſophers the internal * heat of the earth, is always above the freezing point, as is evident from the heat of the ſprings which iſſue from the bowels of the earth. In winter, therefore, or in thoſe high regions of the globe where the cold is uſually below the freezing point, when any ſpot of ground is covered with only a thin coat of ſnow, it may be ſo far cooled, to a certain

* Some philoſophers impute this conſtant thaw, which takes place in the lower ſurface of the glaciers, to an internal ſource of heat in the earth; but that opinion has been very ably refuted by ſeveral modern naturaliſts; the mean temperature of the ground being found ſufficient to account for *all* the phenomena, local circumſtances excepted, which have been uſually aſſigned to an internal heat of the earth.

a certain depth, by the influence of the external air, as not to be capable of diſſolving any part of the ſuperincumbent ſnow. But when the maſs of ſnow is of ſuch a thickneſs as to protect the ſurface of the ground from the effects of the atmoſpherical cold, the mean temperature, which is always above the freezing point, will be ſufficient to melt the contiguous ſurface of ſnow, and to occaſion a conſtant thaw, which ſupplies thoſe currents of water, that flow, at all ſeaſons, from the Upper and Lower Glaciers.

In regard to the argument derived from experience, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that while I admit the facts which prove the progreſs of the ice, it by no means ſeems to follow that its ſum is perpetually increaſing. For the advocates who ſupport this opinion, while they ſcrupuloufly enumerate the places which have been invaded by the ice, do not take any notice of thoſe parts, no leſs numerous, from which the ice has retired.

During my ſecond expedition into the Alps, I alſo made this point of controverſy a particular object of my reſearches; and on inquiring from the *chaſſeurs*, and other perſons who frequent the mountains, the greateſt part were of opinion that the collection of ice and ſnow, even in the elevated regions, was by no means in a continual ſtate of augmentation; but that while it gained in ſome places it diminiſhed in others; and that upon an average, the aggregate maſs was nearly the ſame.

LETTER 41.

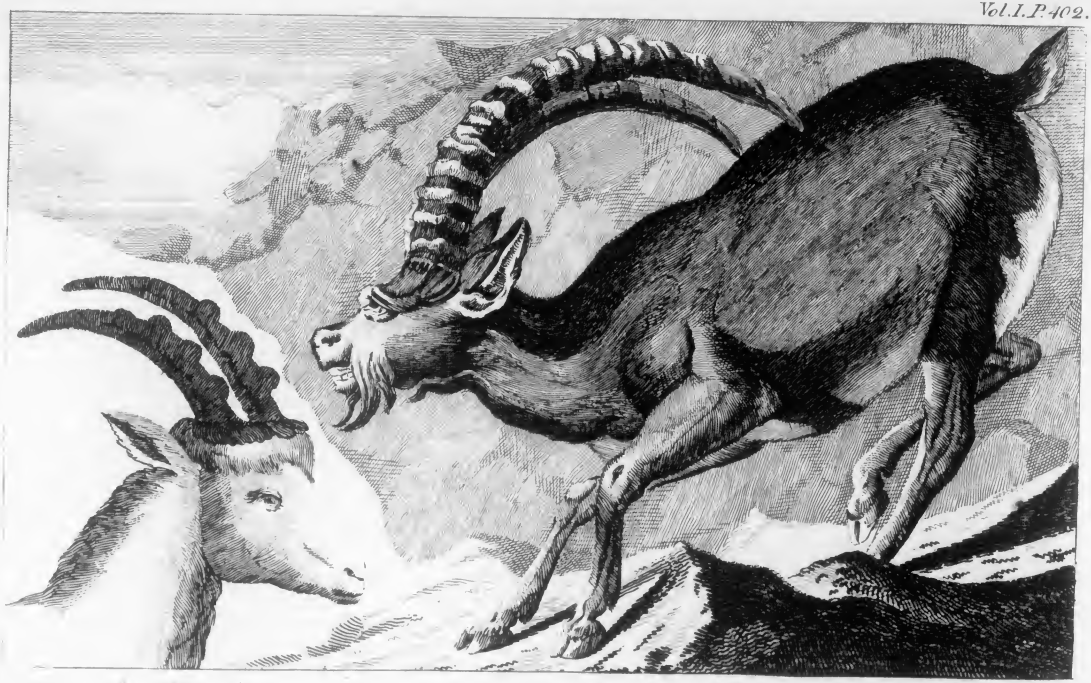
Account of the Bouquetin, or Mountain-Goat.

I Obſerved at Michael Paccard's, a guide of Chamouny, a head and horns of the male *bouquetin*, or mountain-goat, and ſtuffed ſpecimens of a female and a young one.

As this animal is extremely rare, and inhabits the higheſt and almoſt inacceſſible mountains, the deſcriptions of it have been very inaccurate and confuſed. But a new light has been lately thrown on the ſubject by Dr. Girtanner of St. Gallen, and by M. van Berchem, ſecretary to the Society of Sciences at Lauſanne; and although

Head of a Male Bouquetin
two Years Old

Full grown Male Bouquetin.



Head of a Male Bouquetin two Years old

Full grown Male Bouquetin.

though theſe two naturaliſts differ in ſome inſtances, yet their joint labours have aſſiſted in aſcertaining the nature and œconomy of this curious animal. The following account, therefore, of the bouquetin, is taken principally from their obſervations in Rozier's Journal, and from additional information obligingly communicated to me by M. van Berchem himſelf.

The elder naturaliſts ſpeak of the bouquetin as of an animal well known, and in their time by no means uncommon on the high alps of Switzerland, eſpecially in the canton of Glarus and in the country of the Griſons. On the town-hall at Glarus, there is ſtill a pair of horns of an extraordinary length, belonging to an animal of this ſpecies, formerly killed in the canton. Theſe horns are probably the ſame which Ray ſaw in the laſt century, when the natives informed him, that the breed was extinct in that canton.

That this animal was found among the Griſons, appears from a letter in the poſſeſſion of M. de Salis Seervis, dated the 14th of October, 1574, in which the Archduke Ferdinand of Auſtria requires from his bailif of Caſtels, in the Pretigau, two bouquetins alive; adding, that he had received ſeveral from his predeceſſors. About forty years after the date of this letter the animal began to be rare; for a decree in the year 1612 prohibits the chace of the bouquetin under a fine of fifty crowns, and that of the chamois from Newyear's-day to St. John, under the penalty of ten crowns. Sprecher, in his *Pallas Rhetica*,

publiſhed in 1617, relates that the chace of the bouquetin was not uncommon in his time, in the vallies of Pregallia, Vals, and Upper Engadina. Another law of 1633, confirmed in the following year, inflicts corporal puniſhment on thoſe who kill a bouquetin. But theſe ſeverities could not preſerve the breed; and it is probable that this was the epoch of their deſtruction, when the fear of their being extinct prompted government to forbid the chace*. And it is certain, that within the memory of the preſent generation, no bouquetins have been found in a wild ſtate in the country of the Griſons.

This animal is now chiefly found upon that chain which ſtretches from Dauphiné through Savoy to the confines of Italy, and principally on the alps bordering on Mont Blanc, which is the moſt elevated part of that chain. Its particular haunts are the valley of Cormayor to the ſouth of Mont Blanc, thoſe heights which lie between Mont Blanc and the frontiers of the Vallais, and the mountains which border the Val Savarenche; but it is met with more abundantly in

* Franciſcus Niger, in his deſcription of the Griſons, as quoted by Conrad Geſner, ſays, that they ſpare this animal in hunting, becauſe it is the armorial bearing of the country.

"*Parcitur hic Capricorne tamen tibi, Panos amice,*
"*Arma quod exornes, et pulchra inſignia gentis,*
"*Hinc longam hinc vitam vivens, ingentia jactas*
"*Cornua, perque plicas rugoſa, repandaque in armos,*
"*Formoſuſque nigris villis in montibus erras.*"

in the mountains of the valley of Cogne, which is the frontier of the valley of Dent in Piedmont; and almoſt always frequents thoſe parts that have a ſouthern aſpect.

The ſeveral names by which the bouquetin is known in different languages, are, in Greek, by Homer and Ælian, Αιξ αγριος †; Latin, *Ibex*, which name has been adopted by moſt modern naturaliſts; Italian, *Capra Selvatica;* German and Swiſs, *Steinboch*, or Rock-goat, the female, *Etagne*, *Ybſchen Ybſchgeiſs*, perhaps from the Latin Ibex; Flemiſh, *Wildgheit*; French, *Bouquetin*, anciently *Bouceſtain*, the German name reverſed. Belon named it *Hircus ferus*; Briſſon, *Hircus Ibex*; Linnæus, *Capra Ibex*; Pennant, the *Ibex*; and Dr. Girtanner, *Capra Alpina*. I have adopted the name of Bouquetin, becauſe it is the provincial appellation of the animal in the Alps.

The ſyſtematic naturaliſts agree in taking the ſpecific character of the bouquetin from the beard, and the horns, which they deſcribe as knobbed along the upper or anterior ſurface, and reclining towards the back.

The male bouquetin is larger than the tame goat, but reſembles it much in the outer form. The head is ſmall in proportion to the body, with the muzzle thick, compreſſed, and a little arched. The eyes are large, round, and have much fire and brilliancy. The horns large, when of a full ſize weighing ſometimes 16 or 18 pounds, flatted

† Moſt naturaliſts affirm that Homer calls this animal Αιξ ιξαλος, whereas he ſtiles it αιξ αγριος, or the wild-goat, adding the epithet ιξαλος, or wanton.

flatted before and rounded behind, with one or two longitudinal ridges, and many tranſverſe ridges; which degenerate towards the tip into knobs; the colour duſky brown. The beard long, tawny, or duſky. The legs ſlender, with the hoofs ſhort, hollow on the inſide, and on the outſide terminated by a ſalient border, like thoſe of the chamois. The body ſhort, thick, and ſtrong. The tail ſhort, naked underneath, the reſt covered with long hairs, white at the baſe and ſides, black above and at the end. Space under the tail in ſome tawny, in others white. The coat long, but not pendent, aſh-coloured. mixed with ſome hoary hairs: a black liſt runs along the back; and there is a black ſpot above and below the knees. Its colour, however, like that of other animals, muſt neceſſarily vary according to its age and local circumſtances.

The female has been little noticed among naturaliſts. She is one third leſs than the male, and not ſo corpulent: her colour is leſs tawny: her horns are very ſmall, and not above eight inches long. In theſe, and in her figure, ſhe reſembles a goat that has been caſtrated whilſt young. She has two teats, like the tame ſhe-goat, and never has any beard, unleſs, perhaps, in an advanced age. The young ones are of a dirty grey colour, and the liſt along the back is ſcarcely diſcernible.

There is a ſtuffed ſpecimen of the male bouquetin of the Alps in Mr. Parkinſon's, late Sir Aſhton Lever's, Muſeum, of which I have here given ſome of the principal dimenſions, as they are not to be found in any author that has fallen under my obſervation, except in Buffon's Hiſtoire Naturelle;

Naturelle; and thoſe were taken by Mr. Daubenton from a young ſubject.

	Feet	Inches.
Length of the head from the lower jaw to the ſpace between the horns —	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$
Length from the root of the horns to the baſe or origin of the tail —	4	4
Height at the ſhoulder before —	2	$5\frac{3}{4}$
Height at the ſhoulder behind —	2	$7\frac{1}{8}$
Circumference of the body next to the fore legs — — —	3	6
Circumference next the hind legs —	3	2
Circumference of the neck, cloſe to the ſhoulders — — —	2	$3\frac{1}{2}$
——— ——— ——— between the ears and the horns — —	1	4

The horns being ſo remarkable a part of this animal, I ſhall here add the meaſurement, not only of thoſe belonging to Mr. Parkinſon, but of ſeveral pairs which are depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum. Thoſe in the ſecond and third columns certainly belong to the bouquetin of the Alps. Their colour is a duſky brown. The firſt of theſe is very flat before; the ſecond is not ſo flat; neither the longitudinal nor tranſverſe ridges are ſo ſtrongly marked: theſe are evidently the horns of a very old animal. The horns in the fourth column belong alſo to the bouquetin; but probably from ſome other country. Their colour is black; they are much flatter on the ſides, and narrower before than the others; the longitudinal ridge is very ſtrongly marked, and the tranſverſe ridges ſtronger and more numerous. I cannot obſerve any more than

than one * longitudinal ridge in any of the horns which I have examined, the exterior part of the front being univerſally rounded off, and the tranſverſe ridges run very little into the ſides. The horns in the fifth column belong unqueſtionably to the Ægagrus of Pallas, which is not improbably a variety of the bouquetin. Two fine pairs of theſe were given to the Muſeum by the late duke of Northumberland. They have no anterior flat face, but a ſharp ridge, with a few knobs in front, about nine in number, and very diſtant from each other; they are ſtreaked tranſverſely, more evidently towards the end. Their extremities are much arched, with the points turning inwards. The colour is the ſame with thoſe of the alpine bouquetins.

DIMENSIONS of the horns in Mr. Parkinſon's, late Sir Aſhton Lever's, Muſeum (n. 1.) and in the Britiſh Muſeum.

	Nº. 1.		Nº. 2.		Nº. 3.		Nº 4.		Nº 5.	
Rectilinear direction, or chord,	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
from the root to the tip —	2	1½	1	9	2	0	1	8	1	6
Arc, or length meaſured along the curvature — —	2	8	2	6½	3	6			1	4
Circumference at the baſe —	0	9½	0	8	0	10½	3	0	3	9
Diſtance between them at the baſe — —	0	0½	0	1	—		0	9	4	2
Diſtance between them at the tips — — —	1	9¾	2	2					0	9
Number of tranſverſe ridges —	24		12		20		24		0	0½

It

* Moſt naturaliſts affirm, that the horns are marked with *two* longitudinal ridges; all thoſe that have fallen under my obſervation have only *one* interior longitudinal ridge, and a faint mark on the exterior edge, which is probably taken for the *ſecond* longitudinal ridge.

It is a common notion of the hunters, adopted by many naturaliſts, that the age of a bouquetin may be eſtimated by the number of tranſverſe ridges or knobs in the horns. M. van Berchem, however, aſſures me, from his own obſervations, that this is a vulgar error; and that its age can only be aſcertained by the number and form of the teeth, as in ſheep and goats. This miſtake has alſo occaſioned its term of life to be ſuppoſed much longer than it really is. This animal increaſes in bulk to the age of four years; according, therefore, to the ſyſtem of the Count de Buffon, that the age is about ſeven times the growth; its life is twenty-eight or thirty years.

In a ſtate of tranquility, the bouquetin commonly carries the head low; but in running holds it high, and even bends it a little forward. He mounts a perpendicular rock of fifteen feet at three leaps, or rather three ſucceſſive bounds of five feet each. It does not ſeem as if he found any footing on the rock, appearing to touch it merely to be repelled, like an elaſtic ſubſtance ſtriking againſt a hard body. He is not ſuppoſed to take more than three ſucceſſive leaps in this manner. If he is between two rocks which are near each other, and wants to reach the top, he leaps from the ſide of one rock to the other alternately, till he has attained the ſummit. He alſo traverſes the glaciers with rapidity; but only when he is purſued, for otherwiſe he avoids them.

The bouquetins feed, during the night, in the higheſt woods: but the ſun no ſooner begins to

to gild the ſummits, than they quit the woody region, and mount, feeding in their progreſs, till they have reached the moſt conſiderable heights. They betake themſelves to the ſides of the mountains which face the eaſt or ſouth, and lie down in the higheſt places and hotteſt expoſures: but when the ſun has finiſhed more than three quarters of its courſe, they again begin to feed, and to deſcend towards the woods; whither they retire when it is likly to ſnow, and where they always paſs the winter. The bouquetins aſſemble in flocks, conſiſting at the moſt of ten, twelve, or fifteen; but more uſually in ſmaller numbers. The males which are ſix years old and upwards, haunt more elevated places than the females and younger bouquetins; and as they advance in age are leſs fond of ſociety; they become gradually hardened againſt the effects of extreme cold, and frequently live entirely alone.

In ſummer they feed principally on the *genipi* and other aromatic plants which grow in the high Alps; and in winter they eat the lichens, and brouſe on buſhes and the tender ſhoots of trees. They prefer thoſe ſpots where the dwarf birch and alpine willows, grow, and where *rhododendron*, *thalictrum*, and *ſaxifrages*, abound.

The bouquetins having their fore legs ſomewhat ſhorter than the hind legs, naturally aſcend with greater facility than they deſcend; for this reaſon nothing but the ſevereſt weather can engage them to come down into the lower regions; and even in winter, if there are a few fine

fine days, they leave the woods and mount higher.

Winter is the ſeaſon of love with them, and principally the month of January. The females go with young five months, and conſequently produce in the laſt week of June, or the firſt of July. At the time of parturition they ſeparate from the males, retire to the ſide of ſome rill, and generally bring forth only one young, though ſome naturaliſts affirm that they occaſionally produce two.

The common cry of the bouquetin is a ſhort ſharp whiſtle, not unlike that of the chamois, but of leſs continuance: ſometimes it makes a ſnort, and when young bleats.

The ſeaſon for hunting the bouquetin is towards the end of ſummer, and in autumn, during the months of Auguſt and September, when they are uſually in good condition. None but the inhabitants of the mountains engage in the chace; for it requires not only a head that can bear to look down from the greateſt heights without terror, addreſs and ſure-footedneſs in the moſt difficult and dangerous paſſes, and to be an excellent marksman, but alſo much ſtrength and vigour, to ſupport hunger, cold, and prodigious fatigue. The moſt determined hunters of bouquetins live in the mountains of the Lower Vallais; for inſtance, the natives of Servan, a village in a wild and pictureſque ſituation, four leagues from Valorſine, and two or three from Martigny, are hunters; and the bouquetins being no longer found in their mountains, they hunt in thoſe of the valley of Aoſt, obtaining a permiſſion

a permiſſion for that purpoſe from the inhabitants.

Two or three hunters uſually aſſociate in this perilous occupation: they are armed with rifle-barrelled guns, and furniſhed with ſmall bags of proviſions; they paſs the night among rocks at conſiderable heights; they erect a miſerable hut of turf, where they lie without fire or covering, and on waking not unfrequently find the entrance blocked up with ſnow three or four feet in depth. Sometimes, in the purſuit of a bouquetin, being overtaken by darkneſs amid crags and precipices, they are obliged to paſs the whole night ſtanding, embraced in order to ſupport each other, and to prevent themſelves from ſleeping. As the bouquetins aſcend into the higher regions very early in the morning, it is neceſſary to gain the heights before them, otherwiſe they ſcent the hunter and betake themſelves to flight: it would then be in vain to follow them, for when once they begin to eſcape, they never ſtop till they think themſelves entirely out of danger, and will even ſometimes run for ten or twelve leagues.

The female ſhows much attachment to her young, and even defends it againſt eagles, wolves, and other enemies; ſhe takes refuge in ſome cavern, and preſenting the head at the entrance of the hole, thus oppoſes the enemy.

When a bouquetin is ſhot, the hunters let it cool upon the ſpot, and then embowel it, putting the blood into one of the entrails, which is eſteemed by the peaſants a ſovereign remedy in pleuriſies and ſome other diſorders. A large bouquetin thus embowelled will weigh 180 or 200

200 pounds. A female weighs only from 70 to 80 pounds.

Some naturaliſts are of opinion, that the diminution of the race of bouquetins in the Alps is owing to his ſize, the monſtrous length and weight of the horns, which impede him in his courſe; becauſe he is driven into places where he can ſcarcely procure ſufficient nouriſhment during great part of the year, where his ſight becomes debilitated, and is frequently loſt by the ſtrong reflection of the ſun from the ice and ſnow. They conſider this animal rather as a native of the ſubalpine regions, which are covered during ſummer with the fineſt herbage, and where the bouquetins and chamois probably paſtured in tranquillity, when only the lower vallies and plains were inhabited.

On the contrary, it is maintained by others, that the bouquetin is endued with ſtrength proportionate to his ſize; and though he is inferior to the chamois in livelineſs and agility, yet he is by no means deficient in activity; that his horns, though large and weighty, yet from their reclined poſition do not ſeem to be any impediment, but rather render him eſſential ſervice when he happens to fall, or purpoſely throws himſelf down precipices to avoid his purſuers. They add alſo, that his natural food is rather lichens than herbs; that he is particularly fond of the young ſhoots of trees and ſhrubs; and that in all the places where he inhabits, he is found in the coldeſt and rudeſt mountains, and on the ſteepeſt rocks. From theſe circumſtances, it is not improbable, that his preſent ſituation and manner of life is an effect of nature rather than neceſſity. Beſides, why

why do the chamois, who are more hunted than the bouquetin, ſtill inhabit the leſs elevated regions; and why are they not driven into the glaciers? To account for the preſent ſcarcity of the bouquetin, we need only conſider the number of its enemies, in men, beaſts, and birds of prey. Nor is there much cauſe for apprehenſions, that the race will be extinct even in the Alps. But allowing that the bouquetin was no longer found in his native Alps, ſtill we could not affirm with ſo much propriety that the race was extinct, as that it had migrated into a milder climate, and, with a ſtate of domeſtication and more ſucculent food, had acquired ſofter manners, a form leſs rude, ſmaller and ſmoother horns. For it is even not improbable that the *hircus ferus* or bouc-eſtain of Belon, the bouquetin of the Alps, the Siberian ibex, and ægagrus, both ſo accurately deſcribed by Pallas *, and the tame goat in all its different forms, are only varieties of the ſame ſpecies. Their difference in ſhape and manners may be ſufficiently accounted for from a change of climate, ſituation, and food; they are found to couple freely with each other; and are aſſerted to produce an offſpring which is fertile.

They all have a beard, which ſeems to be the great characteriſtic diſtinction of this genus. They differ more or leſs from each other in the ſhape

* Perhaps alſo the *capra caucaſica*, deſcribed by Pallas, from the papers of Guldenſtaedt, and which he repreſents as differing from the ægagrus, with which it has been confounded by ſome naturaliſts. See Act. Petr. for 1779.

ſhape of their horns, ſize, and coat, none of which can be eſteemed certain ſpecific diſtinctions. The greateſt difference undoubtedly conſiſts in the horns, none of them, perhaps, * except the bouquetin, having a longitudinal ridge, and ſome of them being even without the tranverſe ridges. But this difference is leſs perceptible, in comparing the bouquetin with the Siberian ibex, the ibex with the ægagrus, and the ægagrus with the tame goat. Nor are the horns of the Alpine bouquetin ſo much weightier, longer, and larger, than thoſe of the abovementioned animals, as to form a *certain* ſpecific diſtinction *.

But even if this difference ſhould be ſtill greater, it could never be admitted as forming a ſpecific diſtinction. For the horns not only differ in individuals of the ſame ſpecies, but in the ſame

* The horns of the bouquetin, as has been before obſerved, are ſometimes found to weigh ſixteen or eighteen pounds, to be three feet in length, and to have twenty-four tranſverſe ridges. A ſingle horn of a Siberian ibex weighed, according to Pallas, eight Ruſſian pounds, which is one tenth leſs than an Engliſh pound, and had ſixteen or eighteen tranſverſe ridges. The horns of another full grown Siberian ibex meaſured 2 feet 5 inches and 5 lines, along the curvature, and 1 foot 2 inches and 1 line, in a rectilinear direction. The horns of an ægagrus meaſured 2 feet 2 inches and 9 lines along the curvature, and 1 foot 4 inches in a linear direction. The horns of a full grown Caucaſan goat, were 2 feet 4 inches along the curvature, and 1 foot 6 inches in the linear direction. The longitudinal ridges or ridges remain then as the *only* ſpecific difference between the horns of the alpine bouquetin and thoſe of the other ſpecies. See the meaſurements in Pallas Spic. Zool. and in his deſcription of the Capra Caucaſica, in Act. Petr, for 1779.

ſame individuals at different ages. If we were to attempt to arrange animals *ſolely* by their horns, the diſcriminations would be as endleſs as uncertain. But if, in the preſent inſtance, the alpine bouquetin and the other ſpecies of the goat genus ſhould be excepted from this general aſſertion, we have only to add, that M. van Berchem poſſeſſes the horns of a young one, produced from the union of the bouquetin and ſhe-goat, that are exactly ſimilar to the horns of the ægagrus, which, as Pallas aſſerts, reſemble thoſe of the tame goat. Climate and nutriment muſt have a great effect upon the horns of animals. The female of the bouquetin has horns very like thoſe of the tame goat. It is no wonder, therefore, if a long ſervitude, an inactive life, an exchange from the aromatic plants and pure air of the mountains to a groſs nutriment and a moiſter atmoſphere, ſhould diminiſh the horns, alter their ſhape, ſubdue the longitudinal ridge, and convert the knobs into wrinkles.

The Count de Buffon extends the goat genus ſtill further, and comprehends under it even the chamois, conjecturing that the bouquetin is the male in the original race of goats, and the chamois the female. The French naturaliſt having, at the time when he deſcribed the bouquetin, never ſeen it in a full grown ſtate, was probably induced to entertain this opinion from a faint reſemblance between the female bouquetin and the chamois. But there does not ſeem the leaſt foundation for this notion, the chamois being an animal totally diſtinct from the goats, never coupling with them, and judiciouſly claſſed by Pallas and

and Pennant in the genus of antelopes. His conjecture, however, that the bouquetin is the original ſource of all the tame goats ſeems to be well founded; and has been adopted by the greateſt part of ſucceeding naturaliſts. And as, according to the juſt obſervations of Pallas, the ægagrus approaches nearer than the bouquetin to the tame goat in its form and horns, the ægagrus may be the link which unites the bouquetin and the tame goat. May not the ægagrus be conſidered as a race produced from the bouquetin and the tame ſhe-goat, or the goat and female bouquetin? Pallas alſo conjectures, that the tame goat may poſſibly have been propagated from the ægagrus and the Siberian ibex, which is allowed by moſt naturaliſts to be the ſame as the bouquetin; and Pennant remarks, with no leſs ſagacity, that the tame goats may be derived from both, as we are aſſured that the ibex and ſhe-goat will produce a ſimilar offspring. It is alſo probable, that the bouquetin is the origin of all the goat genus, becauſe it is the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and dwells in the moſt inhoſpitable regions. For, according to the obſervation of the ſame great zoologiſt *, whom we have ſo often quoted, thoſe animals who are natives of the coldeſt mountains muſt, on deſcending into the warm plains, be liable to greater changes than thoſe who are formed for milder climates; and this circumſtance ſeems ſufficient to account for the great variety obſervable in the goat genus.

Some pretend, that the bouquetin cannot be the original ſtock from whence the goats have

* Pallas.

been produced, becauſe, as he inhabits only the loftieſt ſummits and rocks covered with eternal ſnow, and feeds only on plants peculiar to high regions, he cannot be domeſticated in a variety of climates. But this opinion is contradicted by fact and experience. Stumpf, the hiſtorian of Switzerland, informs us, that the Vallaiſans near Sion bred up tame bouquetins with their goats; and Belon relates, that the Cretans tamed the young bouc-eſtains by giving them to be ſuckled by the goats. Dr. Pallas alſo relates, that he has frequently ſeen the Siberian ibex among the tame goats, and mentions one in particular at Orenburgh, which was leader of a flock, and father of a numerous offspring more reſembling the females than himſelf. He was very different from the tame he-goats, ſcarcely inferior in ſize to a bouquetin two years old: in colour and ſtrength he reſembled the wild animal; had thick horns, knobbed, not keeled above, and a long rough coat, but no where pendent, except in the beard: the black liſt on the back was almoſt obliterated. And laſtly, Mr. van Berchem ſaw ſeveral tame bouquetins at Aigle. They were gentle and familiar; and without being remarkably lively, were active and graceful in all their motions. They bred with different ſhe-goats, and Mr. van Brechem ſaw the young ones, which ſeemed to form a new race.

If theſe obſervation ſhould be well founded, the goat genus, or race of the bouquetin, is found in a wild ſtate along the chain of mountains

tains that traverſes the temperate parts both of Europe and Aſia; on the Pyrenees and Carpathian mountains; on the Taurus and Caucaſus; on the mountains of Siberia and Tartary; in Kamtchatka; on the iſlands of the Archipelago; in Hedsjæas in Arabia; in India; perhaps in Egypt and Lybia†.

† A chronological liſt of the authors who have mentioned, deſcribed, or figured the bouquetin and ægagrus, is here ſubjoined.

1548. J. Rudolph. Stumpf Gemeine Eidgenoſſenchaft Beſchreibung. Zurich, folio. A good account, tranſlated into Latin, inſerted in Geſner's work, and tranſcribed by many ſucceeding naturaliſts.

1551. Conradi Geſneri Hiſtoria Quadrupedum. Tiguri, folio. At page 331, &c. is an ample account, from the ancients, Stumpf, and others, with a ſmall figure. At page 1099, however, it is tolerably well figured.

1554. Belon Obſervations. French edition, p. 20. A good deſcription of the animal in Crete, with a moderate figure—Latin edition, by Cluſius. 1605. p. 20. The figure ſmall and very indifferent.

1617. Sprecher Pallas Rhetica.

1621. Ulyſſis Aldrovandi Quadrupedum Biſulcorum Hiſtoria. p. 730, fig. 732. Bad.

1657. Joan. Jonſton, M. D. Hiſtoria Naturalis de Quadrupedibus, Amſtel. folio. Page 53. t. 25. f. 1. and t. 28. f. 3, the latter from Geſner.

1674. Olearii Gatterfiſche Kunſt Kammer. Tab. 10. fig. 1. head and horns.

1677. Charletoni Exercitationes. Oxon. folio. Pag. 10.

1680. Joh. Jac. Wagner, M. D. Hiſtoria Naturalis Helvetiæ curioſa. Tiguri. 12mo. At p. 176. a ſhort account.

1693. Jo.

LETTER 42.

Journey to Geneva—Pays de Vaud—Lauſanne—Felix the Fifth—Vevay—Tomb and Character of General Ludlow—Clarens—Meillerie.

HAVING quitted the delightful vale of Chamouny and its magnificent ſcenery, we continued our

1693. Jo. Raii Synopſis Quadrupedum. Lond. 8vo. At p. 77. a ſhort deſcription.

1734. Repreſentation des Animaux de la Menagerie de S. A. S. Monſeigneur le Prince Eugene. Figures of two males, the female and two young ones, in the laſt plate. They are called Chamois, but are bouquetins.

1740. Ridinger Abbildung der Jagtbaren Thiere, tab. 11.

1748. Linnæi Syſtema Naturæ. Holm. 8vo.

1751. Klein

our route towards Geneva. As we proceeded, the height of the mountains gradually diminiſhed; and the ſeveral vallies, through which we paſſed, were agreeably diverſified in their productions. We followed the courſe of the ſonorous and violent Arve; and near Salenche we came to a deſcent,

1751. Klein Hiſtoria Quadrupedum, p. 16. Deſcription from Geſner.

1756. Guil. Henr. Kramer Elenchus Vegetabilium et Animalium per Auſtriam Inferiorem obſervatorem. Viennæ, &c. 8vo. p. 321.

Briſſon Regnum Animale, 4to. p. 64.—8vo. 1762. p. 39.

1764. Buffon Hiſtoire Naturelle, 4to. vol. xii. p. 136. tab. 13. a bad figure of a young one; tab. 14. a good pair of horns.

1766. Caroli a Linnê Syſtema Naturæ, edit. 12. Holm. 8vo. p. 95.

1771. Pennant's Synopſis of Quadrupeds, 8vo. p. 13.

1776. P. S. Pallas Spicilegia Zoologica. Faſcic. undecimus Berol. 4to p. 31. t. 3.---and t. 5. f. 4. contains deſcriptions of the ibex and ægagrus, and gives figures of the horns of the Alpine and Siberian bouquetin, and of the ægagrus.

1777. Erxleben Syſtema Regni Animalis. Lipſiæ. 8vo. p. 261.

1777. Zimmerman's Specimen Zoologiæ Geographiæ Quadrupedum. Lugduni Bat. 4to. p. 166.

This curious and learned work, improved and enlarged, was, in 1780, publiſhed by the author in the German tongue, under the following title:

Zimmerman's Geographiſche Geſchichte, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. Leipſic. 1780.

1781. Pennant's Hiſtory of Quadrupeds. Article Ibex and Caucaſan Goat.

1786. Rozier Obſervations ſur la Phyſique, ſur l'Hiſtoire Naturelle, &c. Par. quarto. tome 28, 29. Girtanner, Van Berchem, & Guldenſtædt.

1787. Pennant's Arctic Zoology.

ſcent, where on our right hand we deſcried a ſmall lake, the ſituation whereof is extremely pictureſque; and whoſe borders, ſkirted with wood, are pleaſing and variegated. From hence we deſcended into the plain, which continues almoſt perfectly level to Geneva. Salenche lies at the bottom of a broad valley, which here contracts to a narrow paſs. Tradition ſays, that this little plain was once a lake; and indeed its form, and the quality of the ſoil, ſeem to juſtify tradition: great part is laid waſte by the unruly Arve, which frequently overflows its banks; and the reſt is moſtly covered with fruit-trees.

Not far from Magland we ſtopped to admire a beautiful fall of water, called the caſcade of Arpenas, which ruſhes, like the Staubbach, from an impending rock. When I ſaw it, there was a conſiderable wind, which drove the torrent, ſoon after its leaving the rock, at leaſt an hundred yards out of the perpendicular direction, into an almoſt imperceptible ſpray: I then beheld it trickling down the ſides of the mountains in a thouſand little ſtreams, which united at a ridge; and from thence formed three caſcades. The body of water was much more conſiderable than that of the Staubbach; and the fall appeared to me altogether as high. Between Magland and Cluſe we took a guide to conduct us to the cave of *la Balme*. Though the aſcent was not very long, yet it was ſo ſteep that we were nearly an hour in reaching it: we then ſcrambled along a precipice, from which we mounted a ladder; and by the aid of the branches of a nut-tree growing from the rock, we pulled ourſelves into a natural cavern more than a quarter of a mile

mile in length, and forming various branches that led into lofty vaults and ſpacious openings; but the ſight of which did not anſwer the trouble required to enter it.

We paſſed the night at Cluſe, which is ſituated by the ſide of the Arve; and the next morning came down the banks of that river to Bonneville, the capital of Faucigny: it ſtands alſo upon the Arve, at the bottom of a chain of rocks, which from this place diminiſh into hills. All this part of Faucigny, as alſo a ſmall ſtrip of Chablais through which we paſſed, is a rich plain, that produces wine and corn in great plenty; but is neither populous nor well cultivated. By the little village of Chene we entered into the territory of Geneva: the ſudden change from the poverty of the Savoyards to the neatneſs and eaſe of the Genevans, the populouſneſs of the country, the richneſs of its cultivation, and the number of country-ſeats ſcattered about the fields, were circumſtances, that affected me with a pleaſing ſatisfaction.

As I propoſe viſiting Geneva again, in my way to the ſouth of France, I will defer giving any account of that intereſting town until my return.

We went from Geneva to Craſſi, a ſmall village in the Pays de Vaud, where we paſſed a day with an Engliſh gentleman, who has taken a houſe for the ſummer in that delightful ſpot. In our way to Craſſi we paſſed through Verſoi, a little village in the French territories, upon the lake of Geneva: it goes by the name of *Choiſeul's folly*. Geneva having fallen under the diſpleaſure of France; that miniſter endeavouring to take

advantage

advantage of the troubles in 1768, laid a plan to ruin the town, and to monopoliſe the whole trade of the lake. Accordingly he fixed upon Verſoi as a ſituation the moſt proper, upon which to build a large town. For this purpoſe, he began by ſinking a pier and making an harbour: he conſtructed alſo a frigate; marked out the ſtreets; ſent a conſiderable quantity of ſtone to build the houſes; ordered a garriſon, and erected huts for them, in which they continued ſome time. Nevertheleſs, when the harbour was nearly finiſhed, and government had expended about £. 125,000, the ſcheme was relinquiſhed.

The road from Geneva to Lauſanne runs through the *Pays de Vaud*, a region of which hiſtorians and travellers ſpeak with rapture; particularly of that part which borders upon the lake of Geneva: and indeed a more delightful country cannot well be imagined. It is, almoſt the whole way, a gradual aſcent from the edge of the lake, richly laid out in vineyards, cornfields, and luxuriant meadows; and checkered with continued hamlets, villages, and towns: the ſhores are generally of the cleaneſt gravel: and the water is of ſo fine a tranſparency, that you may ſee the bottom to a very conſiderable depth.

We paſſed through Nyon, which ſtands delightfully upon the edge of the lake, and in the very point where it begins to widen. It was formerly called *Colonia Equeſtris Noiodunum*; and, as a proof of its antiquity, ſeveral Roman inſcriptions, and other antient remains, have been frequently diſcovered in the out-ſkirts of the town. In this part the lake forms a beautiful curve, happily

pily alluded to by Lucan, where he mentions the army of Julius Cæſar ſtriking their tents, which were poſted on the borders.

Deſtruere CAVO *tentoria fixa Lemano*†.

All the poſſeſſions in this country formerly belonging to the duke of Savoy, were wreſted from him in the war, which the canton of Berne declared againſt him, in 1536, in defence of Geneva: and in the ſame year the reformation was introduced. From that period all the Pays de Vaud, excepting the common bailliages of Granſon, Orbe, and a ſmall portion of it which was ceded to Friburgh, has been ſubject to Berne, and makes part of that canton.

Morges, which is ſituated at the extremity of a beautiful bay, is the neateſt town in theſe parts. The environs are extremely pleaſant; the banks of the lake form an amphitheatre gently riſing to the Jura; and Mont Blanc preſents itſelf through an immenſe opening in the oppoſite chain of rocks, which ſeems to have been formed by nature in order to exhibit a ſublime perſpective of that beautiful mountain. Near the town is a lime-tree of a great ſize, being twenty-four feet four inches in circumference, and with branches of magnificent extent; it has a companion about three feet leſs in girth. Mr. Pennant informs me, that "this tree is a native of Switzerland, and of many other parts of the continent; that it was imported into

† "They ſtrike their tents and quit the *hollow bend*
"Of Leman's lake."

into England before the year 1562; one being deſcribed by Dr. William Turner as growing in a park near Colcheſter; that one thirty-ſix feet in circumference grew near the great church at Berne; it was planted about the year 1410; and its hollow trunk, ſtill putting forth leaves, was to be ſeen in the year 1720*. The Germans, in old times, were fond of planting the lime before their churches and in the market places, on account of its grateful ſhade. This tree is now grown much out of uſe; yet the Romans eſteemed it ſo highly, as to ſay that it was employed for a thouſand purpoſes, *tiliæ ad mille uſus petendæ*. A ſweet juice exudes from the leaves and bark, from which the Poles extract a honey called by them Liepiz †. Bees are alſo fond of the flowers; for that reaſon Virgil, in his beautiful deſcription of the induſtrious Corycian, places the lime and the pine in the neighbourhood of his hives.

Lauſanne contains about ſeven thouſand inhabitants: it is built upon an aſcent ſo ſteep, that in ſome places the horſes cannot without great difficulty, draw up a carriage; and foot-paſſengers

* A large lime is to be ſeen on the heights above Villars, a ſeat belonging to Mr. Graffenred of Berne, near Morat. Its girth meaſures at leaſt thirty-ſix feet in circumference, and its height is not leſs than ninety feet. It is very antient, as it was lopped in 1550 for the ſake of the bark. The traveller who viſits this tree, will be no leſs gratified with an extenſive proſpect, commanding the lakes of Morat Neuchatel, and Bienne, and ſtupendous chain of ſnowy Alps.

† ——— *cogere preſſis*
Mella favis; illi tilia, atque uberrima pinus.

paſſengers aſcend to the upper part of the town by ſteps. But theſe inconveniences are amply compenſated by the ſublimeſt views in nature, commanding the lake of Geneva, the Pays de Vaud, and the rugged coaſt of Chablais.

The ſame year in which part of the Pays de Vaud was conquered from the houſe of Savoy, the biſhop of Lauſanne retiring from the town, the inhabitants put themſelves under the protection and ſovereignty of the canton of Berne; which confirmed and augmented their privileges. At preſent, Lauſanne is governed by its own magiſtrates; has its own courts of juſtice; and, what is very ſingular, the citizens, who poſſeſs houſes in the principal ſtreet, enjoy the privilege of pronouncing ſentence in criminal cauſes. The criminal is tried by the civil power: if he is found, and acknowledges himſelf guilty, the burghers of this ſtreet aſſemble; one of the magiſtrates pleads in defence of the priſoner, and another againſt him; the court of juſtice give their opinion upon the point of law; and the majority of the citizens, poſſeſſing houſes in the principal ſtreet, determine the penalty. If the puniſhment is capital, there is, according to the letter of the law, no pardon, except it be obtained within twenty-four hours from the ſovereign council of Berne; although it generally happens, that eight days are granted for that purpoſe. When the criminal is ſeized within the juriſdiction of the town; the fact is tried, and the burghers pronounce ſentence, in the town-hall: in this caſe there is no appeal. But, when he is taken within the diſtrict of the bailif, they aſſemble

aſſemble in his houſe; and an appeal lies from their determination to Berne. I have been the more particular in my inquiries concerning the mode of this criminal proceſs, from the ſtrong reſemblance it bears, in ſome reſpects, to our trial by juries.

Here is an academy for the ſtudents of this country: profeſſors in every ſcience are appointed by government; and there is a tolerable library for the uſe of the public.

I have ſeveral times had the good fortune to meet Tiſſot, the celebrated phyſician of this place; well known in the literary world for his excellent writings upon ſeveral medical ſubjects. His converſation is uncommonly intereſting; as, beſides his ſkill in his profeſſion, he is well verſed in every branch of polite literature. His private character is no leſs reſpectable than his public; and he is as much eſteemed for his great humanity as for his ſuperior knowledge.

The church of Lauſanne, formerly the cathedral, is a magnificent gothic building, ſtanding on the moſt elevated part of the town. It contains, among many other ſepulchres, the tomb of Amadeus the Eighth, duke of Savoy, ſtyled the Solomon of his age; but more known by the name of the anti-pope Felix the Fifth; who exhibited a ſingular inſtance in the annals of Europe, of a perſonage *twice* abdicating the pomp of ſovereign, and *twice* retiring to a private ſtation.

Having paſſed his early youth and opening manhood in the purſuits of ambition, he enlarged his dominions by the acquiſition of the Genevois and Piedmount, and obtained an increaſe

creaſe of rank by the erection of Savoy into a dutchy. Yet in the midſt of his greateſt ſucceſs, and when fortune ſeemed moſt propitious, the ſudden death of a beloved wife, and a narrow eſcape from aſſaſſination, inſpired him with ſuch a diſguſt of the world, that he reſigned, in 1434, the adminiſtration of his eſtates to his eldeſt ſon; and, accompanied with a few lords of his court, retired to a palace at La Ripaille, on the borders of the lake of Geneva. In this palace, which he called an *hermitage*, he enjoyed, with an apparent indifference to the affairs of the world, a calm and tranquillity that ſeemed incompatible with his former aſpiring ambition; until he was ſuddenly called forth to public notice in a more exalted ſtation.

The council of Baſle having depoſed Eugenius the Fourth, induced, according to ſome authors, by the reputation which Amadeus had acquired for ſanctity, influenced, according to others, by his largeſſes and intrigues, raiſed the *hermit* of La Ripaille to the papal throne. This event took place in 1439: the new pontiff quitting his favourite retreat, accepted the proffered dignity, either with a real or affected reluctance, and aſſumed the name of Felix the Fifth.

The æra of his diſputed pontificate was marked with turbulence and anarchy. In order to avoid the ſtorms which agitated Europe, and to favour the natural indolence of his temper, he frequently retreated to his beloved hermitage, and directed the affairs of the church from that ſequeſtered corner. Conſcious at length that his acceptance of the papacy ſerved to widen inſtead of healing the ſchiſm of the church; finding that

he

he was oppoſed by the moſt powerful princes of Europe; that, on the death of his rival Eugenius, the cardinals of Rome had choſen another pope; and being ill ſupported by the remains of the council of Baſle, he terminated the ſchiſm by reſigning the papal tiara in favour of Nicholas the Fifth. In this tranſaction he proved his talents for negotiation by obtaining the following conditions: that he ſhould enjoy the next rank to the pope; that he ſhould be appointed vicar of the Roman ſee; and that all the acts paſſed in his pontificate ſhould be valid. On his reſignation he fixed his reſidence at La Ripaille, and died in 1451.

Felix the Fifth has ſhared the fate of many equivocal characters. By ſome he is repreſented as a ſaint, by others as covering the moſt ambitious deſigns under the maſk of ſanctity; by the former, his reſidence at La Ripaille is deſcribed as the retreat of religious auſterity; by the latter, as the ſeat of luxury. In this, as in moſt other caſes, both parties ſeem to have exceeded the truth. On reviewing the principal events of his life, we may conclude, that a palace built by a ſovereign prince, in which he was accompanied by many lords of his court, where he inſtituted an order of knighthood, and where he reſided with the pomp and dignity of a ſovereign pontiff, could be no common *hermitage*; and that he aſſumed the name, rather than paſſed the life, of a *hermit*; while the power and rank which he ſecured to himſelf, on his reſignation of the papacy, ſufficiency demonſtrate, that he never intended to renounce the world. On the contrary, ſhould we admit, that his life at

at La Ripaille was not embittered by penance and mortifications; yet as no contemporary authors, even thoſe who were by no means partial to his character, have ſtigmatiſed his retirement, we ought not haſtily to conclude, that it was the retreat of a mere voluptuary. But in whatever light his moral qualities may be conſidered, no one can withhold from him the character of an able politician.

It is not my intention to enter into a general or particular deſcription of the Roman antiquities, which have been found in Switzerland; if you are curious in reſearches of that ſort, I muſt refer you to Bochart, Miller, Spon, and other antiquarians, who have treated minutely of that ſubject. I cannot, however, avoid mentioning two lately-diſcovered Roman monuments, which are placed in the garden of Mr. Levade, near the church at Lauſanne.

The firſt is an altar of white marble with red veins, and was found, in 1782, by ſome workmen in digging the foundations of a houſe in the town of Vevay. It is broken in a horizontal direction; and what remains is a foot and a half long and a foot high. The inſcription, though not entire, proves it to be an altar erected by the twentieth legion to the god Silvanus.

DEO SILVANO
ESPER URSUL.
FICIO LEG. XX.
DIC

The

The ſecond monument is a Roman mile-ſtone, which was diſcovered in a vineyard near Pauda, a few paces from the high road.

It bears the following inſcription:

Imp.
Cæs T. Æ. Avg
Antonino
Pio P M. Krib -
Cos. III. P. P.
Avent: M. P. T.
XXXVIII.

This inſcription aſcertains a fact long unknown to the Swiſs antiquarians. Bochart, among others, expreſſes his ſurpriſe, that no inſcription, bearing the name Antoninus Pius, who was ſo great a benefactor to the antient Helvetians, has been as yet found in Switzerland. But this mileſtone, which was put up in the third conſulſhip of that emperor, proves the exiſtence of ſuch an inſcription; and is probably the prelude to diſcovery of other monuments erected in his honour.

The road from Lauſanne to Vevay, runs along the ſides of the mountains, between continued ranges of vineyards. The induſtry of the Swiſs is no where more obſervable than in theſe parts: the mountains in many places, though naturally conſiſting of a bare ſteep rock, are thickly covered with vines. The mould has been brought from other grounds, in order to create a ſoil, and is ſupported by rows of ſtones ranged in ſtrait lines like walls.

But

But this mode of culture however advantageous, and even neceſſary to the natives, occaſions a diſagreeable uniformity in the face of the country. The vines alſo do not form a pleaſing and picturesque appearance, like thoſe of the Valteline*, which are carried in beautiful feſtoons from tree to tree. The plants are low, and faſtened to poles about four feet in height; and the high walls which encloſe them, and border the road, frequently interrupt the view.

This diſtrict between Lauſanne and Vevay is called *La Vaux*, and contains the two pleaſant little towns of Lutry and Cully; as alſo the two villages of St. Saphorin † and Corſier: it is entirely hilly, riſing abruptly from the lake. Above the vineyards, are rich meadows, and a continued foreſt.

* See vol. ii.

† In the church of St. Saphorin, is an antient Roman mile-ſtone, found near that village, with the following inſcription:

TI. CLAVDIVS. DRVSI. F.
CÆS. AVG. GERM.
PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. VII.
IMP. XII. P. P. COS. IIII.
F A
XXXVII.

This inſcription aſcertains two circumſtances, which have been frequently called in queſtion; namely, that the banks of the lake of Geneva, which border this part of Switzerland, were compriſed within a Roman province, even ſo early as the time of Claudius; and alſo, that *Aventicum* was the chief town of this part of Helvetia: for, the mile-ſtones always referred to the capital town of the province in which they were placed. From St. Saphorin to *Avenches* is exactly 37,000 paces; which anſwer to the 37th mile-ſtone.

Vevay, the antient *Vibiſcum*, is the principal town of the bailliage of that name: it is clean and well-built, ſtands in a ſmall plain at the foot of the mountains on the edge of the water, and is one of the few towns in the canton of Berne which carry on any trade. The borders of this part of the lake are much more contraſted, wild, and pictureſque, than thoſe about Geneva: the mountains of the Vallais and Savoy boldly project into the water, and form a ſemicircular chain that encloſes the lake, except where they are divided by the Rhone; which flows into it a few leagues from Vevay.

Vevay is diſtinguiſhed as being the reſidence of Edmund Ludlow, the famous parliamentary general, whoſe name ſtands foremoſt among the few perſons, who, in thoſe times of miſrule and confuſion, uniformly acted with conſiſtency and dignity. True to his republican principles, he no leſs violently oppoſed the daring uſurpation of Cromwell, than the arbitrary meaſures of Charles the Firſt; and could never be prevailed upon, either by threats or promiſes, to deſert the cauſe, which he conſidered as the cauſe of juſtice and liberty.

Being excepted, as one of the king's judges, from the act of indemnity paſſed at the reſtoration of Charles the Second, he wandered, without any fixed place of reſidence, until he found an aſylum from the baſe attempts of his enemies at Vevay, under the protection of Berne.

At the important period of the revolution, he returned to England, anxious to ſerve his country under our great deliverer; and William the

the Third, whoſe mind roſe ſuperior to the narrow prejudices of party, was no leſs deſirous to employ a general of ſuch approved experience and fidelity. But the king being addreſſed by the Houſe of Commons to iſſue a proclamation for apprehending Ludlow, at the moment his majeſty was going to employ him; he was accordingly compelled to quit England at this critical period, and again ſettled at Vevay. We may collect from his general character and conduct, that if he had been permitted to ſerve his country, he would have ſucceſsfully employed his great military talents againſt the aſſertors of bigotry and deſpotiſm; and with the ſame zeal, which he had diſplayed in oppoſing an arbitrary government, would have ſupported the new adminiſtration; when the enormous prerogatives of the crown, againſt which he had unſheathed his ſword, were aboliſhed by law; and the freedom of the ſubject was eſtabliſhed on the baſis of equal liberty under the authority of a limited monarch.

He died in 1693, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age; and was interred in the church of Vevay. His monument is a plain grave-ſtone of black marble, containing a Latin inſcription, which is printed in Addiſon's Travels. The houſe which he formerly inhabited ſtands near the gate leading to the Vallais, and the following motto is inſcribed over the door, which is ſtill preſerved out of reſpect to his memory. *Omne ſolum forti patria eſt, quia patris.*

The Memoirs of Ludlow are written in a ſimple and perſpicuous ſtile; with the fidelity of a

man who was actually engaged in the ſcenes which he deſcribes, and with the ſpirit of a general zealous in the cauſe which he had eſpouſed and defended. Perhaps his animated detail of the trial and execution of the Regicides is ſcarcely ſurpaſſed by any narrative in antient or modern hiſtory.

Nature can ſcarcely form a poſition more delightful than that of Chatillard or Clarens. It ſtands, not far from Vevay, above the village of Clarens, on an eminence, whoſe gentle declivity ſlopes gradually towards the lake: it commands a view of that majeſtic body of water, its fertile borders, and the bold rocks and alps of Savoy. The adjacent ſcenery conſiſts of vineyards, fields of corn and paſture, and rich groves of oak, aſh, and Spaniſh cheſnut-trees. Although the ſituation and environs harmonize with the animated ſcenery in the Eloiſe of Rouſſeau, yet the caſtle by no means accords with the deſcription in the ſame work. The traveller ſees an oblong building with antient towers and a penthouſe roof; in the inſide a large hall that looks like a priſon; and the whole bears rather the antiquated appearance of a feudal manſion inhabited by ſome turbulent baron, than the reſidence of the elegant and impaſſioned Julie.

Oppoſite to Clarens, on the other ſhore of the lake, are the dark gloomy rocks of Meillerie. That village lies in the receſs of a ſmall bay, at the foot of impending mountains, in ſome parts gently ſloping, and clothed to the water's edge with dark foreſts; in others naked and perpendicular, bringing

bringing to recollection the fancied rocks of Leucate*.

Theſe are the ſcenes of the Nouvelle Eloiſe. Having obtained that novel at a circulating library in Lauſanne, I continued, during theſe expeditions, to examine the poſition of the country, and compare it with the deſcriptions of Rouſſeau. Small objects may be magnified; but no pencil, however animated, can delineate the wonderful and ſublime works of nature; even the warm colouring of Rouſſeau has not equalled the beauty of the ſituations. I read with attention the principal parts of that ſingular performance; and having now the ſcenery before me, I dwelt more particularly upon that letter, in which St. Preux relates his expedition to Meillerie; wherein love and deſpair are worked up almoſt to madneſs. Although there are no traces of any hiſtory like that of Julie in theſe parts, yet the ſcenery is ſtrongly marked; and every ſpot, which is mentioned in the letters, actually exiſts in this romantic country. Rouſſeau himſelf paſſed ſome time at different parts on the borders of the lake, and particularly at Meillerie, about that period of his life when he may be ſuppoſed to have written his Eloiſe. Open that performance, read that letter, and conſider that part of it, where St. Preux points out the number of towns and villages, the continued fertility and high cultivation of the Pays de Vaud, and contraſts

* Je n'ai plus qu'un mot à-vous dire, ô Julie. Vous connoiſſez l'antique uſage du *rocher de Leucate*, dernier refuge des amans malheureux. Ce lieu-ci lui reſſemble à bien des égards. La roche eſt eſcarpée, l'eau eſt profonde, & je ſuis au deſeſpoir.

contraſts it with the gloomy coaſt of Chablais, exhibiting only a few towns lying on the edge of the water; you will then ſee the happy and ſuperior effects of liberty under a mild and equitable government, like that of Berne.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 43.

Caſtle of Chillon—Villeneuve—Aigle—Salt-Works of Bex and Aigle.

TRAVELLERS not unuſually make an agreeable excurſion from Vevay to the ſalt-works of Bex and Aigle.

The road continues along a plain, with hills on one ſide, and the lake on the other. Haller's judicious diſtinction of the elevated part of this country, may from this ſpot be well exemplified. The rocky alps are ſeen with their pyramidal tops ſhooting into the heavens, and incruſted with eternal ice and ſnow. Snow likewiſe, at various intervals, covers the ſteep ſlopes beneath the aſpiring peaks; rich paſturage ſucceeds; and the bottoms are verdant with foreſts of firs. The mountains, ſuch as the

Jura

Jura and thoſe riſing towards Denis and Gruyeres, are fertile in graſs, well wooded, their tops even, extenſive and arable; and though with little appearance of rock on the ſurface, yet internally filled with a hard yellowiſh ſtone fit for building, but impatient of the chiſſel. The *collines*, or little hills, are frequent at the foot of the mountains, and ſeparated by little vallies watered by ſmall brooks.

"The further I advanced, the nearer the mountains approached the lake; their nature changed, their height increaſed, and their craggy tops and wooded ſides convinced me, that I was approaching the genuine alps. Above the woods ſoared, in a moſt picturesque manner, a lofty pyramidal crag called *Le Dent de Jamant*. The woods were firs mixed with oak. The road lay cloſe to the water's edge. The caſtle of Chillon, or rather the caſtellated houſe, is a large pile with round and ſquare towers: it ſtands on a rock in the lake, and is connected to the land by a drawbridge. The vaults are very fine; the arched roofs, and the pillars which ſupport it, are in a neat gothic ſtile. This caſtle, in 1536, was wreſted from Charles the Third of Savoy by the canton of Berne, aſſiſted by the Genevans, who furniſhed a frigate (their naval force) to beſiege it by water. In a deep dungeon, below the level of the lake, the conquerors found Bonivard, prior of St. Victor, the intrepid antagoniſt of the dukes of Savoy, and the great aſſerter of Genevan independence. He had been impriſoned by the Savoyards during ſix years; and, by conſtant walking in his ſhort limits, had worn a hollow in the rock. This caſtle was for a ſhort time

time the reſidence of a bailif from Berne, until a more convenient houſe was purchaſed for that officer in Vevay. About half a league further is Villeneuve, a ſmall town at the extremity of the lake. This magnificent piece of water here terminates; its breadth, at this place, is about a league. I travelled along its concave ſide from Geneva to Villeneuve fifty-four miles. It is in the ſhape of a creſcent; Switzerland forms the hollow; Savoy the convex part; its greateſt breadth is from St. Sulpice to Grande Rive, where it is twelve miles wide. Savoy affords a rude and awful boundary of aſpiring alps, craggy and covered with the ice of ages. The country from Geneva to the environs of Lauſanne, ſlopes for a conſiderable way to the margin of the lake, and is enriched with all the varieties which nature can beſtow. The long ridge of the Jura, fertile in paſturage, and varied with woods, backs this beautiful tract. Near Lauſanne the banks riſe very conſiderably, and form a moſt charming terrace. A few miles beyond Lauſanne is a rapid deſcent. Near Vevay begins a plain, which is continued far beyond the end of the lake, but contracting, by the approach of the mountains, towards the water. The colour of the water is extremely beautiful, clear, and at a diſtance ſeems of a moſt lovely blue.

"Near Geneva the coaſt abounds in ſmall pebbles covered with a brown incruſtation. From Geneva as far as Lauſanne the ſhores are ſandy; but from Lauſanne to Chillon appear ledges of rocks hard and calcareous: the extremity of the lake is a marſh formed by the collected mud of the Rhone.

"The

" The depth is various. M. de Luc aſſured me, that on ſounding it he had found the greateſt depth to be a hundred and ſixty fathoms: like all inland lakes encloſed within high mountains, it is ſubject to ſudden ſtorms.

" I am uncertain whether any birds frequent the lake which are not common to the reſt of Switzerland. The tippet grebes * appear here in December and retire in February. The ſkins are an elegant article of luxury, and ſell here for about twelve or fourteen ſhillings each. Theſe birds are obliged to breed in other places, this lake being almoſt totally deſtitute of reeds and ruſhes, in which they form their floating neſt. From Villeneuve the road runs through a beautiful valley, conſiſting of the richeſt meadow and corn land, very populous and finely wooded, and expanding to the breadth of four miles. The alps bound each ſide, with tops broken into vaſt crags of various forms.

" I paſſed near La Roche, where a director of the ſalt-works is deputed by the government of Berne; and which is rendered memorable by the reſidence of Haller, who filled that office from 1758 to 1766. During his retirement in this place, that diſtinguiſhed man prepared for public inſpection many of his numerous publications, and particularly his immortal work on phyſiology.

" I left at a little diſtance Yvorne, ruined, in 1584, by the lapſe of a mountain occaſioned by an earthquake; croſſed the torrent called La Grande Eau, and halted at Aigle, a good town, ſeated

* Pennant's Brit. Zool. vol. ii. No. 222.

ſeated at the feet of ſome ſmall round hills prettily covered with firs. This country was conquered from the Savoyards by Berne in 1475, and was made a diſtinct government conſiſting of four *Mandemens*. The governor reſides at Aigle. It formerly had its particular heads, the family of Torrens; but the laſt count formally reſigned his pretenſions at Berne in 1553. This government of Aigle reaches to the Pays de Vaud; and, when under the dominion of the houſe of Savoy, was compriſed within that diſtrict; at preſent it is claſſed under the German diviſion of that canton, although French is the language of the natives. Further on the valley is greatly contracted, and ſo filled with trees as to appear a great foreſt. The laburnum abounds here in a wild ſtate. The wood is beautifully veined, of great ſtrength, and much uſed for wedges and muſical inſtruments. The variety with ſhort ſpikes of flowers has the moſt elegant veins, and is called the *ebony* of the Alps: Pliny ſays its wood is the hardeſt next to the ebony. The cornelian cherry is common in the hedges, and the fruit is frequently preſerved with ſugar. The *Machaleb* cherry, or *Prunus Machaleb*, is to be found in theſe parts; the wood is red, of fine ſcent, and in requeſt for handles of knives, it is known among cutlers by the name of *Bois de St. Lucie*. A pleaſant-ſcented water is diſtilled from this tree; and the ſeeds are uſed to give a fragrancy to ſoap.

" Between Aigle and Bex is a moſt picturesque view of the caſtle of St. Tryphon, on the ſummit of a lofty inſulated rock in the middle of the plain; it

it is quite ſurrounded with wood, and realiſes Milton's deſcription of an ancient caſtle,

" *Boſom'd high in tufted trees.*"

I am informed it is built of marble, which is no wonder, as a beautiful black ſpecies is found very near. St. Tryphon was a Phrygian, who is ſaid to have ſuffered martyrdom at Nice in 251, at the time of the perſecution under the emperor Decius.

" Bex is a ſmall town at the foot of the mountains, five miles from the ſalt-works at Bevieux. Between Bex and Bevieux, I obſerved the larch in great plenty. Painters, from the time of Pliny to that of Raphael, truſted their works to this wood, which the Roman naturaliſt ſtiles *immortale lignum*. The wood is reckoned excellent for all works which are to lie under water; and the borderers on the lake of Geneva prefer it for building their veſſels. In theſe parts I ſaw moſt beautiful woods of cheſnut. Haller ſays that they extend ſome leagues; he alſo informs us, that they are found in other parts of Switzerland, and even in deſert places in ſome of the tranſalpine parts; accident muſt have brought them thither, as it appears from Pliny, that theſe trees were firſt introduced into Europe from Sardis."

Upon our arrival at the ſalt-ſprings, I put on a workman's jacket, and went into the mountain about 3,000 feet, almoſt horizontally. The gallery is about ſix feet high, and four broad, and is as nicely hollowed as if it had been cut with a chiſſel: it is hewn in a black rock, veined in

in ſome places with white gypſum. The ſalt is procured from ſome ſprings, which are found within a ſolid rock, perforated at a great expence: the richeſt ſource yields twenty-eight pounds of ſalt *per cent.* and the pooreſt but half a pound in the ſame quantity. Near theſe ſprings are ſeveral warm ſources, ſtrongly impregnated with ſulphur; ſome of which contain alſo a mixture of ſalt, and will flame if a lighted candle is put into the pipe through which they flow. No ſolid ſalt, excepting a few ſmall cubes, has been as yet diſcovered; but the mountain is replete with particles. Rocks of white gypſum or alabaſter, mixed with bluiſh clay, are common near the ſprings, in the ſame manner as may be obſerved in the pits of Northwich, in Cheſhire.

After travelling in this ſubterraneous paſſage near three quarters of a mile, I obſerved a great wheel of thirty-five feet diameter, which ſerves to raiſe the brine from the depth of about ſeventy feet. From this place is a ſhaft three hundred feet high, which is cut through the mountain to the ſurface, for the purpoſe of introducing freſh air. I obſerved two reſervoirs hollowed in the ſolid rock for holding the brine; one whereof was a hundred and ſixty feet ſquare, and nine in depth. Since my firſt expedition to theſe pits in 1776, the workmen had pierced the rock twenty-five feet deeper, and cut a gallery a hundred feet in length. They had alſo began to form a third reſervoir, which is to contain 5,500 cubic feet; and of this nearly half was finiſhed.

The brine depoſited in theſe reſervoirs is conveyed, by means of two thouſand pipes, about a league to Bevieux, where the ſalt is extracted.

The

The brine pits near Aigle contain only from two to one-half *per cent.*; and yield annually about a third as much as thoſe of Bevieux, or about 5,000 quintals. The ſalt is much whiter and heavier than that of Bevieux, and conſequently bears a higher price.

Theſe ſalt-works, which are the only ones in Switzerland, ſcarcely yield a neat yearly profit of more than £.3000; and furniſh only one-twelfth of the annual conſumption in the canton. The remainder is procured chiefly from France, which is obliged by treaty to provide the Swiſs ſtates with this commodity at a moderate price: and indeed ſo high is the tax upon ſalt in that kingdom, that even the French ſalt is ſold two thirds cheaper in Switzerland, than in many parts of France*. The ordinary price of common ſalt throughout the canton, is at the rate of three half-pence per pound.

LETTER

* At Paris, where it is the deareſt, a pound of ſalt is ſold for about 13 ſols, or about ſix pence of our money: in ſome other parts of France, for inſtance in Franche Comte, a pound coſts only 4 or 5 ſols; but it is furniſhed to the Swiſs at the rate of 2½ ſols.

LETTER 44.

Valley and Lake of Joux—Orbe—St. Barthelemi—Yverdun.

Yverdun, Sept. 7.

THE chain of mountains called the *Jura*, begins in the canton of Zuric; from thence extends along the Rhine, in the canton and biſhopric of Baſle; ſtretches into the canton of Soleure and the principality of Neuchatel; branches out towards the Pays de Vaud; ſeparates that country from Franche Comté and Burgundy; and continues beyond the frontiers of the Genevois as far as the Rhone. In various parts of the Pays de Vaud this chain forms many elevated vallies much viſited by travellers, amongſt which, not the leaſt remarkable, is the valley of the lake of Joux, upon the top of that part

part of the Jura called Mont Joux; and which lies in the bailliage of Roman Motier. This valley contains ſeveral neat and well-peopled villages, and is beautifully checkered with wood, arable, and paſture ground. It is watered by two pictureſque lakes; the largeſt of which is called the lake of Joux. One ſhore is high rock, covered with wood; the oppoſite banks form a gentle aſcent, well cultivated and producing grain, backed by an abrupt ridge adorned with pines, beech, and oak. The ſmaller lake, called Lac Brenet, is in its ſhape more oval, and richly bordered with corn-fields and cottages. Theſe two lakes are divided by a narrow neck of land; and over the channel or little ſtreight is a wooden bridge of a ſingle arch, which leads to the village of Charbonniers.

Near the ſmall village of Abbaye, a rivulet guſhes from the bottom of the rock, and loſes itſelf in the largeſt lake. From the ſmaller lake deſcends a ſtream, and is loſt in a hollow gulph called *L'Entonnoir*, or the Funnel, a name common to ſeveral others in this place. In this gulph ſeveral mills are placed, and turned by the force of the current. About two miles further, on the other ſide of the mountain, the river Orbe burſts forth, and is probably produced by the laſt-mentioned ſtream here ingulphed.

This little vale is very populous, containing about three thouſand inhabitants, who are remarkably induſtrious. Some make watches, but the greaſt part are employed in poliſhing cryſtals, granites, and marcaſites. In the ſmall village of Point, where we lodged, the greateſt part of the inhabitants bear the ſurname of Rochat; a name which

which alſo runs through the village of Charboniere, with the exception of only two or three families; and is prevalent likewiſe in that of Abbaye: the whole number of theſe Rochats amounts to above a thouſand. I inquired whether, like the Scottiſh clan, they took the appellation from any chief; or whether they were ſuppoſed to be deſcendants of the ſame family: I was aſſured, that the latter is the fact, that their anceſtors came originally from France. Theſe parts are much infeſted with bears and wolves.

In our aſcent to this delightful vale, and as we deſcended through a variety of hill, valley, wood, and lawn; we had a moſt extenſive proſpect, comprehending great part of the Pays de Vaud, the lake of Geneva with its mountainous boundary, and that of Neuchatel. Theſe two lakes appear, from that high point of view, to be nearly upon the ſame level *, with no conſiderable ſwell of the country intervening.

We paſſed through a beautiful and pictureſque country from Romain Motier to Orbe; which, according to antiquarians, was the moſt antient town, and once the moſt powerful, of all Helvetia. It was called *Urba*, and was the capital of the *Pagus Urbigenus:* no remains however exiſt at preſent of its antient ſplendour. Some antique fortifications, an old caſtle, and a round tower, are works probably of later and more turbulent times; erected, perhaps, when this country was divided into a number of feudal ſovereignties.

* According to Mr. de Luc, the lake of Neuchatel is 159 French feet above that of Geneva.

I am greatly pleaſed with the romantic ſituation of Orbe, the boldneſs of the ſingle-arched bridge projecting over the Orbe, the wild ſcenery on the banks of that river, its frequent cataracts, and with various picturesque views in the environs.

Mr. Venel, an eminent ſurgeon of this town, has formed, under the protection of the government of Berne, an eſtabliſhment which well deſerves the attention of the humane and curious traveller. It is an infirmary for the reception of thoſe objects, who are born with diſtorted limbs, or have by accident acquired that misfortune.

The children are lodged and boarded in the houſe, under the care of his aſſiſtant, who charges himſelf with all the detail of houſekeeping, and of inſtructing thoſe, whoſe age renders it requiſite, that their education ſhould not be neglected.

Mr. Venel's ſkill in improving and ſimplifying thoſe machines neceſſary for his purpoſe, has been ſufficiently atteſted by the various cures which he has performed that way.

Though he chiefly confines his attempts to infants and children, yet he has performed ſeveral cures on adult perſons. His moſt efficacious remedy is a machine which he has invented to embrace the patient's limbs when in bed, and which is ſo contrived as to act without diſturbing their reſt. Ingenious as his method is, yet he acknowledges, that much of his ſucceſs depends on the mild treatment of the patients, and on having them continually under his inſpection. I was convinced indeed of the mildneſs of his treatment,

treatment, by obſerving ſeveral of theſe children, from four to ten years of age, crawling about the ground, and diverting themſelves with great cheerfulneſs, although caſed up in their machinery. It may not perhaps be unworthy of remark, that Mr. Venel, on the admiſſion of a miſerable object, takes in plaiſter of Paris the mold of the diſtorted limbs, in order to demonſtrate the change that takes place. Such an eſtabliſhment redounds highly to the honour of Mr. Venel, and the government who protects it; and is worthy of imitation in all countries.

Orbe, which is governed by its own magiſtrates, is compriſed within the bailliage of Echalens, belonging to Berne and Friburgh: theſe two cantons alternately ſend a bailif, who reſides at Echalens, and remains in office during five years. When Berne appoints the bailif, an appeal lies from his deciſions to the ſovereign council of Friburgh; as it does to the government of Berne, when he is nominated by Friburgh. By theſe means a great check is laid upon the exactions of the bailif: and I am informed, that juſtice is no where more equally adminiſtered than in theſe common bailliages of the two cantons.

Perhaps one of the moſt beautiful and fineſt poſitions in Switzerland is the caſtle of St. Barthelemi, the ſeat of Count d'Affry, colonel of the Swiſs guards; and now inhabited by his ſon, count Louis d'Affry, to whom I was indebted for a moſt kind and friendly reception. This antient family ſeat ſtands on an eminence in the bailliage of Echalens, about three miles from

Orbe, near the high road which leads from Lauſanne to Yverdun. The ſides of the eminence are feathered with wood; and below are rich fields and meadows of the fineſt verdure, watered by two lively torrents which unite and form the Falun. Upon the high road, the count has reared an obeliſk, on which he has inſcribed, in the true ſpirit of toleration and forbearance, the following words, "*Praiſe God, all ye nations,*" in the Engliſh, Latin, French, and German languages.

The caſtle commands a proſpect of a moſt fertile and well-wooded country, gently broken into hill and dale; on one ſide appears a diſtant view of the Jura and the hills of Burgundy and Franche Comté; and, on the other, the horizon is bounded by the rugged Alps in the canton of Berne and in the Vallais, by Mount Velain, the higheſt point of St. Bernard, and Mont Blanc, whoſe ſuperior elevation above the ſurrounding heights is ſuch, that its ſummit reflects the rays of the riſing ſun ſeveral minutes ſooner, and retains thoſe of the ſetting ſun ſeveral minutes later than any of the circumjacent mountains.

From St. Barthelemi we deſcended into the plain, which ſtretches to the lake of Yverdun. This plain was formerly covered as far as Entreroches (three leagues from its preſent poſition) and probably further, by that lake: it is now, for a conſiderable part, a great ſwamp. Within a quarter of a mile of the town, are warm baths which are ſtrongly ſulphureous, and much frequented during the ſummer months.

Yverdun

Yverdun is large, airy, and well-built with ſtone, like the towns in the Pays de Vaud: it ſtands near the lake, in a ſmall iſland formed by the two branches of the river Thiele. Between the town and the lake there is a pleaſant lawn extending to the water, and planted with avenues of lime-trees.

Yverdun carries on ſcarcely any trade, and its principal ſupport ariſes from the paſſage of the merchandiſe between Piedmont and Germany. This town is celebrated for its printing-preſs, eſtabliſhed in the beginning of the preſent century; but entirely neglected until, ſome years ago, it was renewed by *Felice*, a Neapolitan of learning and abilities.

The lake of Yverdun, or of Neuchatel, ſtretches from ſouth to north about twenty miles in length, and in ſome places about five in breadth. Its ſhores near Yverdun are covered with country-houſes.

It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that the dull and taſteleſs uniformity of the French gardens ſhould have been adopted by the Swiſs, whoſe country abounds with noble and pictureſque ſituations, and where nature wantons in the moſt luxuriant variety. I have frequently obſerved, in the midſt of theſe romantic ſcenes, a majeſtic foreſt ſliced into regular alleys; and at the very borders of the fine lakes, artificial pools of water edged with ſun-burnt parterres.

If any perſon ſhould, in this inſtance, accuſe me of national prejudice, let me exclaim with Voltaire, who certainly cannot be convicted of partiality to the Engliſh;

Jardins

Jardins plantés en ſymmétrie,
Arbres nains tirés au cordeau,
Celui qui vous mit au niveau
En vain s'applaudit, ſe récrie ;
En voyant ce petit morceau,
Jardins il faut que je vous fuie,
Trop d'art me revolte et m'ennuie :
J'aime mieux ces vaſtes forêts
La nature libre et hardie
Irreguliere dans ſes traits
S'accorde avec ma faintaiſie.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 45.

Granſon—Neuchatel—Mr. Pury's Benefactions.

WE ſkirted the weſt ſide of the lake of Neuchatel through Granſon, the principal town of a bailliage of that name, belonging to Berne and Friburgh, and remarkable for the battle in which Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, was defeated by the Swiſs in 1476. We entered the principality of Neuchatel about ſix miles from that town, and paſſed through St. Aubin, Boudri, Colombier, lying pleaſantly upon the borders of the water. The road runs along the ſide of the Jura, through a country that reſembled, in ſome meaſure, the diſtrict of La Vaux, between Lauſanne and Vevay : the ſides of the Jura are almoſt the whole way covered with vines, ſupported in

in many parts by low ſtone walls. The borders of this lake are more uniform than thoſe of the lake of Geneva; and do not riſe into ſuch high, irregular, and groteſque Alps as the coaſt of Chablais. Towards Granſon and St. Aubin, the country is more diverſified with meadows and corn-fields; nearer to Neuchatel the ſummits of the mountains are clothed with foreſt, and the midland and lower parts entirely planted with vines.

Between the lake and the Jura ſeveral rivers burſt from the rock in conſiderable ſtreams; and, after turning ſeveral mills, fall into the lake at a little diſtance from their ſource. The largeſt is that of La Serriere, near a ſmall village of the ſame name, which we croſſed in our way to Colombier, where we dined with a family, whoſe acquaintance we had formed at the baths of Leuk. We paſſed a very agreeable day with theſe amiable perſons; by whom we were received with that frankneſs and unaffected eaſe which characteriſes true politeneſs.

After dinner ſome muſicians of the country performed the *Renz des vaches*: that famous air which was forbidden to be played among the Swiſs troops in the French ſervice; as it awakened in the ſoldiers ſuch a longing recollection of their native country, that it often produced in them a ſettled melancholy, and occaſioned frequent deſertion. The French call this ſpecies of patriotic regret, *la maladie du pays*. There is nothing peculiarly ſtriking in the tune; but, as it is compoſed of the moſt ſimple notes, the powerful effect of its melody upon the Swiſs ſoldiers, in a foreign land, is the leſs ſurpriſing. Nothing indeed

deed revives ſo lively a remembrance of former ſcenes, as a piece of favourite muſic which we were accuſtomed to hear amid our earlieſt and deareſt connections: upon ſuch an occaſion, a long train of aſſociated ideas will neceſſarily ariſe in the mind, and, if not totally ſelfiſh, melt it into tenderneſs. To uſe the language of poetry,

> *There is in ſouls a ſympathy with ſounds.*
> *Wherever I have heard*
> *A kindred melody, the ſcene recurs,*
> *And with it all its pleaſures and its pains* *.

It is obſervable, that thoſe who inhabit mountainous countries are moſt ſubject to this *maladie du pays*, becauſe their habits of life are eſſentially different from the cuſtoms and manners of other parts. Accordingly, the Scotch highlanders, and the Biſcayans, as well as the Swiſs, when abſent from their country, are peculiarly apt to be affected with every circumſtance that recalls it to their minds.

The town of Neuchatel is ſmall, and contains about 3,000 ſouls. It lies partly upon the little plain between the lake and the Jura, and partly upon the declivity of that mountain: in conſequence of which ſituation, ſome of its ſtreets are very ſteep. At the commencement of the preſent century, commerce was almoſt wholly a ſtranger in this town; as the ridiculous pride of its being deemed degrading, generally prevailed among the inhabitants. This ſenſeleſs prejudice is now, however, nearly extinguiſhed. The chief article

* Cowper's Taſk, book vi.

article of exportation is wine, produced from the neighbouring vineyards, and much eſteemed. Manufactures alſo of printed linens and cottons have been eſtabliſhed with ſucceſs: and within theſe few years, ſeveral merchants have raiſed large fortunes.

POSTSCRIPT.

Oct. 3, 1786.

The mildneſs of the government, and the general well-being of the inhabitants, are viſibly demonſtrated from the increaſe of population among the natives, and the prodigious influx of ſettlers. The number of ſouls in the principality of Neuchatel and Vallengin being, in 1752, only 28,017 ſubjects, and 4,318 aliens, amounted, in 1784, to 31,576 ſubjects, and 9,704 aliens, which gives an increaſe of near a fourth part within the ſpace of thirty-two years.

The facility of acquiring the burgherſhip of Neuchatel, has alſo prevented any decreaſe of its inhabitants. Thus the magiſtrates, between the years 1760 and 1770, admitted forty-one burghers; from 1770 to 1780, forty-ſix; from 1780 to 1785, fifty-one; in all, a hundred and thirty-eight. Many of theſe ſettlers had children before they purchaſed the burgherſhip; and thirty-eight were foreigners, either German, French, or Swiſs.

Several public works and buildings have been lately executed at Neuchatel, at an expence far exceeding the revenues, or even wants of this little

little ſtate. Amongſt others I ſhall mention a ſuperb cauſeway leading towards the valley of St. Imier, and a town-houſe, which is built of ſuch ſolid materials, as if it was intended to ſurvive to the moſt diſtant poſterity, and to rival the duration of the much-famed Roman capitol*.

The perſon, to whom the burghers of Neuchatel principally owe the embelliſhment of their town, is Mr. David Pury, late banker of the court of Liſbon. He was a citizen of Neuchatel, and was born in 1709: his father was mayor of Lignieres, afterwards colonel and juſtice of peace in South Carolina, and founder of Puriſburgh. Having received his education in his native town, he quitted it, as ſome ſay, in great poverty, and repaired to Geneva, where he paſſed his apprenticeſhip, but in what houſe, or in what trade, the perſon, who obligingly furniſhed me with theſe anecdotes, does not mention. From Geneva he went to London, and acted as one of the clerks to an eminent merchant who trafficked in precious ſtones, and where he acquired a great ſkill for eſtimating at ſight the value of diamonds. After a long reſidence in England, he eſtabliſhed himſelf in Liſbon, and carried on a very extenſive commerce, particularly in brazil-wood and precious ſtones. Being appointed court-banker, he rapidly increaſed his fortune. This generous man, however, did not, with a parſimony not unuſual in perſons who have enriched themſelves by commerce, conſign his money to his coffers, or ſparingly diſtribute his largeſſes;

* *Capitol:* IMMOBILE *ſaxum.* Virgil.

geſſes: on the contrary, while living, he remitted large ſums of money to his native town; and being unmarried, and having none but diſtant relations, left his country his heir. The following is a liſt of the ſums which he gave away, either in charitable donations, or for the improvement of Neuchatel.

From the year 1771 to 1786, £.100 annually for the poor of Neuchatel, and the ſame ſum for thoſe of Vallengin, which, for fifteen years, amounts to £.3,000 Different ſums at various periods, and for divers uſes, to January 1785, amounting to £.15,900 To this muſt be added the purchaſe of near 7,000 tickets in the lottery, towards raiſing a fund for building and endowing an hoſpital; which tickets he alſo preſented to the ſaid hoſpital. He died on the 31ſt of May 1785; and the remains of his fortune, bequeathed to his country, after the payment of a few legacies, does not fall ſhort of £.160,000, which, together with the contributions in his life-time, render his benefactions equal to almoſt £.200,000.

His grateful country obtained from the king of Pruſſia the title of baron in his favour; a title which, through his ſingular modeſty, he neither bore nor uſed in the ſignature of his letters. The citizens of Neuchatel have alſo placed the portrait of this generous benefactor in one of the apartments in which government aſſembles; and have ordered a marble buſt to be executed for the new town-houſe.

The large legacy which Pury has bequeathed to the town, being more than ſufficient to complete the buildings and public works, it would well

well become the wiſdom of government to employ part of the remainder, rather in uſeful undertakings, than in the conſtruction of new edifices, which are not wanted. With reſpect to thoſe works, which regard the health and convenience of the town, it may be ſufficient to hint, that the public walks, which are now much neglected, might be improved; the ſtreets, which are extremely dirty, be cleaſed; and the torrent, which traverſes the town and threatens it with frequent inundations, may be turned. But particularly a large field is open for the protection and encouragement of literature; for even in the eſſential article of education this place is ſo deficient, that it can ſcarcely be ſaid to poſſeſs a ſingle ſeminary; conſequently the inhabitants, though endowed with lively parts and good capacities, are yet much leſs informed than thoſe of the other Proteſtant towns in Switzerland. A new ſpirit may be given to the ſtudy of the arts and ſciences; and the ſeminary may be rendered of great public utility by appointing two or three profeſſors for the inſtruction of youth. Thus future generations enlightened by means of this benefaction, will repeat with ſatisfaction the name of Pury; joining in their grateful commemorations thoſe magiſtrates, who firſt opened the ſources of ſcience and literature, and taught them to flow for the improvement of a diſtant poſterity.

LETTER 46.

Expedition to Locle and Chaux de Fond.

Neuchatel, Sept. 11.

I AM charmed with an expedition to the ſummit of the Jura; and will give you a ſhort account of it, while the impreſſion remains warm upon my mind.

The principality of Neuchatel and Vallengin, ſtretches from the lake to the limits of Franche Comté; containing in length, from north to ſouth, about twelve leagues, and about ſix in its greateſt breadth. The diſtrict of Neuchatel occupies all the plain, together with the lower parts of the mountains: while Vallengin is totally encloſed within the Jura. Parallel chains of the Jura run from eaſt to weſt, and form, in the moſt

moſt elevated parts, ſeveral valleys. The lower grounds of this chain are arable lands and vineyards: the higher conſiſt of large tracts of foreſt, which in many parts have been cleared, and converted into conſiderable paſtures, intermixed with ſome fields of barley and oats. But the ſingular genius and induſtry of the numerous inhabitants, particularly demand the attention of every curious traveller.

We paſſed through *Vallengin*, the capital of the diſtrict of that name; a ſmall open burgh, with a modern caſtle built on ſome antient ruins. We then croſſed the *Val de Ruz*, which contains above twenty villages, ſituated at the foot of the mountains which border the valley: the inhabitants in general are employed in agriculture, ſome few excepted, who follow occaſionally the mechanical arts.

We arrived about mid-day at La Chaux de Fond, a large handſome village lying in a broad valley which reaches to Franche Comté: from thence we proceeded to Locle, through a continued range of pleaſing cottages, which ſkirt both ſides of the road; and are ſcattered likewiſe over the country. As theſe two little towns or villages carry on the ſame commerce; I ſhall comprehend them both under one common deſcription.

La Chaux de Fond and Locle, together with the diſtricts belonging to them, may contain about ſix thouſand inhabitants, remarkably diſtinguiſhed for their genius, induſtry, and ſkill in the mechanical arts. They carry on an extenſive commerce in lace, ſtockings, cutlery, and other merchandiſe of their own manufacture: but

but watch-making, and every branch of clock-work, are the articles in which they particularly excel. They not only make every utenſil employed in thoſe arts, but have invented ſeveral: and all ſorts of workmen neceſſary for the completion of that branch of buſineſs, ſuch as painters, enamellers, engravers, and gilders, are found in theſe villages; where, upon an average, about forty thouſand watches are yearly made. The genius and induſtry, indeed, obſervable upon theſe mountains, exhibit a ſcene uncommonly pleaſing. As every individual is ſure, not only of obtaining a comfortable maintenance for himſelf, but alſo of ſoon placing his children in a way of procuring their own livelihood; the people marry very early.

Not many years ago, the greateſt part of theſe valleys was almoſt one continued foreſt; but the wonder-working powers of induſtry have happily changed the ſcene into flouriſhing villages and fertile paſtures. The increaſe of population will appear from the following fact: Formerly the produce of the country was more than ſufficient for the conſumption of the inhabitants; at preſent, although conſiderably more cultivated, it ſcarcely furniſhes an eighth part of the proviſions neceſſary for interior conſumption: the remainder is drawn from Franche Comté. And no wonder; for, beſide the natural effect of their frequent and early marriages; every ſtranger, who brings a certificate of his good behaviour, is at liberty to ſettle, and to follow any trade, without the leaſt reſtriction. Here, no apprenticeſhip is neceſſary; nothing is contraband; and induſtry exerts herſelf untaxed.

Beſide

Beſide thoſe particular arts I have already mentioned, ſeveral inhabitants of Locle and La Chaux de Fond are well ſkilled in other branches of mechanical ſcience, and have invented uſeful mathematical and aſtronomical inſtruments. Among thoſe who have eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this way, is the famous Jaquet Droz, who is now at Paris; and whoſe ſon exhibited in England ſeveral automatical figures of a very ſingular and ſurpriſing conſtruction: one played upon the harpſichord; another drew landſcapes; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, a third copied any word preſented to it, or wrote down whatever was dictated by any of the company. Theſe are certainly wonderful inventions, and ſeem to exalt the powers of mechaniſm; but ſtill they are mere toys, and an unworthy waſte of great genius: it is Swift making riddles. How much more laudably, and with equal ſucceſs, might the ſame talents and application have been exerted in improving, or adding to, thoſe inſtruments and apparatus, which are neceſſary to the aſtronomer and natural philoſopher!

The origin of watch-making in theſe parts, as related by Mr. Oſterwald, the hiſtoriographer of theſe mountains, is extremely curious; and the truth of his account was confirmed to me by ſeveral artiſts both of Locle and La Chaux de Fond. In 1679, one of the inhabitants brought from London a watch; which being out of order, he entruſted it to Daniel John Richard, of La Sagne. Richard, after examining the mechaniſm with great attention, determined to attempt making a watch from the model before him: but to this end he was deſtitute of every other aſſiſt-

ance than the powers of his own native genius. Accordingly he employed a whole year in inventing and finiſhing the ſeveral inſtruments previouſly neceſſary for his purpoſe; and in ſix months from that period (by the ſole force of his own penetrating and perſevering talents) he produced a complete watch. But his ambition and induſtry did not ſtop here: beſide applying himſelf ſucceſsfully to the invention of ſeveral new inſtruments uſeful for the perfection of his work, he took a journey to Geneva, where he gained conſiderable information in the art. He continued for ſome time the only watchmaker in theſe parts; but buſineſs increaſing, he inſtructed ſeveral aſſociates; by whoſe aſſiſtance he was enabled to ſupply from his ſingle ſhop all the demands of the neighbouring country. Towards the beginning of the preſent century he removed to Locle, where he died in 1741, leaving five ſons, who followed their father's occupation. The knowledge and practice of the art gradually ſpread itſelf, and is now become almoſt the univerſal buſineſs of the inhabitants, and may be deemed the principal cauſe of the population obſervable in theſe mountains.

The inventive genius of this mechanical people is not merely obſervable in the above-mentioned articles, but diſcovers itſelf upon all occaſions where it can be applied to the purpoſes of their convenience and accommodations. To give an inſtance: the rocks in moſt parts of the alps being exceedingly hard and ſolid, the waters uſually make their way along their ſides, and ruſh down in perpetual torrents: but the ſtrata which compoſe the Jura being leſs firm and compact;

pact; the rains and melted ſnow penetrating into the crevices, form ſubterraneous channels, and iſſue in rivulets at the bottom of the mountains. Now the peaſants, in order to avail themſelves of this peculiarity, have, in the midſt of theſe ſubterraneous channels, and with much labour, erected mills, which are turned by the deſcending torrents. For this purpoſe the builders have conſtructed wheels, in places where it ſeemed ſcarcely practicable; have invented new modes of ſcaffolding, and a great variety of other ingenious contrivances in order to facilitate their work.

The natives of theſe diſtricts are exceedingly courteous to ſtrangers who viſit their country. They are in general very well informed in ſeveral branches of knowledge; and, as they uſually employ their leiſure hours in reading, many of the villages contain circulating libraries.

The houſes are plaiſtered and whitewaſhed; though ſmall, are commodious and well-built; and furniſhed with a degree of neatneſs, and even elegance, peculiarly ſtriking in theſe ſequeſtered mountains.

The rock which forms the baſe of the Jura, is moſtly compoſed of calcareous ſtone; and perhaps there is no ſpot in Europe where are found ſo large a quantity of petrified ſhells and marine plants in ſo ſmall a ſpace. Near Locle I obſerved a ridge of hills, that ſeemed to conſiſt entirely of *pierres arboriſées*, or ſtones bearing the impreſſion of plants.

In returning, we had a moſt ſublime proſpect of the lakes of Neuchatel, Bienne, and Morat, with the high and rugged chains of Alps ſtretch-

ing from the cantons of Berne and Friburgh, as far as the Vallais, and the mountains of Chablais.

Such perfect eaſe and plenty reigns throughout theſe mountains, that I ſcarcely ſaw one object of poverty: the natural effects of induſtry under a mild and equitable government. It is of theſe vallies, and of their inhabitants, that Rouſſeau gives ſo enchanting a deſcription in his letter to D'Alembert: to which I refer you.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 47.

Government of Neuchatel.

BY the death of the ducheſs of Nemours, in 1707, the ſovereignty of Neuchatel and Vallengin became vacant; and being claimed by Frederic the Firſt, king of Pruſſia, as heir to the prince of Orange, his right was acknowledged by the ſtates of the country. Upon his death it deſcended to his ſon Frederic William, who tranſmitted it with his other dominions to Frederic the Second.

The conſtitution of Neuchatel is a limited monarchy. The machine of this government is indeed actuated by ſuch nice ſprings, and its wheels are ſo exceedingly complicated, that it is very difficult for a ſtranger to diſtinguiſh, with any

any degree of accuracy, the prerogatives of the ſovereign, and the franchiſes of the people: particularly as ſome, even of their moſt important privileges, depend upon mutual acquieſcence and immemorial cuſtom, and not upon written laws. I ſhall endeavour, however, to trace the principal features of this government; the reſult of my beſt inquiries during my continuance at Neuchatel.

Upon the acceſſion of Frederic the Firſt, certain general articles, which in a great meaſure eſtabliſhed the prerogatives of the prince, and the liberties of the ſubject, were ſigned and ratified by the king. Beſide theſe general articles, which his preſent majeſty upon his acceſſion promiſed to preſerve inviolate; others were added at the pacification of 1768: which finiſhed the diſpute between the ſovereign and ſubject. By this pacification, the king not only renewed his aſſent to the *general* articles; but alſo explained them, wherever their tenor had been miſtaken; expreſsly confirming alſo ſeveral other privileges in favour of the people, which had hitherto been equivocal, or not duly obſerved.

The moſt important of theſe general articles are:

1. The ſovereign promiſes to maintain the Reformed religion as by law eſtabliſhed; and to tolerate no other ſect, except within the diſtricts of Landeron and Creſſier, where the Catholic religion is dominant.

2. No perſon but a native of the country is capable of holding any civil or military charge, excepting that of governor, who may be a foreigner; and the ſame incapacity is extended even to

to natives, who are in the ſervice of a foreign prince.

3. All the ſubjects have a right to enter into the ſervice of a foreign power; provided that power is not in actual war againſt the prince, as ſovereign of Neuchatel: and if the ſovereign ſhould be engaged in hoſtilities, which do not concern Neuchatel, that ſtate may continue neuter, except the Helvetic body ſhould be involved in the conteſt*.

4. Juſtice ſhall be equitably adminiſtered: and, for this purpoſe, the three eſtates of Neuchatel and Vallengin ſhall be annually aſſembled.

5. The magiſtrates and officers of juſtice, inſtead of holding their employments during pleaſure, ſhall enjoy them during their good behaviour.

* The latter clauſe of this article is not ſo clearly worded as it might have been; from a delicacy, I ſuppoſe, of not expreſsly ſtipulating, that the ſtate of Neuchatel and Vallengin may oppoſe their ſovereign by arms, in caſe the Swiſs ſhould be engaged in any war againſt him. It is evident, however, that they conſider their connection with the Helvetic body, as of ſuperior obligation to that with their prince, as ſovereign of Neuchatel and Vallengin.

The remarkable clauſe in queſtion is as follows:

Et qu'en outre et conformément à des articles expr s et formels des franchiſes tant de la bourgeoiſie de Neufchâtel que de celle de Vallengin, cet Etat ne puiſſe tre engagé dans aucune guerre, ni les ſujets d'icelui obligés d'y marcher, que ce ne ſoit pour la propre guerre du Prince, c eſt à dire, pour la defence de l'Etat, et pour les guerres que le Prince pourroit avoir en tant que ſouverain de Neufchâtel et non autrement: en ſorte que s'il avoit guerre pour raiſon de quelque autre Etat, terres et ſeigneuries, l'Etat de Neufchâtel ne ſoit point oblige d'y entrer; mais en ce cas devra demeurer dans la neutralité, à moins que tout le corps Helvetique en g n ral n'y prit part et intér t.

viour. And, by the late pacification it was further agreed, that the prince is not himſelf the judge of their good behaviour; but that in order to be deprived of their places, they muſt be fully convicted of malverſation in office, by certain judges at Neuchatel appointed for that purpoſe.

6. The ſovereign ſhall take the accuſtomed oath upon his acceſſion; and promiſe to maintain all the rights, liberties, franchiſes, and cuſtoms, written or unwritten.

It is remarkable, that one of the moſt eſſential rights of the ſubject, depends upon immemorial uſage; for, that "the ſovereign ſhall be conſidered as reſident only at Neuchatel," is in the number of their unwritten immunities. Now this privilege, in conjunction with the third article juſt cited, forms the baſis of their civil liberty By the former, the prince, when abſent, can only addreſs his ſubjects through his governor and the council of ſtate; and no ſubject can be tried out of the country, or otherwiſe than by judges appointed by the conſtitution: by the latter, ſhould the king of Pruſſia be at war with all Germany; the people of Neuchatel and Vallengin are by no means obliged to arm in his defence; but individuals may even ſerve againſt him, ſo long as the powers whom they ſerve, are not engaged in hoſtilities againſt their country*.

Beſide

* When Henry duke of Longueville, and ſovereign of Neuchatel, was, in 1650, ſent to the caſtle of Vincennes, Felix de Mareval, captain of the Swiſs guards, kept guard in his turn, though he was citizen of Neuchatel, at the door of the priſon, in which *his ſovereign* was confined.

Beſide theſe general articles, that comprehend the privileges of the people at large; there are others which the ſovereign is equally bound to maintain, relating to the town of Neuchatel and the diſtrict of Vallengin, in particular.

The prince confers nobility, nominates to the principal offices of ſtate, both civil and military, and appoints the chatelains and mayors, who preſide in the courts of juſtice. His revenues, which are very moderate, and ſcarcely amount to £.5,000 a year, ariſe from certain demeſnes; from a ſmall land tax; from the tythes of wine and corn; and from the tenth of the value on the ſale of immoveables. With regard to commerce, no ſubject pays any duties either of importation or exportation, except for foreign wines imported into the town of Neuchatel.

During the abſence of the prince, he is repreſented by a governor of his own appointing; who enjoys conſiderable honours, but is extremely limited in his authority. He convokes the three eſtates; preſides in that aſſembly; and has the caſting vote if the ſuffrages happen to be equal: he enjoys the power alſo, in criminal caſes, of pardoning, or of mitigating the ſentence. In the governor's abſence his place is ſupplied by the ſenior counſellor of ſtate.

The three eſtates of Neuchatel form the ſuperior tribunal of this country; and receive appeals from the inferior courts of juſtice. They are compoſed of twelve judges, divided into three eſtates: the firſt conſiſts of the four ſenior counſellors of ſtate, who are noble; the ſecond, of the four chatelains of Landeron, Boudry, Val

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de Travers, and Thielle* ; and in caſe of abſence, their place is ſupplied by the reſpective mayors in the principality of Neuchatel, according to a regulated order ; the third is compoſed of four counſellors of the town of Neuchatel. The judges in the firſt and ſecond diviſion hold their places for life ; thoſe in the third are appointed annually. This body ordinarily aſſembles every year in the month of May ; but is convoked extraordinarily upon particular occaſions : the town of Neuchatel is always the place of meeting.

Theſe three eſtates are not the repreſentatives of the people ; nor do they poſſeſs the legiſlative authority. They are, properly ſpeaking, the ſupreme court of judicature, which receives all appeals, and decides finally all cauſes, even thoſe relating to the ſovereignty of the country : a power which they exerciſed in the year 1707, upon the extinction of the direct line in the perſon of the ducheſs of Nemours.

It may be here not unworthy of remark, that the three eſtates decided the famous cauſe of the ſucceſſion in 1707, as a proceſs between the ſeveral claimants of the ſovereignty. But if (in failure of claimants) a new ſovereign was to be choſen, or a new form of government to be eſtabliſhed ; this would no longer be conſidered as amenable to a court of judicature : the queſtion would

* The principality of Neuchatel is divided into a certain number of diſtricts ; ſome of which are denominated *chatellanies*, and others *mayoralties*. The chiefs of the former are called *chatelains*, and of the latter *mayors* : in every other reſpect their office and their power is the ſame.

would then come before the people aſſembled by means of their repreſentatives.

The council of ſtate is inveſted with the ordinary adminiſtration of government ; ſuperintends the general police ; and is entruſted with the execution of the laws. The members nominated by the ſovereign are not limited to any particular number. The prince exerciſes his authority by means of this council, in which he is always conſidered as perſonally preſiding : and the power of the preſident is only to convoke the aſſembly ; to propoſe the ſubject of their conſideration ; to collect the votes ; and to decide when the voices are equal. The ordinances of this council are previouſly communicated to the *miniſtraux* of Neuchatel, who are to certify, that they contain nothing contrary to law.

The town of Neuchatel enjoys very conſiderable privileges : it has the care of the police within its own diſtrict, and is governed by its own magiſtracy, conſiſting of a Great and Little Council. I will not trouble you with a detail of the ſeveral departments ; but I cannot omit mentioning the *miniſtraux* ; becauſe the members of that body form the third eſtate on every act of legiſlation. The *miniſtraux* are a kind of committee from the council of the town, and are entruſted with the adminiſtration of the police. They conſiſt of the two preſidents of that council, four maſter-burghers drawn from the Little Council, and the *banneret* or guardian of the people's liberties. The ſix former are changed every two years ; the banneret is choſen by the general aſſembly of the citizens, and continues in office during ſix years.

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The legiſlative authority is divided in ſo complicated a manner, that it would be no eaſy taſk to determine preciſely where it abſolutely reſides: perhaps the following account of the perſons concerned, and of the forms obſerved, in enacting and promulgating laws, may ſomewhat aſſiſt in clearing the difficulty.

As ſoon as the cauſes are decided by the three eſtates aſſembled in the month of May; the four judges, who form the third eſtate, retire; and their place is ſupplied by the four *miniſtraux*. The attorney-general then deſires the members of the three eſtates to take into conſideration, whether it is neceſſary to frame any new laws. If a new ordinance is propoſed; a declaration is drawn up, and delivered to the council of ſtate for their deliberation, whether it is contrary to the prerogatives of the prince, or to the rights of the ſubject: from thence it is communicated to the council of the town, in order to be examined, whether it infringes the privileges of the citizens. If adopted by the council of ſtate, and the council of the town, it is propoſed to the prince for his approbation or rejection: in the former caſe, it is again publickly read before the three eſtates; and the governor, or preſident, declares the approbation of the ſovereign. It is then promulgated, or, as the expreſſion is, paſſed into a law by the three eſtates.

Since the acceſſion of the houſe of Brandenburgh, the people of Vallengin are always conſulted upon the framing of a new law. For this purpoſe the three maſter burghers of Vallengin examine, whether it contains any thing inconſiſtent with the franchiſes of that diſtrict; in which

which caſe they have the power of remonſtrating to the governor in council.

From this detail it ſhould ſeem, that the legiſlative authority reſides conjunctively in the prince, the council of ſtate, and the town; that the people of Vallengin have a kind of negative voice; and that the three eſtates propoſe and promulgate the laws.

Every year, at the concluſion of the aſſembly of the three eſtates of Neuchatel; thoſe of Vallengin, as conſtituting the ſupreme court of judicature for that country, meet at Vallengin, and decide finally all appeals from the inferior courts of juſtice. The *firſt* of theſe three eſtates is formed by the ſame four noble and ſenior counſellors of ſtate, who ſit in the firſt of the three eſtates of Neuchatel; the *ſecond* by four mayors of the county of Vallengin; and the *third* by four members of the court of juſtice of Vallengin, nominated by the mayor of Vallengin. The governor, or, in his abſence, the ſenior counſellor, preſides, as in thoſe of Neuchatel. The three eſtates of Vallengin have no interference in any act of legiſlation: the laws which have been framed or amended at Neuchatel, in the manner abovementioned, being ſimply remitted to them by the ſolicitor-general, and publickly read before them.

The people of Vallengin aſſemble every three years in an open plain, in order to elect their three *maſter-burghers*, who are reſpectively choſen from the inhabitants of the burgh of Vallengin, of the Val de Ruz, and of the mountains. The function of theſe maſter-burghers is to watch over the general intereſts of the people: they are alſo in

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ſome caſes deputed to Neuchatel by the people, whenever they are ſummoned by the governor and council of ſtate, in relation to any affair which particularly concerns their country.

The principality of Neuchatel and Vallengin is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, each of which has its criminal court of juſtice. The great circumſpection obſerved in the judicial proceedings, may ſometimes favour the eſcape of the criminal: but the few inſtances of atrocious crimes, prove that this humane caution is no encouragement to tranſgreſſors; and is a ſtrong preſumption of the general good morals which prevail among the people. In a word, perſonal liberty is almoſt as tenderly and as ſecurely protected by the laws of this country, as by thoſe of our own invaluable conſtitution.

When the criminal is arreſted, he is immediately brought to trial: after which, the ſentence is read to him in priſon. The next morning he again appears before the judges, aſſembled in the *open air*; the former proceedings on the trial are read, and the judges once more deliver their opinion. In capital ſentences, the governor is inſtantly acquainted with the circumſtances of the crime: and if he does not remit or ſoften the puniſhment, the ſentence is immediately executed. I am concerned to add, that *torture* (though ſeldom uſed) is not abſolutely aboliſhed.

Such are the general outlines of this remarkable conſtitution, by which the liberties of the people are as well, and perhaps better, ſecured than even in the democratical cantons; for, although the moſt deſpotic prince in Germany is ſovereign, his power is exceedingly limited.

Among

Among the ſtriking circumſtances which characteriſe this government, muſt be mentioned the very liberal encouragement given to ſtrangers, who ſettle in the country. They enjoy every poſſible privilege of trade and commerce; and in no ſtate are fewer eſſential diſtinctions made between ſtrangers and natives. I have already obſerved to you, the good effects of this enlarged policy on the population of Neuchatel and Vallengin: whereas a narrower and more contracted principle in ſome of the neighbouring Swiſs cantons, has occaſioned, and continues to occaſion, a very manifeſt decreaſe of inhabitants.

LETTER

LETTER 48.

Route from Pontarlier to Neuchatel—Valley of Travers—Anecdotes of Rouſſeau—Iſle of St. Peter, in the Lake of Bienne.

Neuchatel, October 1785.

I NOW write to you a ſecond time from Neuchatel, at the interval of nine years ſince the date of my former letters. On the preceding occaſion I went from Granſon to Neuchatel; to-day I came from Pontarlier, a ſmall town in Burgundy, which is the uſual route of thoſe who enter Switzerland on this ſide.

From Pontarlier I aſcended gently by the ſide of the Dou, here a ſmall rivulet bubbling in the vale, quitted that ſtream, and paſſed under a bold rock, on which ſtands the caſtle of Joux forming a picturesque landſcape. This caſtle has a garriſon

a garriſon of invalids, and commands the narrow valley leading into Burgundy. Near it the road is divided into two branches; one leads directly to Joigne, and the other to Neuchatel. In about two hours we obſerved a ſtone, which ſeparates France from the county of Neuchatel. Soon afterwards we mounted an eminence, looked down upon the beautiful valley of Travers; deſcended to a narrow paſs, which is guarded by a chain faſtened to the rock, bearing the date of 1722. Hiſtory, however, makes mention of this paſs, and of a ſimilar chain, at a much earlier period; particularly in 1476, when Charles the Bold, having ineffectually attempted to force it, marched with his army to Joigne, and beſieged Granſon, where he was defeated.

Having deſcended to St. Sulpice, I viſited the ſource of the Reus, which iſſues at the foot of a rock in five copious ſprings, that form a large body of water, and turn ſeveral mills. I was accompanied to this picturesque ſpot by an inhabitant of Fleurier a neighbouring village: ſpeaking of the increaſe of induſtry in theſe parts, he informed me, that about thirty years ago Fleurier contained only three watchmakers, whereas at preſent above a hundred were ſettled in that place. He added, that notwithſtanding the conſtant influx of ſtrangers, hands were ſtill wanting for the numerous trades, which are carried on with great ſucceſs in theſe parts.

I continued along the high road leading to Neuchatel, through the beautiful and romantic valley of Travers, watered by the Reus, abounding in the moſt fertile paſtures, bordered by hills gently riſing from the banks of the river, and

beautifully ſprinkled with wood. I travelled through many neat villages, particularly Bourvereſſe, Couvet, Travers which gives its name to the whole valley; and Noirague, where I quitted the valley, and entered a narrow paſs called *Cluſette*. From hence the road traverſes an abrupt and woody country along the ſides of precipices, the Reus rolling beneath in a deep channel. At the ſmall village of Brot, a pleaſing view of the lake of Neuchatel and the adjacent country opened gradually, as I deſcended, and joined the road leading from Granſon to Neuchatel.

I did not quit the valley of Travers without paying a viſit to Moitier Travers, rendered memorable by the reſidence of Rouſſeau, who being, in 1762, driven firſt from Geneva, afterwards from Yverdun by the government of Berne, found a refuge from civil and theological perſecution in this ſecluded valley, under the protection of Lord Keith, governor of Neuchatel. The dwelling-houſe of this ſingular man, is a ſmall wooden building at the further extremity of the village, near the road which leads to Fleurier, and is now occupied by Mr. Martinet, mayor of the valley, a ſenſible old gentleman, who lived in habits of great intimacy with the philoſopher of Geneva.

The room chiefly occupied by Rouſſeau is a ſmall bed-chamber, which, out of reſpect to his memory, is left in the ſame ſtate as when he lived there. In a corner near the window, he had made a kind of receſs formed by two book-caſes, and a ſimple deal plank which reached from one book-caſe to the other, and on which he

he was accuſtomed to write. Rouſſeau admitted company into this room; but into this receſs he ſuffered no one to enter, from a ſuſpicion, that they would overlook his papers when he was writing. He uſed alſo to frequent a ſmall open gallery in the front of the houſe, the extremities whereof he had encloſed with planks, in which were peep-holes for the purpoſe of reconnoitring thoſe perſons who came to viſit him, that he might give his orders whether they ſhould be admitted or refuſed. Here he walked and read.

During his reſidence at Moitier, from 1762 to 1765, by frequently ſauntering into the fields and neighbouring mountains, he acquired a taſte for the ſtudy of botany, which he never intermitted, and which he always ſtyled his peculiar delight. During this period of his life, he iſſued from this ſecluded corner his *Lettre à l'Archeveque de Paris*, his *Lettres ecrites de la Montagne*, and ſome other works; in which he diſplays thoſe wonderful powers of invention and deſcription, that faſcinating yet declamatory eloquence, that glow and animation of ſtyle, that fondneſs for paradoxes, that reverence for the ſcriptures and yet thoſe perverſe doubts of their authenticity, thoſe liberal yet levelling principles of government, that keenneſs of irony, and that motley mixture of ſophiſtry and arguments, which checker and characteriſe all his writings.

Rouſſeau, on his arrival at Moitier appeared in a common dreſs, but ſoon afterwards aſſumed an Armenian habit; either, as he himſelf alleged, becauſe that mode of clothing was adapted to the diſorder with which he was afflicted;

or from that affectation of ſingularity, which ſeems to have marked his character, in every period of his life. Through Lord Keith's interceſſion, the king of Pruſſia offered to Rouſſeau a penſion of £. 100 per annum, which he declined, from his averſion to the leaſt ſhadow of dependence; preferring to copy muſic for his livelihood, rather than to accept an obligation even from ſo great a ſovereign; and he uſed to boaſt, that he could daily earn a guinea by that occupation.

Rouſſeau took his repaſts uſually alone; though he would ſometimes, but very rarely, accept an invitation from M. Martinet to dinner or ſupper; and particulary when Lord Keith paſſed a week at Moitier Travers for the purpoſe of viſiting him. On theſe occaſions he was remarkably agreeable and lively; being naturally of a ſocial diſpoſition, he converſed with great ſpirit and animation, and yet with as much correctneſs, as if he was dictating for the preſs.

Rouſſeau ſeems to have truſted entirely to his own judgment; being ſo impatient of contradiction, that he would never liſten to the admonition of his friends, and ſeldom aſked advice with an intention of adopting it. Having finiſhed his celebrated Letter to the Archbiſhop of Paris, he read it to a perſon, from whom I received the anecdote, and demanded his advice relative to its publication. The perſon, though ſtruck with the fire and ſpirit of the raillery, yet could not avoid repreſenting to him, that his letter, however forcibly writen, would never make a convert of the Archbiſhop; that he

he would only be entangled in endleſs controverſies, and draw upon himſelf much obloquy and ill-will. "Your advice, returned Rouſſeau calmly, is a little too late; it is already publiſhed:" and immediately preſented to him a printed copy of a letter, which he had juſt read to him in manuſcript.

He derived from nature an extreme ſenſibility which bordered upon weakneſs; he ſeems to have wanted one proof of a great mind, that of receiving an obligation, and to have poſſeſſed ſuch pride and foreneſs of temper as rendered it impoſſible to ſerve him; for he frequently conſtrued a benefit into an injury. His extreme ſenſibility was irritated and augmented by a troubleſome and painful diſorder, which preyed upon his conſtitution, and at times rendered him unfit for ſociety. And to this complaint, in conjunction with that mercileſs perſecution which he repeatedly endured, ſhould be attributed in a great meaſure the recluſeneſs of his life, and that ſuſpicious miſtruſt which occaſionally bordered upon madneſs.

Rouſſeau had now continued three years at Moitier, greatly delighted with his ſituation, when an unexpected event induced him to quit a retreat, in which he wiſhed to paſs the remainder of his days. This event has been variouſly related. Some authors aſſert, that the populace, incited by the miniſter of the pariſh, in conſequence of the ſcepticiſm diſplayed in his *Lettres Ecrites de la Montagne*, aſſembled in crouds, broke the windows of his houſe, forced open the door, and entering his bed-chamber, treated him with ſuch violence, that he eſcaped with difficulty;

ty; and, not to become a martyr to his opinions, quitted the country. Others on the contrary maintain, that neither the miniſter nor the natives were exaſperated againſt him; that his houſekeeper, the ſame perſon whom he afterwards married, diſguſted with the inhabitants, broke the windows, and perſuading her maſter, that he was in danger of being, aſſaſſinated, ſo worked upon his apprehenſions, that he quitted Moitier the next morning; and as a proof of this aſſertion, they affirm, that one of the ſtones found in the apartment was too large to have paſſed through the broken panes of glaſs.

The truth, however, ſeems to be, that his pride and ſuſpicious temper had rendered him obnoxious to many of the inhabitants; that the ſcepticiſm and infidelity of his religious opinions, in his *Lettres Ecrites de la Montagne*, had raiſed a party againſt him; that ſome of the people would occaſionally inſult him; that the miniſter of the pariſh ſummoned him before the conſiſtory; that he declined appearing; that the council of ſtate at Neuchatel had propoſed condemning the abovementioned publication, and had even applied to the king of Pruſſia for that purpoſe. Frederic, in an anſwer, which does honour to his head and his heart, while he permitted them to uſe any precautions which might tend to prevent the ſpreading of ſceptical opinions, yet wiſely forbade all perſecution, and enſured to Rouſſeau a ſecure retreat at Moitier under his immediate protection. Before this anſwer was returned, ſome of the populace, intoxicated with liquor, threw ſtones againſt Rouſſeau's windows with ſuch violence as to penetrate into the kitchen,

chen, and to tear off the plaiſter from the walls; but it is certain that none of theſe ſtones did, or could, enter his bed-chamber, as that apartment was ſituated on the other ſide of the houſe. This violence, however, exaggerated by the real or pretended terrors of his houſekeeper, was ſufficient to alarm Rouſſeau: on the next morning he retired from Moitier, and took refuge in the iſland of St. Peter.

The iſland of St. Peter, ſometimes called the iſland of La Motte, and ſometimes Rouſſeau's iſland, lies towards the ſouthern extremity of the lake of Bienne. To this delightful ſpot I made an agreeable excurſion on the fourth of October 1786, in company with the Rev. M. de Meuron, of Neuchatel, and three Engliſh gentlemen. We quitted Neuchatel in the morning; paſſed through St. Blaiſe and the diſtrict of Landeron, and embarked at Neuville, a ſmall town, which, like Bienne, acknowledges the biſhop of Baſle for its liege lord, but poſſeſſes ſuch rights and immunities as render it an independent republic. It contains about twelve hundred inhabitants. The fine weather, and the clearneſs of the air, enabled us to enjoy the mild beauties of the view as we ſailed to the iſland. To the ſouth-weſt we diſcerned Neuville and its antient caſtle, and to the ſouth-eaſt we admired the Julimont, an inſulated hill adorned with woods of oak, the ſummit of which is frequently viſited by travellers for the beauty of the proſpect; and its name has been derived by fanciful antiquaries from Julius Cæſar. At the extremity of a rocky and woody promontory, which ſtretches from the foot of the Julimont into the lake, ſtands the caſtle

caſtle of Cerlier, and beyond, at ſome diſtance, the fertile plains watered by the Thiele.

We landed on the ſouth ſide of St. Peter's iſland, and walked through an agreeable meadow ſkirted with vineyards to a large farm-houſe, which was formerly a convent *, and is now inhabited by the ſteward of the general hoſpital at Berne, to which the iſland belongs.

The iſland is about two miles in circumference, and richly wooded with various ſhrubs and trees, particularly with large oaks, beech, and Spaniſh cheſnuts. Its ſurface is gently undulating; the ſouthern ſhore, covered with herbage, forms a gradual ſlope to the lake; the remaining borders are ſteep and rocky: in a few places their ſummits are thinly fringed with ſhrubs; in others their perpendicular ſides are clothed to the water's edge with hanging woods. The views from the different parts of the iſland are beuutiful and diverſified; that to the north is the moſt extenſive and pleaſing. It commands the lake of Bienne, which is of an oval form; its cultivated borders ſpotted with villages and caſtles, with the towns of Nidau and Bienne ſtanding on the farther extremity. Agreeable walks are carried through the woods, and terminate at a circular pavilion placed in the center of the iſland. During vintage particularly, and on Sunday, which is the uſual day of feſtivity, the iſland is filled with parties who take refreſhments at the farm-houſe, ſtray about the woods, or dance in the circular buildings, and animate theſe romantic but ſolitary ſcenes.

Rouſſeau

* It was ſeculariſed at the reformation.

Rouſſeau occupied an apartment in the farm-houſe, the only dwelling in the iſland. He lived with the ſteward and his family, who are the preſent inhabitants. The woman informed me, that he paid for his board and lodging forty ſhillings a month, that he uſually roſe at ſix, dined with the family at twelve, and after a ſlight ſupper retired to reſt at nine. She added, that he was extremely cheerful and agreeable; converſed with the family with the greateſt eaſe and complacency, and conformed to their hours and manner of living; that he amuſed himſelf entirely in wandering about the woods, and ſearching for plants, which he uſed to explain to them with ſingular ſatisfaction. Rouſſeau mentions his reſidence in this delightful iſland with the higheſt terms of rapture, and his uſual proneneſs to exaggeration.

" I was permitted to remain only two months in this delightful iſland; but I could have paſſed there two years, two centuries, all eternity without ſuffering a moment's *ennui*, although my whole ſociety conſiſted of the ſteward and family, good but plain people. I eſteem theſe two months as the moſt happy period of my life; and ſo happy that I could have paſſed my whole exiſtence without even a momentary wiſh for another ſituation *."

If we examine in what this *extreme* happineſs conſiſted; he himſelf informs us, that his principal occupation was in *doing nothing*. He did not even unpack his books, and could ſcarcely prevail on himſelf to read, much leſs to anſwer any letters. He aſſiſted the ſteward and his ſervants

* See Promenade V.

vants at work in the vineyards and fields; ſauntered about the woods, and gave himſelf up entirely to botany. He propoſed to write a *Flora Petrinſularis*, or a deſcription of the plants in the iſland; adding on this head, that as a German had publiſhed a book on the kernel of a lemon, in the ſame manner he would compoſe a treatiſe on each ſpecies of graſs, moſs, and lichen; and that he would not leave the moſt minute particle of vegetation undeſcribed. He made occaſional excurſions on the lake, ſometimes coaſting the ſhady banks of the iſland; at other times ſuffering the bark to float without direction into the middle of the lake: then, to uſe his own expreſſions, "he would lie down in the boat, look up to the heavens, and continue in that poſture for ſeveral hours, enjoying a thouſand unconnected and confuſed, but delicious, reveries." He frequently rowed to a ſmall ſandy iſland, which he deſcribes as a moſt beautiful ſpot. It was one of his great amuſements to people this little iſland with rabbits; and as he was conveying, with *great pomp*, the ſteward's family to be preſent at the foundation of this little colony, he deſcribes himſelf as *equally elated with the pilot of the Argonautic expedition.*

From theſe ſimple avocations and *every day* occurrences, which Rouſſeau relates with that enthuſiaſm and thoſe ſentiments peculiar to himſelf, he drans the following ſublime morality.

"I have remarked, during the viciſſitudes of a long life, that the moſt delightful enjoyments and moſt rapturous pleaſures, are not, upon recollection, thoſe with which I am moſt affected. Such fleeting moments of paſſion and delirium, however

however rapturous, are, from their very nature, but thinly ſcattered in the path of life. They are too rare and rapid to conſtitute a fixed ſtate; and the happineſs which my heart regrets, is not compoſed of fugitive inſtants, but conſiſts in a ſimple and permanent ſtate, without rapture, the duration of which increaſes the charm, till it finds ſupreme felicity."

This ſtate he deſcribes himſelf as poſſeſſing during his ſhort continuance in the iſland of Bienne; a longer reſidence would probably have diſſolved the charm, which was raiſed by his own heated imagination. That reſtleſſneſs of temper, which is uſually the attendant of great genius, and which was his inſeparable companion, would have probably returned, and embittered the delightful calm which he deſcribes with ſuch rapture and exſtacy. But he had not time to become diſguſted with his ſituation: for the ſame intolerant ſpirit which had hitherto purſued him, followed him even to this ſequeſtered iſland; and he had ſcarcely paſſed two months, before he received an order from the government of Berne to depart from their territories. Rouſſeau was ſo ſhocked at this unexpected command, that he petitioned to be impriſoned for life, only requeſting the uſe of a few books, and that he might be occaſionally permitted to walk in the open air. Soon after this extraordinary requeſt, which ſhews the extreme agitation of his mind, and which cannot but intereſt every feeling mind, he reluctantly quitted the iſland. It does not fall within the compaſs of a letter to dwell upon this ſingular man through the ſubſequent events of his life, or even accompany him to England,

England, where, notwithſtanding the moſt diſtinguiſhed reception, the ſame perverſeneſs of diſpoſition, and the ſame exceſſive delicacy, rendered him no leſs unhappy, than when he was under the preſſure of real calamities, and expoſed to reiterated perſecutions.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 49.

Environs of Morat—Mount Vuilly.

IN our way to Morat and Avenches we croſſed the river Thiele, which iſſues from the lake of Neuchatel, diſcharges itſelf into that of Bienne, and ſeparates the principality of Neuchatel from the canton of Berne.

Morat is a bailliage belonging to Berne and Friburgh: the reformation was introduced in 1530, by the majority of voices, in preſence of deputies from Berne and Friburgh. The free ſpirit of the Swiſs governments is in no inſtance more remarkably apparent, than by the mode which they obſerved in embracing, or rejecting, the

the reformation; as, in many other towns beſide Morat, the queſtion was put to the vote; and the minority generally ſubmitted, with perfect acquieſcence, to the deciſion of the greater number.

Morat ſtands pleaſantly upon the edge of a ſmall lake, about ſix miles long, and two broad, in the midſt of a well-cultivated country. The lakes of Morat and Neuchatel are parallel to each other, and ſeparated only by a ridge of hills: the former is the moſt elevated; for, it diſcharges itſelf by means of the river Broye, into the latter. According to Mr. de Luc, the lake of Morat is fifteen French feet above the level of that of Neuchatel. Both theſe lakes, as well as that of Bienne, formerly extended much farther than their preſent limits: and, from the poſition of the country, appear to have been once united.

Mr. Pennant informs me, that "the vaſt fiſh called the *ſilurus glanis*, or the *ſaluth*, which frequents the lakes of Morat and Neuchatel, has not been caught here in the memory of man. It is well deſcribed, and finely engraven, in Doctor Bloch's Hiſtory of Fiſhes, vol. i. 194. tab. 34. In the time of Geſner two were taken, one of which was eight feet long; but they are ſometimes ſo large as to weigh ſix hundred pounds. It is an eel-ſhaped fiſh, very ſmooth, round and thick, and has a great head. The mouth is furniſhed with four ſhort, and two very long, whiſkers. It is very inactive and ſlow in its motions, and loves the deep and muddy parts of the lakes. They are found in many of the great freſh

freſh waters of Europe, and abundantly in the Volga.

On my ſubſequent expeditions into theſe parts, I examined with greater attention the environs of Morat, during ſeveral days, which I paſſed moſt agreeably at Coujouvaux, a ſeat belonging to the count of Dieſbach, and at Grens with M. de Garville, a French gentleman, who is ſo much attached to the beauties of this delightful country, that he has built a villa in a pleaſing ſituation near the banks of the lake of Morat, where he comes every year from Paris to paſs the ſummer. By theſe families I was received without any other introduction, than as being the author of the Letters on Switzerland, and with that frankneſs and cordiality ſo flattering to a ſtranger. I found the environs of Morat, though not ſo wild and romantic as many other parts of Switzerland, yet extremely deſirable for a conſtant reſidence.

I made ſeveral excurſions acroſs the lake, to an inſulated ridge between the lakes of Neuchatel and Morat, and enjoyed many delightful points of view. Of theſe various proſpects, the moſt remarkable is from the ſummit of Mount Vuilly, where I ſeated myſelf on the edge of an abrupt precipice. From thence I looked down upon the lakes of Bienne, Morat, and Neuchatel; obſerved the Broye entering the lake of Morat, iſſuing from thence and winding through a marſhy plain into the lake of Neuchatel; the Thiele flowing from the latter, and haſtening to fall into the lake of Bienne; the fertile and variegated countries encircling thoſe bodies of water; and the grounds riſing in regular gradations from plains to alps. But what renders this charming ſpot more particularly ſtriking is, that it is perhaps

haps the only central point from which the eye can at once comprehend the vaſt amphitheatre formed, on one ſide, by the Jura ſtretching from the environs of Geneva as far as Baſle, and, on the other, by that ſtupendous chain of ſnowy alps, which extends from the frontiers of Italy to the confines of Germany, and is loſt at each extremity in the boundleſs horizon.

Impreſſed with this ſublime view, I caſt my eyes downwards over that dead and extenſive moraſs through which the Broye ſerpentines; and cried out in the language of poetry, which knows how to animate the dulleſt objects:

Quittons les bois et les montagnes
*Je vois couler le Broye * à travers les roſeaux.*
Son onde partagée en differens canaux
S'egare avec plaiſir dans de vertes campagnes,
Et forme dans la plaine un labyrinthe d'eaux.
Riviere tranquille et cherie
Que j'aime a ſuivre tes détours!
Ton eau ſilencieuſe en ſon paiſible cours,
Preſente à mon eſprit l'image de la vie;
Elle ſemble immobile, et s'ecoule toujours.

* From a poem, entitled "*La vue d'Anet.*" I have followed the example of M. Sinner, in his Voy. Hiſt. et Pol. de la Suiſſe, who ſubſtitutes the Broye for the Thiele, to which the lines in the original are applied.

LETTER

LETTER 50.

Battle of Morat—War between the Swiſs and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy—Its Conſequences.

MORAT is celebrated for the obſtinate ſiege it ſuſtained againſt Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, which was followed by the battle of Morat, fought on the 22d of June 1476. In this famous engagement the duke was routed, and his whole army almoſt entirely deſtroyed, by the confederate troops of Switzerland. Not far from the town, and adjoining to the high road, a monument of this victory ſtill remains: it is a ſquare building, filled with the bones of

the Burgundian ſoldiers, who were ſlain at the ſiege and in the battle. To judge from the quantity of theſe bones, the number of the ſlaughtered muſt have been very conſiderable. Among ſeveral inſcriptions in the Latin and German languages, relative to that memorable victory, I tranſcribed the following on account of its conciſeneſs:

Deo Opt: Max:
Caroli Inclyti et Fortiſſimi
Burgundiæ Ducis Exercitus
Muratum obſidens ab Helvetiis
Cæſus hoc ſui Monumentum reliquit.
Ann: 1476.

This war, which Charles the Bold carried on againſt the Swiſs with a temerity peculiar to himſelf, forms a remarkable æra in the hiſtory of this country; and was attended with ſome very extraordinary circumſtances. From the time of the famous revolution in 1308, which gave riſe to the Helvetic confederacy, to the end of the following century, the Swiſs republics deprived the Houſe of Auſtria of all its territories ſituated in Switzerland; and continued in poſſeſſion, notwithſtanding the various attempts of the different dukes to recover their loſt domains. But of all the princes of that Houſe, Sigiſmond the ſimple, archduke of Auſtria of the branch of Tyrol, was more particularly engaged in hoſtilities with the Swiſs cantons, and their allies: for, his hereditary dominions in Suabia and Alſace bordering upon Switzerland, induced him to enter more frequently into theſe diſputes, than

than the other branch, which was in poſſeſſion of the imperial throne.

In the courſe of theſe hoſtilities, Sigiſmond was compelled to cede a conſiderable part of his territories to the Swiſs republics; particularly the rich country of Thurgau to the ſeven cantons, which at that period compoſed the Helvetic league *. Inflamed by theſe repeated loſſes, and the humiliating conditions of peace he was conſtrained to accept in 1468, he endeavoured to engage ſome of the neighbouring powers in a confederacy againſt the Swiſs cantons. Having firſt ineffectually applied to Louis the Eleventh king of France, he at length addreſſed himſelf to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.

Charles having ſucceeded to the poſſeſſion of Franche Comté, Burgundy, Artois, and Flanders, together with the greateſt part of the United Provinces; poſſeſſed as ample revenues, and extenſive territories, as the moſt potent ſovereign of his time. Magnificent, impetuous, and enterpriſing, he neglected no opportunity of aggrandiſing his power, and ſet no bounds to the projects of his reſtleſs ambition. He had formed the plan of erecting Burgundy into a monarchy; and had already in imagination appropriated to himſelf Lorraine and part of Switzerland; which he propoſed to annex by conqueſt to his hereditary dominions.

A prince of ſuch a character being naturally well diſpoſed to liſten to any overtures, or to undertake any war, that might advance his ambitious ſchemes, received with eagerneſs the pro-

 poſitions

* Berne obtained the co regency of Thurgau at the peace of Arau, 1712.

poſitions of Sigiſmond; he flattered that credulous prince with the hopes of receiving in marriage his daughter Mary, heireſs of his extenſive dominions; and prevailed upon him, by the loan of eighty thouſand florins, to ſurrender Sundau, Alſace, Briſgau, and the four Foreſt-towns; promiſing, upon the repayment of that ſum, to reſtore the ſaid provinces.

By this alliance, Sigiſmond acquired a ſum of money to aſſiſt him in his preparations againſt the Swiſs; protected, as he thought, his hereditary dominions from their enterpriſes; and ſecured a powerful ally againſt the antient enemies of his family. The reverſe, however, proved to be the event: for, by a ſtrange fatality, this league, which was intended to cement the union of the two princes, ſerved only to divide them; and occaſioned the firſt perpetual alliance between the Swiſs cantons and a prince of the Houſe of Auſtria.

Charles, upon the concluſion of this treaty, informed the cantons, that he had taken Sigiſmond under his protection, and would defend him to the utmoſt of his power. Meanwhile, the bailifs, whom he placed over his newly acquired territories in Alſace, oppreſſed the people; laid embargoes upon the commerce of Mulhauſen, a confederate of the cantons; and withheld the rents of the eſtates belonging to the Swiſs in Sundgau and Alſace.

Theſe grievances being laid before Charles in an embaſſy, which Berne diſpatched to his court in the name of the confederate cantons, the duke received it with haughtineſs; and after compelling the deputies to kneel while they delivered their

their remonſtrance, diſmiſſed them without an anſwer. This diſdainful and ignominious treatment was ill brooked by a free people, unaccuſtomed to crouch before the inſolence of power; and the warmth of their juſt indignation was ſtill more inflamed by the artful policy of Louis the Eleventh, who, jealous of the duke of Burgundy's power, entered into a defenſive alliance with the Swiſs republics, in order to counteract the deſigns of that ambitious prince.

But Louis ſtill further ſtrengthened the Swiſs, by effecting a reconciliation between them and Sigiſmond. The latter had no ſooner ſurrendered to Charles Sundgau, Alſace, and the other dominions, than he began to be ſenſible of his error. The duke of Burgundy not only oppreſſed his new ſubjects, but ſeemed determined, even ſhould the eighty thouſand florins be repaid, to keep poſſeſſion of theſe conditional territories, and did not appear inclined to fulfil the promiſe of beſtowing his daughter upon the archduke. From theſe conſiderations, Sigiſmond, induced through the mediation of Louis, to throw himſelf under the protection of the Swiſs, concluded the famous treaty, which was confirmed at Lucerne in 1474, and is called the *hereditary union*; an appellation appropriated to the treaties between the Swiſs and the Houſe of Auſtria. Sigiſmond renounced all right to the provinces which the Swiſs had conquered from the Houſe of Auſtria: the two contracting parties formed a defenſive alliance; and engaged to guarantee reciprocally each other's territories. Thus the Swiſs, after having deprived Sigiſmond of all his poſſeſſions in their country, engaged to ſupport his title to theſe

very

very provinces, which he had mortgaged in order to ſtrengthen his arms againſt themſelves; and Sigiſmond accepted a guarantee from the moſt inveterate enemies of his family.

This treaty, which entirely changed the policy of the Swiſs republics, was ſolely contrived by the artful intrigues of Louis the Eleventh: the jealouſy of that deſigning monarch turned into another channel the vaſt preparations of the duke of Burgundy; preparations which would probably have been attended with more ſucceſs, had they been directed againſt France.

Charles too late perceiving the imprudence of his conduct towards the Swiſs republics, in vain exerted all his efforts to engage them in a neutrality. They rejected his propoſals of reconciliation with firmneſs; prepared, with their uſual vigour, for war, which now appeared inevitable: and even advanced the eighty thouſand florins to Sigiſmond, who demanded the reſtitution of his lands, which the duke of Burgundy evaded under various pretexts. The latter having concluded a ſeparate peace with Louis, turned his whole force againſt the Swiſs, entered their country with an army of ſixty thouſand men; and, laying ſiege to Granſon, carried it by aſſault. But his ſucceſs ended there: for, at the ſubſequent battles of Granſon and Morat, he was totally defeated, and his attempts upon Switzerland entirely fruſtrated *. Neverthleſs, his reſtleſs

* Charles entered Switzerland confident of ſubduing that country. The effect which this unexpected and humiliating diſappointment had upon his ſpirits and conſtitution, is related by Philip de Comines, with his uſual minuteneſs, in his

leſs and ambitious ſpirit ſtill unſubdued, impelled him to attack the duke of Lorraine. But that prince, having engaged in his pay a body of eight thouſand Swiſs, obtained a complete victory, near Nancy, over Charles, who was ſlain in the engagement †.

His

his Memoirs addreſſed to Angelo Cattho, archbiſhop of Vienna in Dauphine. His account is curious, and will give ſome idea of the violent and impetuous character of Charles:

"His concern and diſtraction for his firſt defeat at Granſon "was ſo great, and made ſuch deep impreſſion on his ſpirits, "that it threw him into a violent and dangerous fit of ſickneſs: "for, whereas before, his choler and natural heat was ſo "great that he drank no wine, only in the morning he took "a little ptiſane, ſweetened with conſerve of roſes to refreſh "himſelf: this ſudden melancholy had ſo altered his conſtitu-"tion, he was now forced to drink the ſtrongeſt wine that could "be got, without any water. And, in order to draw the "blood from his heart, ſome burning tow was put into the cup-"ping-glaſſes, and applied to his ſide. But this, my lord of "Vienna, you know better than I; for, your lordſhip attended "on him during the whole courſe of his illneſs, and ſpared no "pains that might contribute to his recovery: and it was by "your perſuaſion that the duke was prevailed upon to cut "his beard, which was of a prodigious length. In my "opinion his underſtanding was never ſo perfect, nor his "ſenſes ſo ſedate and compoſed, after this fit of ſickneſs, as "before."

Uvedale's Tranſ. Vol. I. p. 423.

† The death of Charles at the battle of Nancy, was attended with ſome very extraordinary circumſtances; for the particulars of which, ſee the curious account, extracted from Philip de Comines, and the Chronique Scandaleuſe of John de Troye, in Wraxal's intereſting Memoirs of the Kings of France of the Houſe of Valois.

His death terminated this bloody war; in which the Swiſs gave the moſt diſtinguiſhing proofs of invincible valour, and ſpread the fame of their military virtues throughout all Europe, but from which they obtained no ſolid advantage *. In fact, the principal and almoſt ſole benefit accrued to Louis the Eleventh; as by the death of Charles, he not only was releaſed from a dangerous and enterpriſing rival, but alſo annexed the rich provinces of Burgundy and Artois to the crown of France.

But, although the immediate advantages which the Swiſs derived from the death of Charles, were unimportant: yet the conſequences operated very conſiderably on their future politics. Mary of Burgundy, the only ſurviving child and heireſs of Charles, married the archduke Maximilian, eldeſt ſon of the emperor Frederic the Third, and afterwards emperor himſelf. By this marriage the Houſe of Auſtria acquired poſſeſſion of

* "And what," ſays Comines, "was the occaſion of this "war? It was begun on account of a waggon of ſheep ſkins "which the lord of Romont took from a Swiſs, who was paſſing "through his territorries. If God had not abandoned the duke, "it is not probable, that he would have put himſelf into ſo "much danger for ſo trifling a circumſtance; conſidering the "offers that were made to him; againſt what ſort of people "he was engaged; and from whence neither profit nor glory "could accrue to him. For, the Swiſs were not in ſuch re-"pute, as they are in at preſent, and nothing could be poorer: "inſomuch that one of their ambaſſadors, as he was endea-"vouring to prevent the duke from engaging in that war, re-"monſtrated; that he could gain nothing by attacking them: "for, their country was ſo barren, that the ſpurs of his troops "and the bits of their horſes were worth more, than could be "furniſhed by all the Swiſs territories, in caſe they were con-"quered."

of the Netherlands; and having frequent diſputes with France, the alliance of the Swiſs was ſtrenuouſly courted by both parties. Thus this country, being ſecured from all invaſions, acceded as occaſion offered to the two rival powers; and aſſiſted each party by turns, as the intrigues, or rather as the ſubſidies, of the one or the other prevailed.

Theſe intrigues gave riſe to different alliances, contracted with the Houſe of Auſtria, the kings of France, the pope, and the dukes of Savoy and Milan.——But, not to enter more minutely into their hiſtory, I will only obſerve in general, that hitherto the Swiſs had acted with great diſintereſtedneſs in all their treaties, and had never taken the field but either to ſecure their liberties, or to drive their enemies from Switzerland. It was about the period of the Burgundian war, that the ſubſidies which they obtained from Louis the Eleventh, taught them the diſgraceful arts of mercenary politics; as the rich plunder which they took from the duke of Burgundy gave, in ſome meaſure, the firſt taint to their original ſimplicity of manners; till at length, *Swiſs venality* has become a proverbial expreſſion.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 51.

Antiquities of Avenches.

FEW antient towns have occaſioned more controverſy among antiquarians, or given riſe to ſuch a variety of conjectures concerning its origin and importance, as Avenches, the principal burgh of a bailliage in the Pays de Vaud. Some contend that it was the capital of all Helvetia; becauſe Tacitus calls it *Aventicum gentis caput:* while others have endeavoured to prove, that by this expreſſion the hiſtorian intended only to denote the capital town of its particular diſtrict. Agreeably to ſome accounts, the city was built, and a Roman colony founded, by Veſpaſian:

paſian: with more probability, according to others, it was only repaired and beautified by that emperor, after it had been laid waſte, and almoſt ruined, by Vitellius.

Without entering however into dry and unintereſting diſcuſſions, it was formerly a very conſiderable town, and under the dominion of the Romans; as appears not only from ſeveral mileſtones, found in many parts of the Pays de Vaud, moſt of which are numbered from *Aventicum*, as the principal place of reference; but more particularly from the preſent ruins. I ſhall ſlightly mention a few of theſe ruins, merely to ſhew you, that the inhabitants do not boaſt of their antiquity without ſufficient evidence.

We traced the ſite of the antient walls, which appear to have encloſed a ſpace near five miles in circumference. The preſent town occupies but a very inconſiderable part of this ground; the remainder is covered with corn-fields and meadows. One of the antient towers ſtill exiſts: it is a ſemicircular building, with the convex ſide turned towards the town.

We next examined a coarſe moſaic pavement diſcovered ſome years ago in ploughing a field. Being now encloſed by a barn, which is let to ſome peaſants, the ignorant occpiers are taking the moſt effectual method to deſtroy it, by employing it as a drying-houſe for tobacco, and by ſuffering ſtrangers to take away ſpecimens. Even the government of Berne was ſo inſenſible of its value, that they permitted the count of Caylus to remove a pannel, containing the figures of two Bacchanalians.

This

This moſaic was the floor of an antient bath, and is about ſixty feet in length and forty in breadth: the general form is perfect; and, although ſeveral parts are broken and loſt, yet from the preſent remains the configuration of the whole may be eaſily traced.

The pavement conſiſts of three compartments: thoſe at each extremity are regularly divided into fifteen octagons, eight ſmall ſquares, and ſixteen ſmall triangles. Five of theſe octagons in each compartment, repreſented human figures in various attitudes, but chiefly Bacchanalian men and women: the remaining octagons were compoſed of three different patterns. The vacant parts between the octagons are filled with the ſmall ſquares; and towards the outward border, with the ſmall triangles. The middle compartment is divided into oblong pannels; in the largeſt of which is an octagon bath of white marble, about ſix feet in diameter, and a foot and a half deep: the ſides of the bath are ornamented with dolphins. Of theſe three compartments, one is almoſt perfect; the others are very much defaced. Each of the pannels is encircled with ſeveral borders prettily diverſified; and a general border encloſes the whole.

Schmidt, in his *Recueil d'Antiquités de la Suiſſe*, ingeniouſly conjectures, from a *glory* which ſurrounds a head of Bacchus in this moſaic, that it was wrought during ſome part of the intervening age between Veſpaſian and Marcus Aurelius; becauſe that mark of divinity is not uſual upon any monuments of Roman antiquity prior to that period. He adds, that the ſame kind of *glory* is obſerved upon the head of Trajan in an antient painting

painting at Rome; upon that of Antoninus Pius on a medal; and on the arch of Conſtantine*. He ſtrengthens this conjecture, by further remarking, that the head-dreſs of a Bacchanalian woman repreſented in this moſaic, reſembles the head-dreſs on the medals of the empreſſes Plotina and Sabina †.

From thence we were conducted to the ruins of an antient amphitheatre, within the walls of the bailif's garden. The general form and ſize of this building are tolerably perfect, as alſo parts of the brick walls which encloſed it. The diameter of the arena was, as well as we could judge by pacing it, about eighty yards: which muſt neceſſarily have been an uncertain eſtimate: as a former bailif brought in a conſiderable quantity of earth, in order to plant fruit-trees; conceiving, I ſuppoſe, that good fruit was of more value, than to be able to determine the preciſe extent of an antient amphitheatre. Under a tower, partly built of Roman materials, is a cell in which the animals were probably let looſe upon the arena. On the outſide are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of five dens: and the walls are adorned with ſeveral pieces of rude ſculpture conſiderably defaced.

Not far from theſe ruins ſtands a large column of white marble, about fifty feet in height, compoſed of large maſſes, nicely joined together without

* The arch of Conſtantine at Rome being partly formed from the Forum of Trajan, the architect improperly tranſferred the figures. This circumſtance accounts for the *glory* obſerved round the head of Trajan, on the arch of Conſtantine, which has been ſuppoſed to have repreſented the head of Conſtantine.

† The curious reader will find in the *Recueil*, cited in the text, a very accurate deſcription and engraving of this moſaic.

without cement; and near it lies a conſiderable fragment of defaced ſculpture, which ſeems to have once formed part of the portal belonging to a magnificent temple. At a ſmall diſtance from this column, in the high road, we obſerved a cornice of white marble, ſculptured with urns and griffins. As we walked through the town, we remarked ſeveral other maſſes of cornice, ornamented with ſea-horſes and urns; and ſome marble columns of beautiful proportions.

About a mile from Avenches, near the village of Coppet, on the other ſide of a little ſtream, which ſeparates the canton of Friburgh from that of Berne, are the remains of a ſmall aqueduct. They were diſcovered about fifteen years ago, by the accidental falling of a ſand-hill which covered the aqueduct. The outſide is formed of ſtones and mortar, and the inſide of red Roman cement; the vault of the arch may be about two feet and a half high, and one and a half broad. This aqueduct has been traced to the eaſt-ſide of the town, and alſo to near the marble column before mentioned. We were alſo informed that it extends to the tower of Gauſa, between Vevay and Lauſanne; and that, between Villarſel and Marnau, about four leagues from Coppet, an arch of nearly the ſame dimenſions is excavated in the ſolid rock. But whether theſe ſeveral parts actually communicated with each other, or indeed whether they really exiſt, are facts which, (having only viewed thoſe remains that are viſible near the town) I muſt be contented to reſt on the credit of my informers.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

When I viſited the ruins of Avenches in October 1786, I had much ſatisfaction in finding, that the bailif, Mr. Tcharner, paid great attention to theſe remains, and particularly to the moſaic. I could not avoid remarking to the bailif, who politely favoured us with his company; that every lover of antiquity muſt regret, his predeceſſors had not ſhewn the ſame taſte; as the ruins of Avenches would have been a greater object of curioſity. Several excavations had been lately made, at firſt by Lord Northampton, who has a houſe in the neighbourhood, and continued at the expence of Berne. A coarſe moſaic pavement, a few fragments of walls rudely painted, and ſome trifling remains of antient baths, are the only veſtiges of antiquity hitherto diſcovered.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 52.

Town and Canton of Friburgh—Population—Government—Secret Chamber.

FRIBURGH was built in 1179, by Berchtold the Fourth, duke of Zæringen, who endowed it with conſiderable privileges. Upon the extinction of the male line of the houſe of Zæringen, in 1218*, Ulric of Kyburgh obtained the ſovereignty,

* The houſe of Zæringen was deſcended from the antient counts of Alſace, by Berchtold count of Briſgau. His grandſon, Berchtold the Second, built the caſtle of Zæringen, ſituated near a village of the ſame name, not far from the preſent town of Friburgh, capital of the Briſgau. Upon the demiſe of Berchtold the Fifth, the laſt duke, without male iſſue, his territories were divided between his collateral heirs, the dukes of Teck, and his two ſiſters Agnes and Anne. Agnes married Egeno, count of Urach; by which marriage he obtained poſſeſſion of Friburgh in the Briſgau. his poſterity were called counts of Friburgh. Anne married Ulric, count of Kyburgh: their daughter Hedwige, was wife of Albert count of Habſburgh, and mother of the emperor Rodolph the Firſt.

reignty, in right of his wife Anne, ſiſter of the laſt duke Berchtold the Fifth. It came by marriage into the poſſeſſion of Eberhard count of Habſburgh-Lauffenburgh; who ſold it to his couſin Rhodolph of Habſburgh, afterwards emperor. During this period a continual rivalſhip ſubſiſting between Berne and Friburgh, they were frequently engaged in mutual hoſtilities: at length all differences were compoſed; and the two cities, in 1403, entered into a perpetual alliance.

Friburgh continued under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, and was concerned in all the quarrels in which that family was engaged with the Swiſs republics, until the middle of the fifteenth century; when, by a very ſingular revolution, it renounced all allegiance to the archduke Albert, and put itſelf under the protection of the duke of Savoy. From this æra it occaſionally aſſiſted the cantons againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and in the war between the Swiſs and Charles the Bold, its troops had a ſhare in the victories of Granſon and Morat. Soon after the battle of Morat, the houſe of Savoy, at the interceſſion of Berne, renouncing all right and title to the town of Friburgh, it became a free and independent republic; and, in 1481, was admitted, together with Soleure, a member of the Helvetic confederacy.

The ſituation of the town, though not one of the moſt beautiful, is certainly one of the moſt pictureſque and wild in Switzerland. It ſtands partly in a ſmall plain, partly on bold acclivities, on a ridge of rugged rocks, half encircled by the river Sane; and is ſo entirely concealed by the

circumjacent hills, that the traveller ſcarcely catches the ſmalleſt glimpſe, until he burſts upon a view of the whole town from the over-hanging eminence.

The fortifications, which conſiſt of high ſtone walls and towers, encloſe a circumference of about four miles; within which ſpace the eye comprehends a ſingular mixture of houſes, rocks, thickets, and meadows, varying inſtantly from wild to agreeable, from the buſtle of a town to the ſolitude of the deepeſt retirement. The Sane winds in ſuch a ſerpentine manner as to form in its courſe, within the ſpace of two miles, five obtuſe angles, between which the intervening parts of the current are parallel to each other.

On all ſides the deſcent to the town is extremely ſteep: in one place the ſtreets even paſs over the roofs of the houſes. Many of the edifices are raiſed in regular gradation like the ſeats of an amphitheatre: many overhang the edge of a precipice in ſuch a manner, that on looking down, a weak head would be apt to turn giddy; and an unfortunate lover, repulſed in his ſuit, might inſtantly put an end to his pains, by taking a leap from the parlour window, without the trouble of a journey to Leucate, or to the rocks of Meillerie.

But the moſt extraordinary point of view is from the Pont-neuf. To the north-weſt, part of the town ſtands boldly on the ſides and the piked back of an abrupt ridge; and from eaſt to weſt a ſemicircle of high perpendicular rocks is ſeen, whoſe baſe is waſhed and undermined by the winding Sane, and whoſe tops and ſides are thinly ſcattered with ſhrubs and underwood. On the

the higheſt point of the rock, and on the very edge of the precipice, appears, half-hanging in the air, the gate of the town called Bourguillon: a ſtranger ſtanding on the bridge would compare it to Laputa, or the Flying Iſland in Gulliver's Travels; and would not conceive it to be acceſſible but by means of a cord and pulleys. In the midſt of the river I obſerved a large fragment of ſtone, which a few years ago fell from the rocky heights, was carried under one of the arches, and in conjunction with other fragments ſtopped the current, raiſed it more than ten feet above its uſual level, threatening the lower parts of the town with a ſudden inundation.

A traveller fond of wild and romantic ſcenery will not fail to viſit the Moulin de la Motte, and the valley of Goteron. The Moulin de la Motte is a miller's dwelling, hollowed in the midſt of an impending rock; near it iſſues a ſmall torrent, which turning the mill, falls within a few paces into the Sane. This ſingular dwelling ſeems ſo far removed from "*the buſy hum of men*," as to be rather ſituated in a remote ſolitude, than within the walls of a fortified town. Near it there is an aſcent of four hundred ſteps to the Place des Fontaines, in the upper part of the town.

The valley of Goteron, which lies on the north-weſt of the town near the bridge leading to Berne, takes its name from the Goteron, a ſmall rivulet that runs through it, and turns ſeveral mills. This valley, extremely narrow and above two miles in length, is bounded on each ſide by high and overhanging rocks of ſandſtone. M. Vernet, the celebrated landſcape pain-

ter, is ſaid to have ſtudied theſe rocks with great attention; and frequently to have declared, that, excepting thoſe of Tivoli, he never ſaw any rocks whoſe varying tints had a more pleaſing and harmonious effect. The valley contains ſeveral mills; an iron foundery, where the ore brought from Franche Comté is forged; and a manufacture of printed linen and cotton, lately eſtabliſhed by ſome merchants of Neuchatel, under the protection and encouragement of government.

The houſes of Friburgh, conſtructed with a grey ſand-ſtone drawn from a neighbouring quarry, are neat and well-built; but the whole town has a dull and inanimate appearance.

Among the few objects worthy of particular notice in the town, are, the cathedral, an elegant Gothic edifice, erected in the latter end of the 14th century, and remarkable for the height and ſolidity of the tower; the town-houſe, an ancient building, which formerly compoſed part of the palace belonging to the dukes of Zæringen; and alſo a lime-tree, in the middle of the principal ſquare. Tradition reports that this tree was inſtantly planted by one of the ſoldiers, the 22d of June 1477, on his return from the battle of Morat: an emblem of Swiſs liberty, which took deep root on the memorable defeat of Charles the Bold; and thus remaining firm againſt the conflicts of time, has continued to ſpread and flouriſh, to the admiration and example of future ages.

The ſociety of Friburgh is extremely agreeable; the gentry are frank and hoſpitable, and blend French politeneſs with great ſimplicity of manners. Dinner is uſually ſerved at twelve; and

and ſupper ſeldom later than eight. I never experienced a more cordial reception in any town of Switzerland.

The biſhop of Lauſanne, called here the biſhop of Friburgh, reſides in this city. He is appointed by the pope, uſually at the recommendation of the French court; and his revenues, including a ſmall penſion from France, and from the abbey of Hauterive, of which he was abbot, amount to about 400l. *per ann.* His dioceſe extends over the whole canton, and part of that of Soleure. In all his acts and deeds he ſigns himſelf Biſhop and Count of Lauſanne, and Prince of the German empire.

The preſent biſhop, Bernhard of Lenzburgh, is a man of letters, and an honour to his profeſſion: he is employed in preparing for the public a biography of the illuſtrious and learned men born in the canton of Friburgh, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either in the civil, military, or literary line.

This canton is entirely catholic. Its population in 1785 may be eſtimated from the following table.

The town contained - - -	5,001
The environs - - -	15,500
The remainder of the Canton -	33,078
Abſentees - - -	4,000
Number of inhabitants -	57,589

The ſovereign power reſides in the Great Council of Two Hundred; comprizing the two Advoyers, the Chancellor, the Grand Sautier, the

the Senate, or Little Council of Twenty-four, the Sixty, from which body are chosen the banerets and principal magistrates, and the remaining hundred and twelve members, who are simply denominated Burghers.

The only persons capable of being elected members of this sovereign council, and of course enjoying any share in the government, are the *secret* burghers, or a certain number of families divided into four *bannieres*, or tribes of the town: they are called *secret* burghers, in order to distinguish them from the other citizens, partly inhabiting the town, and partly the twenty-four parishes in the environs. The latter enjoy the right of appointing the advoyers, from certain candidates proposed by the sixty, and of annually confirming the said magistrates. Hence many authors have called this government aristo-democratical, but erroneously; for, as the power of the people is confined to the act of choosing and confirming the two advoyers; and as the supreme authority absolutely resides in the council of two hundred, necessarily supplied by a limited number of patrician families, the government is, in the strictest sense, a mere aristocracy.

Instead of troubling you with an uninteresting detail of those points in which the government of Friburgh resembles that of the other aristocratical cantons, I shall confine myself to those peculiar circumstances by which it is discriminated from them. This difference may be principally said to consist in the three following articles:

1. The *blind ballot*, or mode by which several important offices are supplied, and particularly by

by which the members of the senate and the sixty are chosen. This mode of election was instituted in order to prevent venality; and is too singular not to be distinctly explained. The names of the candidates are placed privately in a box, containing as many partitions as there are persons who solicit the charge. Into each of these partitions the electors throw in their suffrages as chance directs, without knowing to whom they may happen to give their votes; and the candidate who has the most of these casual ballots is elected.

2. The clause which disables certain noble families from bearing the office of banneret, or from being chosen members of the *secret chamber*. These families are sixteen in number: some were acknowledged noble, even as early as the foundation of the republic; others successively obtained titles of counts and barons from the foreign princes to whom they were attached, and in whose armies they had served.

3. But the most remarkable circumstance which discriminates the constitution of Friburgh from that of the other aristocratical cantons, is a committee distinguished by the name of the *Secret Chamber*, which, though not any public or responsible part of administration, is yet the concealed spring that puts the wheels of government in motion. As the prerogatives and operation of this *secret chamber* are in general but little known, and still less understood; I flatter myself that it will not be uninteresting to lay before you a concise account of its origin and constitution.

The

The *ſecret chamber*, forming a part of the council of ſixty, is compoſed of the four bannerets, who are reciprocally choſen by the council of two hundred from the four tribes; and of twenty-four members, who are appointed by a majority of their own body: the former remain in office four years; the latter continue for life.

The *ſecret chamber* aſſembles ordinarily four times in the year, or oftner if occaſion requires: and is convoked by a banneret. The two principal meetings of this body are between the Sunday before St. John's day and the twenty-fourth of June; and uſually on the anniverſary of the battle of Morat, for the purpoſe of appointing the vacant places in the council of two hundred; and on Tueſday in Whitſun-week, when they ſupply the vacancies in their own body.

Its origin is thus traced in the records of the republic. From 1347 to 1387, the three bannerets nominated twenty perſons from each of the three tribes into which it was then divided; and theſe ſixty aſſembled on the Sunday before St. John's day, to eſtabliſh the Little Council and elect the treaſurer; from hence is derived the origin of the ſixty, and of the aſſembly which meets on the Sunday now called *Secret Sunday*. It conſiſts of the whole council of two hundred, excepting the advoyers and ſenate, and is preſided by the chancellor, the four bannerets, and the members of the *ſecret chamber*, who take the places of the ſenators. This aſſembly reviews, confirms, or cenſures, if neceſſary, the ſenators, the bannerets, and the ſixty; the members of each

each tribe retire, while their conduct is examined and reviewed by the remainder. The ſame aſſembly fills up alſo the vacant places in the ſenate, and in the ſixty, by blind ballot.

In 1387, the nomination of the ſixty was transferred from the bannerets to the aſſembly which met on the *Secret Sunday*: and that aſſembly was alſo empowered to appoint the Little Council, the treaſurer, the ſixty, and the remaining members of the two hundred. By a charter of the ſame year, four coadjutors, drawn from the ſixty, are given to each banneret: and it appears that theſe coadjutors were choſen, in the ſame manner as the bannerets, ſeparately by each tribe; and this may probably be conſidered as the origin of the *ſecret chamber*. A charter of the year 1392, confirms the *Secret Sunday* in the right of nominating the ſixty, and confers on the bannerets that of chooſing the *prud-hommes*, who accompanied them when they convoked the people on St. John's day, and it is probable that the bannerets alſo appointed their coadjutors. This nomination took place, as at preſent, on the Tueſday in Whitſun-week. The town being at that period only divided into three tribes, the coadjutors were limited to twelve; and when a fourth tribe was added, their number was augmented to ſixteen.

A charter dated 1404 confirms, in many inſtances, the abovementioned arrangements; but does not grant to the *Secret Sunday* the nomination of the two hundred: a right at that time enjoyed by the bannerets, who ſhared it with their

their coadjutors, or the *ſecrets*; and thus is probably derived the power of appointing the members of the two hundred, ſince conſtantly exerciſed by the bannerets and *ſecrets*.

The ſame charter orders the bannerets to aſſemble on Whit-Tueſday, in conjunction with the ſixty of the preceding year, for the purpoſe of chooſing four members of the ſixty from each tribe, who ſhould accompany the bannerets when they convoked the aſſembly of burghers and inhabitants on St. John's day; and two additional members for convening the aſſembly of *Secret Sunday*. Here then are ſix perſons from each tribe employed in theſe convocations, or in all twenty-four perſons, the number of members who now form the *ſecret chamber*. The ſame charter alſo enjoins the bannerets and *ſecrets* to collect the votes in all elections and deliberations; an office which they continue to exerciſe to this day.

As early as the beginning of the 15th century, the bannerets and *ſecrets* aſſembled at Chriſtmas and Eaſter, for the purpoſe of preparing and digeſting ſuch motions as were to be laid before the Council of two hundred, which adopted, modified, or rejected them.

As the bannerets probably continued to employ the ſame coadjutors in convoking the aſſemblies on St. John's day, and on *Secret Sunday*, the *ſecret chamber*, compoſed of theſe twenty-four coadjutors, at length became a permanent body; and enjoys the following prerogativte. 1. It convokes, in conjuction with the bannerets, the people on St. John's day, and the aſſembly

aſſembly which meets on *Secret Sunday*. 2. It prepares and draws up all the laws and ordinances; enjoys the ſole power of propoſing in the Great Council; and, by means of the bannerets, of putting a negative on any motion, by affirming it to be contrary to the conſtitution, without the neceſſity of proving that it is ſo. 3. It collects the votes in the election or confirmation of the advoyer, at the meeting of the people on St. John's day, and in the deliberations of the Great Council. 4. It fills up all the vacancies in that Council; 5. Suſpends, depoſes, confirms, and cenſures its members; 6. Confirms, or ſuſpends and depoſes its own members; makes regulations for the interior adminiſtration of its own body; appoints the manner of electing its own members, and filling up the vacancies in the Great Council. 7. Fixes on the time for thoſe elections, and the ſum of money which each member is permitted to receive from thoſe who are elected. 8. It can exclude all candidates from being choſen members of the ſenate, of the ſixty, from the office of bailifs, and other important charges; either by refuſal to preſent, or by rejecting them as incapable.

All theſe prerogatives, founded on authentic documents, or immemorial uſage, were confirmed by the Council of two hundred, in 1606, 1623, and particularly in 1716.

All affairs of government, and all debates in the national aſſemblies, are carried on in the German language; and as the French tongue is ſpoken in the greateſt part of the canton, and particularly by the gentry, there are many members of the Great Council, who do not underſtand the debates.

Such

Such was the general form of government when I firſt viſited Friburgh in 1776; ſince that period it has undergone ſome very important alterations, the ſubſtance of which I ſhall communicate to you in the following letter.

LETTER

LETTER 53.

Origin and Suppreſſion of the late Troubles in the Canton of Friburgh—Changes in the Form of Government.

THE excluſive right of ſharing in the adminiſtration of affairs, enjoyed by a certain number of families, in the ariſtocratical cantons, hath, in conjunction with other concurrent circumſtances, occaſioned revolts in thoſe of Zuric, Berne, and Lucerne, which were quelled by the intervention of the other Helvetic powers, and prevented from again breaking out, by judicious regulations. Friburgh having exhibited a recent example of the ſame kind; I have endeavoured to trace the origin and progreſs of thoſe

thoſe inteſtine commotions, which have been followed by a conſiderable alteration in the form of government. Accordingly, I now lay before you the reſult of my enquiries, impartially drawn from repeated converſations with perſons of both parties; from an attentive peruſal of ſeveral publications written during the courſe of the troubles; and from ſome curious manuſcripts, which it was my good fortune to obtain.

In the latter end of April 1781, an inſurrection ſuddenly broke out in the bailliage of Gruyeres, a diſtrict in the ſouthern part of the canton; the inhabitants whereof are extremely jealous of their liberties, and zealouſly attached to all the cuſtoms tranſmitted from their anceſters. Irritated by a few impolitic acts of government, by the petty vexations of the bailifs; by the ſecularization of Val Sainte, a convent of Chartreux; by the abolition of ſeveral faſts and feſtivals; and excited by the artifices of Chenaux and Caſtellaz, two deſigning leaders; they roſe in open rebellion.

Peter Nicholas Chenaux, the chief of the ſedition, was a native of la Tour de Treme, in the bailliage of Gruyeres. This man was greatly embarraſſed in his circumſtances, and highly exaſperated againſt government, having been arreſted and impriſoned in 1771, for his diſobedient and turbulent conduct. He was in the thirty-eighth year of his age, of a good figure and expreſſive countenance; and, being a man of rude but popular eloquence, and of an overbearing ſpirit, had obtained a conſiderable influence over the artleſs inhabitants. His abettor, John Nicholas Andrew Caſtellaz, was a burgher of Friburgh

Friburgh and advocate of Gruyeres: verſed in all the chicanery of the law, converſant in the hiſtory and antient records of his country, and well acquainted with the privileges of the people, he was the firſt to expoſe the ſlighteſt oppreſſions of the bailif, and to remark wherever government ſeemed to infringe their immunities or iſſued edicts contrary to long eſtabliſhed uſages. Having a loud voice, and vehement elocution, he was formed for popular aſſemblies. He was the perſon by whom Chenaux was principally directed in all difficult emergencies; he drew up the principal remonſtrances which, exaggerating every defect in the conſtitution, tended to render government odious, and to ſpread diſcontents among the people.

Theſe two leaders having, in conjunction with other accomplices, availed themſelves of the public diſſatisfaction, and engaged a conſiderable number of adherents; held, in the month of April 1781, regular meetings at Bulle. On the 24th, in particular, they inſinuated before a large aſſembly, that government had formed a deſign of impoſing additional taxes of a grievous nature, particularly on horned cattle and horſes; and even of with-holding the annual preſent of ſalt, which they ſhared with the burghers of Friburgh. They repreſented, that the ſecularization of Val Sainte, and the abolition of certain feſtivals, implied a ſettled determination to overturn the religion of their anceſtors: that the governing party had many enemies; that the deſpotiſm of the ſecret chamber was held in univerſal abhorrence; that the nobles were diſcontented,

tented, on account of their excluſion from the principal charges of the commonwealth; that the burghers and inhabitants of the twenty-four pariſhes were jealous of the exorbitant rights poſſeſſed by the ſecret burghers, to whom was excluſively confined the entrance into the great council, and of courſe into the adminiſtration of affairs, and the lucrative offices of government. They added, that the time was now arrived when they might venture, with impunity, to petition for a redreſs of grievances; a ſtrong party in the capital was ready, on the firſt moment of their appearance, to join them; and multitudes would repair from all quarters to the ſtandard of liberty.

Having, by theſe and ſimilar inſinuations, increaſed the number of their adherents, it was finally concluded, that, on the 3d of May, they ſhould ſecretly repair to the capital, and, aſſembling in the market-place, ſhould force the arſenal; that having provided themſelves with arms, they ſhould ſecure the garriſon, and conſtrain the Great Council to redreſs their grievances, and make thoſe changes in the conſtitution, which could alone ſecure to the people a mild and juſt adminiſtration.

It is ſufficiently remarkable, that, notwithſtanding the general ferment which prevailed among the people in the bailliage of Gruyeres, and number of perſons concerned in this conſpiracy; government received no notice of it, before the 29th or 30th of April. On the firſt certain news of the intended inſurrection, the council of war, who immediately aſſembled on the

the occaſion, diſpatched ſome troops to arreſt Chenaux: but he, having received information from one of his accomplices who happened to be at that time in the capital, eſcaped to la Tour de Treme; and, being joined by the moſt deſperate of his adherents, determined to take arms without delay. Having, by means of his emiſſaries, excited the ſpirit of rebellion among the people, who were informed that Chenaux had narrowly eſcaped an arreſt for his patriotic attempts to ſecure their immunities; he ventured to repair to Gruyeres, where Caſtellaz had already collected a conſiderable party. This advocate, having aſſembled a large body during the night, expatiated, with much force and eloquence, on the ſeveral grievances, uſing various arguments in favour of an immediate revolt, ſimilar to thoſe which were urged on the 24th of April. He accordingly inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree, that they flew to arms at five in the morning, and impriſoning the bailif, erected the ſtandard of rebellion. The alarm being now given, Chenaux advanced to Poſieux, which was fixed upon for the place of general rendezvous; from whence he addreſſed a letter to the magiſtrates of Friburgh, diſclaiming all deſign of having recourſe to violence, and requiring only, that the petitions and remonſtrances of the people ſhould be taken into conſideration.

On the next morning he conducted about ſixty of his partizans to a height overlooking Friburgh, with an intention of ſurpriſing the city; but finding the gates ſhut, the for-

tifications guarded, and not being joined, as he expected, by the inhabitants of the twenty-four parishes, he retired first to Posieux, and afterwards to Avry, where he expected a reinforcement, which Castellaz and his emissaries were collecting in various parts of the canton.

During these seditious proceedings, the magistrates of Friburgh were active in making preparations for the security of the town. The council of war sat during the whole night; a night of extreme terror and anxiety to many of the inhabitants. The account of the bailif's arrest, of Chenaux's escape, and that he was stationed at Posieux, within two leagues of the capital, with a corps of rebels whose number rumour exaggerated, was no sooner divulged, than a general panic and confusion prevailed. The garrison scarcely consisted of more than fifty soldiers, and those chiefly invalids; the fortifications were weak and extensive; not more than two hundred burghers could be mustered to defend the ramparts; and the insurgents were supposed to possess a strong party even within the walls. If in this moment of disorder, aggravated by the darkness of the night, Chenaux could have attacked the town with a sufficient force, he might have carried it by assault. But the first emotions of surprise and terror had no sooner subsided, than the besieged assumed a spirit and vigour adequate to the alarming situation of affairs. They all ran to arms; the nobles, burghers, and even strangers crouded to the ramparts, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Their confidence

confidence was also raised by the arrival of some militia from Morat, who entered the gates at nine in the morning, and by the expectation of more effectual succours from the canton of Berne.

On the preceding evening a messenger had been dispatched to Berne, requesting immediate assistance. He arrived in that city soon after midnight: the advoyer d'Erlach, in the 85th year of his age, instantly summoned the Sovereign Council. "Gentlemen," exclaimed the venerable magistrate, "on other occasions you have a year to deliberate; you must now instantly act: Friburgh is besieged by an army of rebels; let those who approve sending troops to her relief, hold up their hands." The members unanimously assenting, the assembly broke up; and twelve hundred troops were commanded to march without a moment's delay. Before the close of the evening Major Rihimer entered Friburgh at the head of two hundred soldiers, who passed unmolested through flying parties of the insurgents; at midnight a hundred and fifty dragoons arrived, and on the next morning eight hundred infantry completed the reinforcement.

The arrival of these troops inspired the magistrates of Friburgh with perfect confidence and security, and saved the town from the most imminent danger. Nevertheless the emissaries of Chenaux and Castellaz, ranging about the country, sounded the church bells in the various towns and parishes, exclaiming that their religion and liberties were threatened with immediate

annihilation. The rebel forces were continually augmenting; they began to be joined by many inhabitants in the environs of the town; and the leaſt ſucceſs would have increaſed their number. Chenaux had ſeveral emiſſaries within the city, and before mid-day appeared before Friburgh at the head of above two thouſand men; eight hundred of whom were provided with muſkets, the remainder with only clubs, or the firſt weapon which chance preſented. Having occupied the heights, he found his followers wavering and irreſolute, and ſtruck with a general panic on receiving the news, that a large body of troops from Berne had reinforced the garriſon. He poſted his followers however in an advantageous ſituation, waiting with conſiderable anxiety till his forces ſhould be increaſed, and an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf of commencing hoſtilities, or of obtaining a general amneſty for himſelf and his adherents.

In this ſituation of affairs, Major Rihimer led a detachment of a hundred and eighty dragoons from one of the gates; while lieutenant Froideville, at the head of ſeventy foot and twenty dragoons, ſallied from another. The Major, driving the beſiegers from a height which commanded the town, continued his march with an intent of attacking him in front; and at the diſtance of about a cannon-ſhot, reconnoitred eight hundred of the enemy drawn up in order of battle, but without artillery. The inſurgents no ſooner obſerved the cannon planted againſt them, and perceived that the commander was an officer of

of Berne, than they diſpatched repeated meſſengers to aſſure him that they had no hoſtile intentions; that they were only collected to petition for a redreſs of grievances; and entreated him to ſpare the effuſion of blood. Having received an anſwer, that he would undertake to intercede in their behalf, if they would inſtantly lay down their arms, and deliver up Chenaux; they agreed to the firſt point, but refuſed the ſecond. The major continued to enforce his demand, and gained time, until lieutenant Froideville appeared unexpectedly in their rear. The two commanders repeating their promiſes, that their juſt remonſtrances ſhould not be neglected, the whole troop ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. Four of the principal ringleaders being ſecured, the remainder, having delivered in their names and places of abode, were permitted to retire without moleſtation.

Chenaux, either finding it impoſſible to excite his followers to ſuſtain the attack, or being deficient in perſonal courage, was among the firſt who betook himſelf to flight. Wandering from village to village, he was, about midnight, obſerved near Poſieux by Henry Roſſier, one of his principal accomplices. Roſſier, willing to ſave his own life by betraying his leader, ſeized him by the collar, reproached him for having ſeduced the people into rebellion, and for his cowardice in forſaking them; and then, with the aſſiſtance of Chavaillat and Python, two other inſurgents, took from him a double-barreled piſtol, and was conducting him to Friburgh. Chenaux, however, ſuddenly diſengaging

gaging himſelf, drew out a knife, and, wounding Roſſier in ſeveral places, endeavoured to eſcape towards Poſieux. But Chavaillat purſuing him, and Roſſier ſnatching a muſket from one of his followers, ſoon overtook him, and ſummoned him to ſurrender under pain of inſtant death. Chenaux, finding no hopes of eſcaping, and deriving courage from deſpair, attacked Roſſier with ſuch inconſiderate fury, that he received the aſſailant's bayonet in his breaſt, and expired on the ſpot.

The death of the leader, the voluntary ſurrender of his principal aſſociates, and the flight of Caſtellaz, put an end to this ill-concerted enterpriſe. Six hundred inſurgents, the only remains of the rebels, were on the next morning obſerved hovering about the capital; but learning the fate of their leader, and the ſurrender of the other troops, and being attacked by a corps of grenadiers, they diſperſed without reſiſtance.

But although the inſurrection was thus ſuppreſſed, and all parties had concurred in chaſtiſing rebellion; yet the ſpirit of diſcontent had ſpread itſelf with too great violence and rapidity among all ranks of men, not to convince the rulers of the ſtate, that the ſeeds of the revolt lay deeper than appearances ſeemed to ſuggeſt. For it was obvious, that the petty vexations of bailifs, the abolition of unneceſſary faſts and feſtivals, and the ſeeming violation of a few trifling immunities, however exaggerated by the artifices of the moſt deſigning leaders, could never have been ſufficiently powerful to excite the people of Gruyeres

Gruyeres to the deſperate extremity of taking arms againſt their lawful ſovereigns; if government had not been extremely unpopular; if ſeveral grievances of an oppreſſive nature had not required to be redreſſed; ſeveral odious reſtrictions to be removed; and ſeveral defects in the conſtitution to be remedied. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, government, in a manifeſto iſſued on the 11th of May, after granting a general amneſty to all the inſurgents, excepting a few of the ringleaders, found it neceſſary to invite the ſubjects of all ranks and denominations to preſent remonſtrances, to make repreſentations, and to petition againſt grievances. About the ſame time the three cantons of Berne, Lucerne, and Soleure diſpatched deputies to Friburgh, offering their mediation towards compoſing the diſſentions of the republic.

In conſequence of this manifeſto, many petitions and remonſtrances were preſented to the great council, either claiming the renewal of obſolete rights, the removal of certain reſtrictions, or the abolition of various taxes; demanding redreſs of grievances, and an amendment of the conſtitution; or complaining of an infringement of popular franchiſes. As it would be needleſs to mention all the complaints and plans of amendment which were dictated by the ſpirit of party and frenzy of innovation, I ſhall confine myſelf to three principal points of diſpute, which occaſioned the moſt violent altercations; and which would never have been compromiſed, if the three mediating cantons had not powerfully

powerfully and effectually interfered: 1. The disqualification of the nobility from the office of bannerets and *secrets*; 2. The exorbitant prerogatives and influence of the *secret chamber*; and 3. The exclusive privileges of the *secret* burghers.

1. With respect to the first point in agitation, it may be remarked, that the exclusion of the noble families from the charge of bannerets and of *secrets* appeared sufficiently reasonable, as long as the government was democratical, and the bannerets were, according to the antient charters, chosen from the people; and of course when neither they, nor their coadjutors, the *secrets*, could be taken from the nobility. But when the government was changed from a democracy to an aristocracy, and the municipal administration no longer subsisted; and particularly when the troubles excited by the bannerets, in 1553, obliged the Council of two hundred to transfer from the people to themselves the right of appointing those magistrates; the disqualification of the nobility, which was founded in democratical jealousy, ought to have no longer subsisted. Their remonstrances were therefore just, and would have been still more reasonable, if the troubles of the republic had not rendered them dangerous.

2. As to the second point in question: the extensive power and extraordinary influence of the *secret chamber*, could not fail to create jealousies and discontents among all ranks of men. For, on considering the detail of their prerogatives, as laid down in the preceding letter, it must appear, that although the members of that committee

mittee enjoyed no positive authority in enacting or annulling laws; yet by being the depositaries of the constitution, and the ultimate framers of all decrees; by having the sole right of proposing, and a negative on all the resolutions of the great council, no motion could pass without their concurrence. It is also no less obvious, that the power of making regulations for the interior administration of their own affairs, mysteriously concealed from the knowledge of the Sovereign Council, might give rise to dangerous abuses; that the members of the chamber eventually enjoyed, by the power of excluding from all charges, that of nomination; that by appointing to the vacancies in their own body it was to be feared, what in effect happened, that an admission into the *secret chamber* would be chiefly confined to a few families; that, as they filled up all the elections in the Council of two hundred, these elections would depend entirely upon a few persons who possessed the greatest credit; and that thus the government would gradually but necessarily tend to a narrower oligarchy.

3. The third point in debate, namely, the exclusive privileges of the *secret* burghers, opened a much larger and more dangerous field of contention. The demand of the other burghers that, according to the antient form of government, the right of being elected into the Great Council, and consequently a share in the administration of affairs, instead of being exclusively confined to the *secret* burghers, should be also extendedto them; seemed to militate against the fundamental laws of the republic, and to involve

volve a total change in the very eſſence of the conſtitution.

The remaining part of the year was employed in agitating theſe points of diſpute; which gave riſe to many political and hiſtorical diſcuſſions, and occaſioned ſeveral curious reſearches into the origin of the *ſecret chamber*, and the riſe of the diſtinction between the *ſecret* and other burghers.

For the purpoſe of aſcertaining theſe queſtions, the popular party demanded acceſs to the archives; but met with delays and refuſals on the part of government; which conſidered ſuch an inquiry as of dangerous tendency, and calculated to introduce factious innovations in the ſtate.

Exaſperated by repeated refuſals, the populace began to ſhew ſigns of diſcontent, and to aſſemble in great crouds at the place where Chenaux was put to death: they marched in ſolemn proceſſion, bearing croſſes and colours, and chaunting hymns and *requiems* in honour of this *martyr* (as they called him) to the religion and liberties of his country. Theſe tumultuous meetings would probably have ended in another inſurrection, if the biſhop of Lauſanne had not forbidden them, under pain of excommunication. Towards the concluſion of the year, the deputies from Berne, Lucerne, and Soleure, arrived at Friburgh, for the purpoſe of compoſing the differences ſubſiſting in the capital. Theſe deputies, in order to conciliate the burghers, who were no leſs violent in favour of the nobles than in extending their own immunities, prevailed upon adminiſtration to repeal the diſabling clauſe. With

With reſpect, however, to the other ſubjects of controverſy; as they conceived it dangerous to entruſt the leaders of a heated populace with the records of government, which might be attended with projects of endleſs innovation; they propoſed, that the Great Council ſhould order a committee to draw up a declaration ſetting forth the privileges and franchiſes of the burghers; and that for the future this declaration ſhould be conſidered as a fundamental code.

But although theſe eſſential points were obtained, yet ſo many ſubjects of altercation ſtill remained, that for ſome time all further plans towards finally compoſing the differences were fruitleſs. The deputies repaired to Morat, where they were employed, from the 25th of April 1782 to the 25th of July, in hearing appeals, reviſing and conſidering the arguments on both ſides, and conſulting on the beſt methods to conciliate the two parties.

So greatly however were the burghers diſſatisfied with the chiefs of the ariſtocracy, that they formed a reſolution to refuſe taking the annual oath of allegiance to the Great Council; nor were they without great difficulty prevailed upon, by the three deputies in perſon (who repaired to Friburgh for that purpoſe) to perform the uſual homage. Diſpleaſed, nevertheleſs, with the deputies themſelves, and conſidering them as too partial to adminiſtration, they delivered a memorial; in which, after repreſenting their grievances, they threatened to appeal to the general diet of the thirteen cantons aſſembled at Frauenfield.

A meaſure

A meaſure of ſo alarming a nature, tended to produce a very material change in the principles of the Helvetic Union; and was accordingly reprobated in the ſtrongeſt manner by the members of that confederacy. For it was urged (and with great reaſon) that by introducing an innovation of ſuch public notoriety, the diſputes between the reſpective governments and their ſubjects would be liable to become more numerous and dangerous; and that in the end each canton would fall under the guardianſhip of the remainder. On the other hand, what rendered the preſent criſis of affairs ſtill more alarming was, that the court of France, conſulted by ſeveral leading members in adminiſtration, had offered her good offices towards compoſing the diſſentions. And although the three cantons had, with conſiſtent dignity, declared againſt the intervention of any foreign power, and that Friburgh, on accepting ſuch a mediation, ſhould be excluded from the Helvetic Confederacy; yet it was to be apprehended, that on an increaſe of the troubles, the French would find ſome pretext to interfere in the affairs of Friburgh, as they were actually engaged in thoſe of Geneva: and "woe upon that republic," ſaid the aſſertors of Swiſs independence, "in whoſe internal politics foreign powers interpoſe."

Influenced by theſe conſiderations, the three mediating cantons, anxious to bring matters to a ſpeedy concluſion, prevailed upon the ruling party to conſent to ſeveral alterations in the conſtitution. At length, after various delays, diſputes, and conferences, the deputies publiſhed, on

on the 19th of June, a manifeſto, declaring, that on an impartial and diligent review of the various memorials and manifeſtos on both ſides, the aſſertions of the burghers were groundleſs, and their demands unconſtitutional; that the preſent form of government had ſubſiſted above two hundred years; and that the ſupreme authority reſided in the members of the Great Council. To this declaration they added, that the three cantons would defend and protect the exiſting form of government, and would never permit an appeal relating to the amendment or alteration of the conſtitution, to any other power than the ſupreme council of the republic, *that* tribunal being alone competent to ſuch queſtions.

At the ſame time they recommended to the government a repeal of the diſabling clauſe, which excluded the nobility from the office of banneret or *ſecret*; to admit ſome new families into the *ſecret* burgherſhip; to hear and redreſs any remaining grievances; and to correct any defects in the conſtitution.

This declaration, being accepted by government, was read, on the 28th of July, to the burghers aſſembled in their reſpective tribes; but ſeveral among them proteſting formally againſt it, the three principal ringleaders of this oppoſition were baniſhed, their proteſts diſregarded, and tranquillity was reſtored to the republic.

Soon after this final pacification, the Great Council paſſed ſeveral acts for the redreſs of grievances, removed ſome burdens and uſages which had been the object of general complaint,

and

and amended the conſtitution in the following points.

1. A perfect equality is eſtabliſhed between the *ſecret* burghers; the antient nobles are no longer diſqualified from holding the office of bannerets or *ſecrets*, but do not enjoy any precedence in conſequence of their titles, which in all acts and deeds within the canton of Friburgh are omitted. In return, all the *ſecret* burghers are without diſtinction of perſons, eſteemed equally noble.

2. Sixteen new families have been admitted into the *ſecret* burgherſhip, which addition nearly completes the number of a hundred families; and it is further enacted, that on the extinction of any three families, an equal number of families ſhall be elected without delay.

3. The vacancies in the ſixty, inſtead of being indiſcriminately ſupplied from the members of the two hundred at large, are now filled up according to ſeniority.

4. But the great and principal alteration in the form of government, reſpects the new conſtitution of the *ſecret chamber*; which is changed in the following important points.

1. The members of that committee, inſtead of being nominated by a majority of voices in their own body, are now taken from the ſixty, and choſen by *blind ballot*. The candidates are no longer under the neceſſity of being preſented by a member of the *ſecret chamber*; but, on addreſſing themſelves to their banneret, the latter is obliged to deliver in their names to the *ſecret chamber*. As each vacancy is ſupplied from the particular tribe in which it happens, this alteration

tion muſt neceſſarily reduce the candidates to three or four: in order, alſo, to prevent cabal or corruption, if there ſhall be only one candidate, he is not neceſſarily elected; but it muſt be decided by lot, whether he ſhall be choſen or rejected; and in caſe there ſhould be a majority of ballots for the negative, he muſt wait till the ſubſequent year, before he can have another chance of being appointed. Each member, on his election, ſhall pay no more than £. 1. 10*s.* to each banneret and *ſecret*; and the money ſhall be delivered to the ſecretary, and by him be equally diſtributed. 2. Neither father and ſon, nor two brothers, nor more than two perſons bearing the ſame name, ſhall be admitted at the ſame time into the *ſecret chamber*. 3. The members ſtill retain the right of filling up all the vacancies in the Council of two hundred, with the uſual proviſions, that the candidates ſhall be twenty years of age; and that the promotion ſhall take place every two years. It is further decreed, that, on oath, under pain of deprivation, no more than 1200 crowns * ſhall be received for the nomination; and that the ſaid ſum, inſtead of being ſolely appropriated to the perſon who is to appoint, ſhall now be delivered to the ſecretary, to be by him equally diſtributed among the four bannerets, when either of them ſhall elect, or among the members of the *ſecret chamber* belonging to the tribe in which there is a vacancy, when the turn devolves upon either of them †.

It

* Of 25 bach each, the whole ſum £. 171. 13*s.* 10*d.*

† Each banneret to nominate the firſt vacancy in his own tribe, and then each *ſecret* by rotation, according to ſeniority, in his particular tribe.

It is moreover added, that if the perſon preſented by a banneret, or a *ſecret*, ſhall be rejected by two-thirds of the chamber, another may be preſented; but if the ſecond is rejected, the right of preſentation ſhall be transferred to the banneret, or *ſecret*, next in rank of the ſame tribe. It is alſo ſtipulated on oath, that all promiſes of exchanging preſentations, or ſimilar engagements, ſhall not be valid for the future; thoſe only excepted, which are now abſolutely ſubſiſting, and which concern either a ſon of the contracting party, or a perſon whoſe name is ſpecified. 4. The power of excluding perſons from the principal charges of government, is ſtill reſerved to them; but they are exhorted to uſe it with great precaution and care. 5. The interpoſition of a negative, exerciſed by a ſingle banneret, is no longer ſufficient to reject a motion in the great council. The oppoſition, in order to render it valid, muſt now be founded on a preciſe law, and unanimouſly approved by the four bannerets: but if one ſhall diſſent, it is then referred to the Council of two hundred, which ſhall decide, by a majority of two-thirds, whether the negative ſhall be confirmed or rejected. 6. The power of propoſing, formerly veſted only in the *ſecret chamber*, is now extended to the members of the Little Council and the ſixty; and the mode of deliberating on ſuch propoſitions and motions, is attended with forms more or leſs complicated, as the object is more or leſs important. In all inſtances the laws are prepared and finally drawn up by the ſecret chamber. 7. The *ſecrets* ſhall take an oath before the bannerets as delegates of the Great Council, to obey all the ordinances of that

that aſſembly, and to obſerve the preſent articles, without retrenching or adding to them. And it is further ordered, that no alterations ſhallbe made in the preſent conſtitution of the *ſecret chamber*, unleſs approved by three-fourths of their own body, and by two-thirds of the Great Council.

LETTER 54.

Cheeſe of Gruyeres—Hermitage near Friburgh.

THE canton of Friburgh contains a ſmall portion of arable land, but abounds in paſtures; and, accordingly, its principal articles of exportation conſiſt in horned cattle, cheeſe, butter, and hides.

The cheeſe, well known under the name of Gruyeres, which is exported in ſuch large quantities, is made in a chain of mountains about ten leagues

leagues in length and four in breadth, extending from the bailliage of Schwartzenburgh, to the diſtricts of Vevay and Aigle in the canton of Berne. All the cheeſes, though made in the ſame manner, are not of the the ſame quality; a difference probably ariſing from the diverſity of the ſoil, the ſame plants not growing at all heights; and the lower paſtures, called *gites*, being not in ſuch high eſtimation for their goodneſs as thoſe in the moſt elevated ſituations.

The whole diſtrict is divided into greater or leſſer farms, which the proprietors let out in leaſes of three or ſix years, at the annual rate of 16*s.* to £. 1. 10*s.* during five months for each cow, according to the nature or elevation of the ground: the lower paſtures, though not of the beſt quality, are the deareſt, becauſe being ſooner free from the ſnow, and later covered with it, they afford food to the cattle for a longer ſpace.

Each farmer, having rented a mountain, hires from the different peaſants in the canton from forty to ſixty cows, from the 15th of May to the 8th of October: he pays at the rate of from £. 1. 6*s.* to £. 1. 13*s.* 6*d.* per head; and each cow upon an average yields from twenty to twenty-four quarts of milk per day, and ſupplies two hundred pounds * of cheeſe during the five months. On the eighteenth of October the farmer reſtores the cows to the different proprietors. The cattle

* Each pound contains ſeventeen ounces and a fraction.

tle are then paſtured in the meadows which have been twice moved, until the 10th or 11th of November, when, on account of the ſnow, they are uſually removed to the ſtables, and fed during winter on hay and aftergraſs.

As the mountains in the canton of Friburgh afford paſture for at leaſt 15,000 cows, it may be eſtimated that they annually ſupply about 30,000 hundred weight of cheeſe fit for exportation; beſide 2,000 or 3,000 on their return from the mountains, excluſive of a thinner ſort, which is made in various parts of the canton. The cheeſes fit for exportation weigh from forty to ſixty pounds each, and are ſold from £. 1. 17ſ. to £. 2. per hundred weight. Beſide the cows which are paſtured during ſummer in the mountains, the canton contains about 12,000 belonging to the ſeveral landholders, which ſupply their families with milk.

The buildings neceſſary for making the cheeſes conſiſt of a *chalet* or cottage, which contains a room with a furnace for the purpoſe of boiling the milk, a cellar where the milk is preſerved, and a ſtable for ſixty or ſeventy cows; near it is a kind of dairy-room, kept in an equal degree of temperature, where the cheeſes are every day turned and ſalted. The thickneſs of the vat, in which each cheeſe is paſſed, is about four inches. The caſks for exportation contain ten cheeſes, excepting thoſe deſtined for Italy, which hold only three, in order to be conveyed by mules acroſs

acroſs the Great St. Bernard. The cheeſes well packed up bear the tranſport into the moſt diſtant countries; they ought to be kept in a damp place, and frequently waſhed with white wine, for the purpoſe of preſerving them from inſects. When the cows return from the mountains, a ſpecies of cream cheeſe is made in autumn, and even in winter; it is much eſteemed, and is dearer than that of Gruyeres.

The greateſt part of the ſalt uſed on theſe occaſions is drawn from Franche Comté, a ſmall quantity from Lorraine and Bavaria, but its quality is much inferior. The conſumption of the whole canton, for all purpoſes, is at leaſt 20,000 hundred weight, of which 15,000 are drawn from Franche Comté.

A great number of mares, foals, and horned cattle, are annually raiſed in the canton: the oxen of three or four years old are ſold in the canton of Berne, in the country of Neuchatel, and in Franche Comté. Upon an average it may be eſtimated that the canton of Friburgh annually ſupplies paſture for 37,000 cows and oxen.

In our route to Berne, we made a ſmall circuit to the village of Neuneck, in order to ſee an hermitage, that lies about a league from Friburgh; and which has been highly extolled by travellers on account of its ſingularity. It is formed in the ſolid rock; and the chief curioſity conſiſts in its having been the work of two men: as ſuch, it is an aſtoniſhing

aſtoniſhing performance, but, in any other reſpect, is ſcarcely worth viſiting. In the laſt century a hermit ſcooped out a hollow in this rock, juſt ſufficient to lie at his full length: but his ſucceſſor deſiring a more commodious manſion, hewed, in the heart of the mountain, a chapel, ſeveral apartments, and ſtair-caſes. The length of the whole is above four hundred feet. One room is ninety feet long, and twenty broad; the ſteeple of the chapel, if it may be ſo called, is eighty feet high, and the chimney of the kitchen ninety.

The hermit who perforated this dwelling in the rock, was near thirty years engaged in the work. What a waſte of time and induſtry! But ſuch is the folly of ſequeſtered ſuperſtition, that, for want of better occupations, it frequently has recourſe to laborious trifles. The ſituation of this hermitage is beautiful: the rock in which it is cut, hangs over the river Sane, which meandering through two chains of hills covered with wood, fills all the valley beneath. The preſent hermit is a German; and with him lives an old ſoldier.

From this hermitage to Neuneck (at which place the canton of Berne commences) the country is rich, and finely wooded; on our right we had a diſtant but ſublime view of the moſt rugged rocks, the ſnowy alps riſing above them and cloſing the proſpect. The ſun was now declining: the various tints of the evening—the purple gleam upon the naked rocks—and the rays of the ſetting-ſun upon the glaciers, which ſeemed to glow almoſt into tranſparency—caſt ſuch a beautiful radiance over this magnificent ſcene, as even

even the luminous pencil of Apelles himſelf, who is ſaid to have painted "*quæ pingi non poſſunt, "fulgura & fulgetra**," would in vain have attempted to imitate.

I am, &c.

* Vid. Plin. H. N. lib. 35. c. 10.

EXTRACT from SAXO GRAMMATICUS, referred to p. 240.

NEC ſilentio implicandum, quod ſequitur. Toko quidam aliquamdiu regis (i. e. Haraldi Blaatand) ſtipendia meritus officiis quibus commilitones ſuperabat complures virtutum ſuarum hoſtes effecerat. Hic forte ſermone inter convivas temulentius habito tam copioſo ſe ſagittandi uſu callere jactitabat, ut pomum quantumcunque exiguum baculo e diſtantiâ ſuperpoſitum, primâ ſpiculi directione feriret. Quæ vox primum obtrectantium auribus excepta regis etiam auditum attigit. Sed mox principis improbitas patris fiduciam ad filii periculum tranſtulit, dulciſſimum vitæ ejus pignus baculi loco ſtatui imperans. Cui niſi promiſſionis auctor primo ſagittæ conatu pomum impoſitum excuſſiſſet, proprio capite inanis jactantiæ pœnas lueret.

lueret. Urgebat imperium regis militem majora promiſſis edere, alienæ obtrectationis inſidiis parum ſobriæ vocis jactum carpentibus, &c.——

Exhibitum Toko adoleſcentem attentius monuit, ut æquis auribus capiteque indeflexo quam patientiſſime ſtrepitum jaculi venientis exciperet, ne levi corporis motu efficaciſſimæ artis experientiam fruſtraretur. Præterea demendæ formidinis conſilium circumſpiciens, vultum ejus, ne viſo telo terretur, avertit. Tribus deinde ſagittis pharetrâ expoſitis prima quàm nervo inſeruit propoſito obſtaculo incidit.——

Interrogatus autem a rege Toko cur plura pharetræ ſpicula detraxiſſet, cum fortunam arcus ſemel duntaxat experimento proſequi debuiſſet: "Ut in te," inquit, "primi errorem reliquorum "acumine vindicarem, ne mea forte innocentia "pœnam tui impunitatem experiretur violen-"tia." Quo tam libero dicto et ſibi fortitudinis titulum deberi decuit, et regis imperium pœna dignum oſtendit.

Lib. x. p. 286. edit. Leipſic. 1771.

In my account of the learned men of Zuric, with whom I was perſonally acquainted, I omitted, by miſtake, Dr. Hirtzel. This learned phyſician

ſician, who may be ſtyled the Swiſs Plutarch, was born in 1725, and has, among various publications, more particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the *Socrate Ruſtique*, and by the lives of Sultzer and Heydegger.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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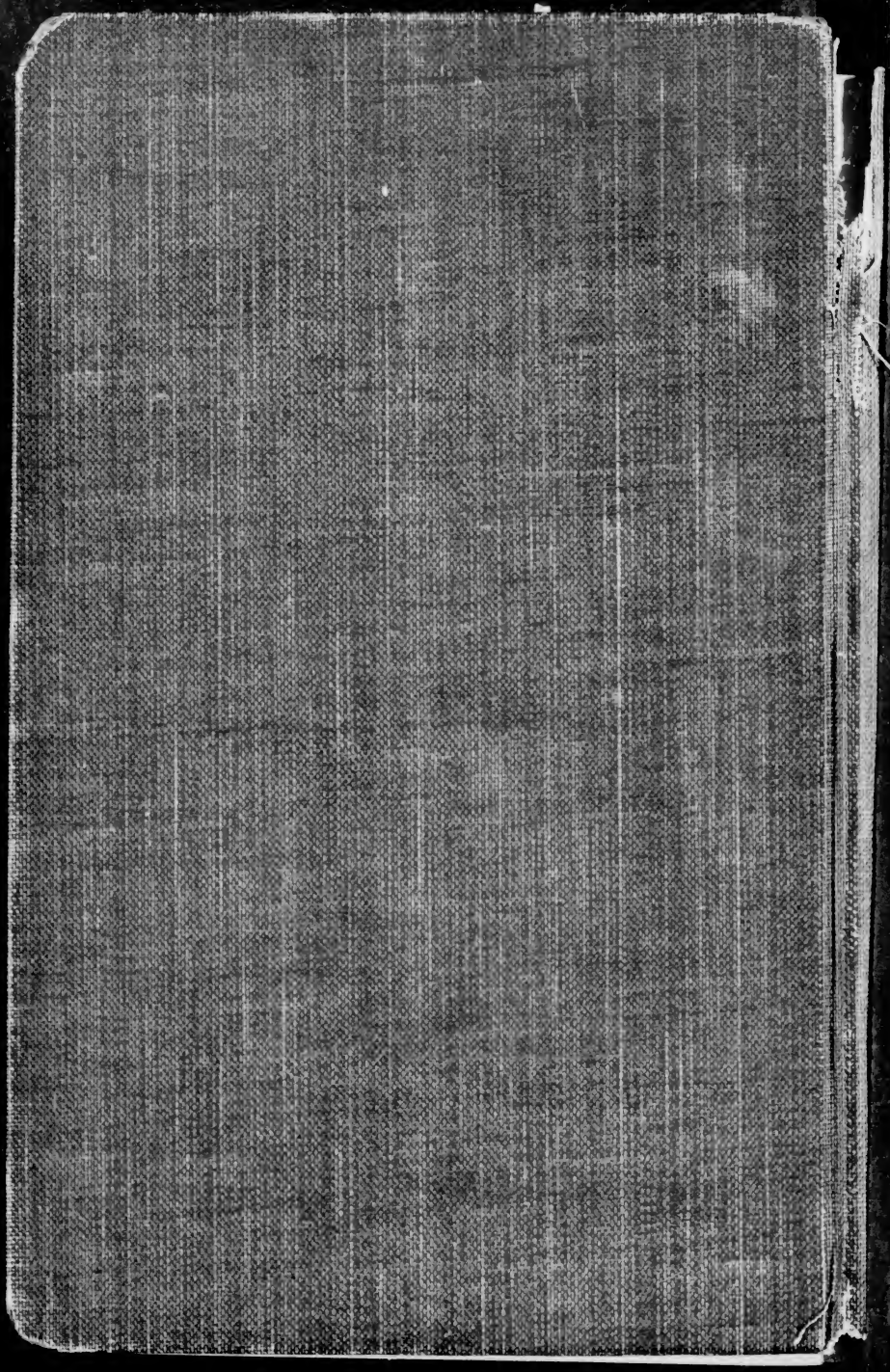

VOLUME 2

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TRAVELS IN SWITZERLAND.

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS

TO

WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq.

FROM

WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON; MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL OECONOMICAL SOCIETY AT ST. PETERSBURGH, OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AT COPENHAGEN, AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Nature! great parent! whoſe unceaſing hand
Rolls round the ſeaſons of the changeful year,
How mighty, how majeſtic are thy works!
With what a pleaſing dread they ſwell the ſoul!

THOMSON'S SEASONS. Winter, Ver. 105.

13528

TO

SAMUEL WHITBREAD, Esq. M. P.

SIR,

AS the opportunity of reviſing and augmenting this part of my Letters on Switzerland, and of rendering them more worthy of public inſpection, was entirely owing to the honour of accompanying your Son upon his Travels, to you I beg leave to inſcribe this Second Volume, as a public mark of that eſteem and regard, with which I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

and obliged humble ſervant,

WM COXE.

INTRODUCTION.

EACH of the three Leagues, which form by their union the republic of the Griſons, is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, called in Romanſh *Dratturas Magnas*, in German *Hochgerichts*; which may be tranſlated High Juriſdictions. Theſe diſtricts are compoſed of one, two, or more ſmall commonwealths, or Communities. As this complicated intermixture of different Communities frequently creates much confuſion, in the geographical and political accounts of this country, I have prefixed a Table of the general diviſion of each league into High Juriſdictions, with their ſubdiviſions into Communities.

The

The Grey League is divided into eight High Jurisdictions, which are subdivided in the following manner into twenty-seven Communities:

High Jurisdictions.	Communities.			Members from the several Communities to the General Diet.
1. Disentis	1	Disentis		1
	2	Tavetch		1
2. Valley of Lugnetz	3 & 4	Lugnetz		2
	5	Wals		1
3. Grub	6 & 7	Ilantz & the neighbouring districts		2
	8	Schlowis		1
	9	Tenna		1
4. Waltensburgh	10	Waltensburg		1
	11	Lax		1
	12	Oberfax		1
5. Flims	13	Flims		1
	14 & 15	Retzuns and Embs		2
	16	Trins and Tamins		1
6. Rheinwald and Schams	17 & 18	Valley of Rheinwald		2
	19 & 20	Valley of Schams		2
7. Heunzenberg and Tusis	21	Tusis and Catzis		1
	22	Heunzenberg		1
	23	Saffien		1
	24	Cepina		1
8. Masox	25	Valley of Masox		1
	26	Ruffle		1
	27	Calanca		1
				27

The

The League of God's House is divided into eleven High Jurisdictions, and comprehends twenty-one Communities.

High Jurisdictions.	Communities.			Members from these several Communities to the General Diet.
1. Coire	1	Coire		2
2. Pregalia	2	Sopra Porta		1
	3	Sotto Porta		1
3. Upper Engadina	4	Sopra Fontana Merla		1
	5	Sotto Fontana Merla		1
4. Lower Engadina	6	Sopra Tasma		1
	7	Sotto Tasma		1
5. Bivio or Stalla	8	Bivio & Marmorara		1
	9	Avers		1
	10	Remus, Schlins, and Samun		1
6. Ortenstein	11	Ortenstein		1
	12	Furstenau		1
7. Obervats	13	Obervats		1
	14	Breguns		1
8. Oberhasstein	15	Tinzen and Reamp		1
	16	Tiefen Casten		1
9. Puschiavo	17 & 18	Valley of Puschiavo		2
10. Munster	19	Valley of Munster		1
11. Four Villages	20	Sitzers, Igis, Trims		1
	21	Unter Vatz		1
				22

The

The League of Ten Jurisdictions is divided into seven High Jurisdictions, and comprizes eleven Jurisdictions or Communities.

High Jurisdictions.	Communities.		Members from these several Communities to the General Diet.
1. Davos	1	District of Davos	2
2. Kloster	2	Kloster	2
3. Castels	3	Lutsein	1
	4	Jenats and Furna	1
4. Schiers	5	Schiers	1
	6	Seewis	1
5. Mayenfield	7	Mayenfield and Malans	2
6. Belfort or Alvenew and Churwalden	8	Alvenew	1
	9	Churwalden	1
7. Valley of Schalffic	10	St. Peter, &c.	1
	11	Longwisen	1
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Thus the Diet, including the three chiefs, consists of sixty-six voices.

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LETTER 55.

Town and Canton of Berne.

Berne, Sept. 16.

I WAS very much ſtruck, upon my entrance into Berne, with its ſingular neatneſs and beauty: I ſcarcely remember to have ſeen any town (Bath alone excepted) the firſt appearance whereof had a more pleaſing effect. The principal ſtreets are broad and long, not ſtrait, but gently curved: the houſes are moſtly uniform, built of a greyiſh ſtone upon arcades. Through the middle of the ſtreets runs a lively ſtream of the cleareſt water, in a ſtone channel, while ſeveral fountains are not leſs ornamental to the place than beneficial

to the inhabitants. The river Aar almoſt ſurrounds the town, winding its courſe over a rocky bed much below the level of the ſtreets; and for a conſiderable way forming by its ſteep and craggy banks a kind of natural rampart. The cathedral, a noble piece of Gothic architecture, ſtands upon a platform raiſed at a great expence from the bed of the river, and commands a moſt extenſive view. The adjacent country is richly cultivated, and agreeably diverſified with hills, lawns, wood, and water; the river flows rapidly below, and an abrupt chain of rugged and ſnow-capt Alps bound the diſtant horizon. Such an aſſemblage of wild and beautiful objects would in any place preſent a moſt ſtriking proſpect; but its effect becomes greatly heightened when ſeen from the midſt of a large town.

According to the native hiſtorians, Berne was built by Berchtold the Fifth, duke of Zæringen; and was, from its foundation, an imperial city. Upon the death of Berchtold in 1218, the emperor Frederic the Second conferred upon the inhabitants conſiderable privileges, and compiled alſo a code of legiſlation, which forms the baſis of their preſent civil laws. The liberty which this city enjoyed, attracted many inhabitants from the adjacent country, who found a ſure aſylum from the oppreſſion of the nobles. Although Berne from its firſt foundation was engaged in perpetual wars with its neighbours, and for ſome time with the Houſe of Auſtria; yet it continued to aggrandiſe itſelf by degrees, and conſiderably to enlarge its territory. In the year 1353, Berne acceded to the Helvetic confederacy; and poſſeſſed ſuch great power, even at that early period, as to obtain the ſecond rank among the Swiſs cantons.

cantons. Since the acquiſition of the Pays de Vaud, the domains of this canton form nearly the third part of Switzerland, and about the fourth of the actual population: it contains about 370,000 ſouls, excluſive of 11,000 in the capital. At the introduction of the reformation in 1528, government acquired a large encreaſe of revenue by ſeculariſing the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. At the ſame period, the whole canton followed the example of the capital; and the reformed religion was permanently eſtabliſhed. The canton is divided into two great diviſions; the Pays de Vaud and the German diſtrict. The Pays de Vaud having been conquered from the houſe of Savoy, and the German diſtrict from the ſtates of the empire; juſtice is adminiſtered, and the taxes regulated in thoſe two provinces by laws and cuſtoms peculiar to each. Each of theſe diviſions has its treaſurer and chamber of appeal reſident in the capital: the chamber of appeal belonging to the Pays de Vaud, judges in the laſt reſort; but the inhabitants of the German diſtrict may again appeal from theirs to the Sovereign Council.

At Berne the ſociety is extremely agreeable, and foreigners are received with great eaſe and politeneſs. The men do not meet in ſeparate ſocieties; and the women are the life and ornament of their daily aſſemblies. Theſe aſſemblies begin about four or five in the afternoon, and continue till about eight, when the parties retire to their reſpective houſes.

Dancing is a very frequent amuſement at Berne. There is a public ball every fortnight; and in winter ſcarcely an evening paſſes without one. Theſe diverſions commence at ſo early an hour as five in the afternoon, on account of a

ſtanding order from government, which prohibits their continuance after eleven. Engliſh country dances are commonly introduced, but the *walſe* (which is a ſpecies of allemande) the favourite dance of the natives, is moſt common. The parties arrange themſelves in diſtinct couples, and follow each other in a circular direction, the gentleman turning his partner with great velocity. The life and ſpirit of their dances ſtrike a foreigner with aſtoniſhment, and can ſcarcely be conceived by thoſe who have never ſeen them. The gaiety of theſe parties is ſtill more enlivened during the ſummer months, when the natives reſort to a garden near the town, and dance under an open pavilion amid ſcenes of rural feſtivity. The foreigner who prefers the conſtant intercourſe of company to a more tranquil ſociety, will chuſe the reſidence of Berne rather than that of any other town in Switzerland.

There is but little trade in the capital: ſome few manufactures indeed (chiefly of linen and ſilk) have been eſtabliſhed; but are carried on by thoſe only, who have no proſpect of being admitted into the Sovereign Council. For, thoſe families who enjoy any influence in public affairs, would hold themſelves degraded, by engaging in any branch of commerce; and as offices of the ſtate, except bailliages, are in general not very profitable, nor indeed numerous, many of them enter, as their ſole reſource, into foreign armies. One general advantage, however, is derived from this anti-commercial ſpirit: the members of government not being intereſted in laying reſtrictions on trade, do not, as at Zuric and Baſle, confine the excluſive right of eſtabliſhing manufactures to the burghers of the capital; but wiſely extend that permiſſion to all their

their ſubjects, without diſtinction of rank or place. From this circumſtance, in conjunction with the mildneſs and wiſdom of government, ariſes that comfortable ſtate, and even wealth, which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhes the peaſantry in the whole canton of Berne; and to the natural reſult of theſe wiſe regulations may be reaſonably imputed the attachment to government particularly obſervable in the German diſtrict.

It is worthy of remark, that the peaſants, who have acquired opulence either by manufactures or agriculture, ſeldom quit their ſituation; they continue in the ſame habits which they contracted in the earlier period of life, and, however wealthy, never give their daughters in marriage but to perſons of their own deſcription.

The public buildings are conſtructed in a noble ſimplicity of ſtyle, and announce the riches and grandeur of the republic. The arſenal contains arms for ſixty thouſand men, and a conſiderable quantity of cannon, which are caſt in the town. The granary, an excellent inſtitution, ſimilar to that of Zuric, always contains a large proviſion of corn; which is ſupplied in conſequence of particular treaties by France and Holland.

The charitable inſtitutions of Berne are numerous, liberal, and well directed. The hoſpitals are in general large, clean, and airy; and, in the alms-houſe for the reception of fifty poor citizens, is a curious eſtabliſhment ſimilar to one which I noticed at Baſle. Diſtreſſed travellers are treated with a meal and a lodging, if at night, and receive ſix-pence on their departure. If ſick or wounded, they are maintained till their recovery is eſtabliſhed.

The

The houſe of correction, which, when the benevolent Mr. Howard viſited Berne, was in ſo deplorable a ſtate, is now extremely well regulated, and reflects great honour on Mr. Manuel, member of the Great Council, to whoſe care and attention this ſalutary change is chiefly owing. Formerly all delinquents, without diſtinction of crime, were confined in the ſame place; but they are now ſeparated; and two houſes are eſtabliſhed; one called the Houſe of Correction for greater crimes, and the other the Houſe of Labour for ſmaller miſdemeanors. The priſoners are alſo diſcriminated by the appearance of *brown* and *blue* from the colour of their clothes, with which they are ſupplied gratis during the term of their confinement. The brown colour is appropriated to the houſe of correction, the blue to the houſe of labour. The men and women are lodged in ſeparate apartments. Both are conſtantly employed, ſometimes in cleaning the ſtreets, and other ſervile occupations; at other times they are taught to read and write, and are inſtructed in various trades, which may aſſiſt them in gaining a maintenance at the expiration of the time for which they were ſentenced to hard labour. By theſe means the expence of the eſtabliſhment is nearly ſupported; and an honeſt livelihood aſſured to thoſe who would otherwiſe prove uſeleſs or pernicious members of ſociety.

There are four tables, at which the reſpective ſeats are a mark of diſtinction appropriated to good behaviour, and a larger or leſſer ſhare of proviſion is diſtributed to each in proportion to their induſtry. After having earned their food, the priſoners in the houſe of labour receive ten per

per cent. thoſe in the houſe of correction eight per cent. for their extra work.

Public juſtice is wiſely and impartially adminiſtered; and the torture, which had for ſome time fallen into diſuſe, is now formally aboliſhed by a public act of government. This humane and juſt act forms a diſtinguiſhed æra in the hiſtory of Swiſs juriſprudence; as the example of ſo powerful and wiſe a government cannot fail producing a general influence; and it is to be hoped, will be the prelude to its abolition throughout Switzerland.

The ſolemnity uſed in paſſing capital ſentence on a criminal, deſerves to be mentioned and imitated. The trial being finiſhed, the priſoner is informed of his condemnation by the *Grand Sautier*, or lieutenant of the police, and attended by two clergymen, who prepare him for death. On the day appointed for execution, a large ſcaffolding, covered with a black canopy, is conſtructed in the middle of the principal ſtreet. The advoyer, with a ſceptre in his hand, is ſeated on an elevated kind of throne between two ſenators, and attended by the chancellor and the lieutenant of the police, holding an iron ſtick, called the *rod of blood*, all habited in their official robes. The criminal being brought to the foot of the ſcaffolding without chains, the chancellor reads aloud the ſentence of condemnation, at the concluſion of which the advoyer bids the executioner approach. The latter inſtantly binds the arms of the culprit, and leads him to the place of execution.

The public library is a ſmall but well-choſen collection, and contains 20,000 volumes, a cabinet of Swiſs coins and medals, and many curious manuſcripts: of theſe, Mr. Sinner, a man of

of great erudition, has publiſhed a judicious catalogue. He has not only ſet forth their titles, and aſcertained their age, but has alſo given a general and ſuccinct account of their reſpective ſubjects; and from many has publiſhed extracts equally curious and intereſting. Among theſe MSS. are ſome of the thirteenth century, conſiſting of ſeveral ſongs and romances of the Troubadours, written in that and the preceding ages, which merit the attention of thoſe who are converſant in that ſpecies of antient poetry.

Learning is neither ſo univerſally encouraged, nor ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated here as at Zuric; the academical ſtudies are almoſt ſolely directed to thoſe branches of knowledge more eſſentially neceſſary for entering into the church. The ſociety for the promotion of agriculture, is almoſt the only eſtabliſhment that directly tends to the progreſs of the arts and ſciences; and meets with no great countenance from government.

POSTSCRIPT.

October 1786.

I FEEL a very ſenſible ſatisfaction on adding, that this enlightened government no longer merits the reproach of not ſufficiently encouraging the arts and ſciences. It is now awakened from its former lethargy, and begins to perceive that it is the intereſt of every wiſe government to eſteem and protect the ſciences. The magiſtrates have lately purchaſed and appropriated a large manſion for the public library; increaſed the collection of books; and procured from England

England an extenſive apparatus of experimental philoſophy.

Among other undertakings which meet with their encouragement, a new map of the canton is now preparing under their auſpices, by the profeſſor of experimental philoſophy, a great *deſideratum* in the geography of Switzerland, as the alps of the canton are unfaithfully delineated in all the maps which have fallen under my obſervation. I am alſo happy to add, that the Reverend Mr. Wyttenbach has lately inſtituted a literary ſociety for the promotion of phyſics and natural hiſtory in general, and that of Switzerland in particular. In January 1788, this ſociety conſiſted of ten members reſident at Berne, of whom ſeveral poſſeſs, and others are forming, collections agreeable to the plan of the inſtitution. The members have eſtabliſhed regular correſpondence in various parts of Europe, and are ready to anſwer the inquiries of foreign naturaliſts, who wiſh to be informed concerning any points which relate to the natural hiſtory of this country. An inſtitution founded on ſuch liberal and extenſive principles, and having one object principally in view, cannot fail to render the moſt eſſential ſervice to ſcience.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 56.

Government of Berne.

WERE I to attempt entering into an exact diſquiſition concerning the government of Berne; my letter would not only exceed its proper limits, but would hardly be contained within the extent of an ordinary pamphlet. I am perſuaded, therefore, you will readily excuſe me from putting your patience to ſo tedious a trial: but you would probably think me very inconſiſtent indeed, if, after having already deſcended into leſs intereſting details, I ſhould paſs over in ſilence a government, the wiſdom of whoſe adminiſtration is ſo juſtly admired. Let me endeavour then to ſketch the general outlines of this conſtitution.

The ſovereign power reſides in the Great Council of two hundred; which when complete conſiſts of two hundred and ninety-nine members, choſen from the citizens; from whom they are conſidered as deriving their power, and as acting by deputation. The authority with which they are inveſted, is in ſome reſpects the moſt abſolute and uncontrouled of any among the ariſtocratical ſtates of Switzerland. The government of Lucerne is called, indeed, the moſt ariſtocratical

ſtocratical of all the cantons; and it may be ſo, perhaps, with reſpect to the ſmall number of families, to which the adminiſtration of affairs is entruſted: but no war can be declared, no peace concluded, no alliance made, no taxes impoſed, without the conſent of the burghers in a general aſſembly. At Friburgh and Soleure the burghers are likewiſe convened upon particular occaſions. Whereas the Great Council of Berne, ſince 1682, when it was declared the ſovereign, is reſtrained by no conſtitutional check of this kind; as a general aſſembly of the citizens is never convened on any occaſion.

The executive powers of government are delegated by this Sovereign Council to the ſenate, choſen by themſelves from their own body: the former aſſemblies ordinarily three times a week, and extraordinarily upon particular occaſions; the ſenate every day, Sundays excepted.

The ſenate, comprizing the two advoyers, or chiefs of the republic, is compoſed of twenty-ſeven members: and from this ſelect body are drawn the principal magiſtrates of the commonwealth. On a vacancy in the ſenate, the mode of election is as follows:—Twenty-ſix balls, three of which are golden, are put into a box, and drawn by the ſeveral members: thoſe who draw the three golden balls, nominate three electors out of their body. In the ſame manner of balloting, ſeven members are choſen from the Great Council, who alſo nominate ſeven electors out of their own body. Theſe ten electors fix upon a certain number of candidates, not exceeding ten, nor leſs than ſix; and thoſe among theſe candidates, who have the feweſt votes in the Sovereign Council, retire, till their number is reduced to four: then four balls, two golden

and

and two ſilver, are drawn by the four remaining candidates; the two who draw the former are put in nomination, and he who has the greateſt number of ſuffrages in the Sovereign Council, is choſen. But in order to be eligible, the candidate muſt have been a member of the Great Council ten years, and muſt be married, or a widower.

The Great Council is generally filled up every ten years; as within that period there is uſually a deficiency of eighty members to complete the whole number of two hundred and ninety-nine: a new election can only be propoſed on a vacancy of eighty; and cannot be deferred when there is a deficiency of a hundred. The time of election being determined by vote, each advoyer nominates two of the new members; each ſeizenier, and each member of the ſenate, one each: two or three other officers of ſtate enjoy the ſame privilege. A few perſons alſo claim, by virtue of their offices, a right of being elected: and their claim is generally admitted. Theſe ſeveral nominations and pretenſions, commonly amount, in the whole, to about fifty of the new members: the remaining vacancies are ſupplied by the ſuffrages of the ſenate, and the ſeizeniers.

The *Seizeniers* are ſixteen members of the Great Council, drawn yearly from the abbayes or tribes; two from each of the four great tribes, and one from each of the remaining eight. The candidates are generally * taken from thoſe who have

* I ſay *generally*, becauſe it is not abſolutely fixed, that all the ſeizeniers muſt have been bailifs: for if it happens, that in one tribe there are two perſons, one of whom has been a bailif, and the other is a member of the Great Council; they draw lots for the charge. And ſhould a member of the Great Council

have exerciſed the office of bailifs; and are elected by lot. Every year during three days at Eaſter, all other employments in the ſtate are ſuſpended, except thoſe of the bannerets and the ſeizeniers, who, during this ſuſpenſion, are inveſted with a power ſimilar to that of the Roman cenſors. In caſe of mal-adminiſtration, they may remove any member from the Great Council, or from the Senate: but it is a power which they never exerciſe; and ſhould they think proper to exert it, the ſentence muſt be confirmed by that council.

The principal magiſtrates are, two advoyers, the two treaſurers, and the four bannerets: they are each of them choſen by a majority of voices in the Sovereign Council, and are yearly confirmed in their reſpective offices. The advoyers hold their poſt for life; the treaſurers, ſix years; and the bannerets, four. At Eaſter the advoyer in office delivers up his authority, in full council, to his colleague. The *reigning* advoyer ſits on an elevated ſeat, under a canopy, and the ſeal of the republic lies upon the table before him. He never delivers his opinion except it is demanded; he enjoys no vote unleſs the numbers are equal; and in that caſe, he has the caſting voice. The advoyer out of office, is the firſt ſenator in rank, and preſident of the ſecret council.

The two treaſurers, one for the German diſtrict, and the other for the Pays de Vaud, form, in conjunction with the four bannerets,

Council be the only one of his tribe, he becomes ſeizenier of courſe, provided he is eligible. In order to be ſeizenier, the candidate muſt be married, or a widower, and have neither his father or brother in the ſenate.

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an œconomical chamber, or council of finances: this council examines and paſſes the accounts of the bailifs, and receives the revenues of all thoſe who are accountable to government. The four bannerets, together with the advoyer out of office, the ſenior treaſurer, and two members of the ſenate, compoſe a committee or ſecret council; in which all ſtate affairs, that require ſecreſy, are diſcuſſed.

I have only deſcribed theſe eight magiſtracies, as being the chief offices of the ſtate, and exerciſed by members of the Senate. But although the general form of this conſtitution is entirely ariſtocratical; and the Senate poſſeſſes a very conſiderable influence; yet it does not enjoy that almoſt excluſive authority, which is obſervable in many ariſtocratical governments. For, by ſeveral wiſe and well-obſerved regulations, the Sovereign Council, although it delegates the moſt important concerns of government to the Senate; yet aſſembles, at ſtated times, and ſuperintends the adminiſtration of public affairs.

It may alſo be remarked, that although the antient houſes retain very conſiderable influence, and are more readily entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs; yet that the principal charges of government are not excluſively confined to them; many new families being always admitted into the Sovereign Council on every election. It muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged, that, as the citizens are continually diminiſhing, and their vacancies are never ſupplied; it would well become ſo wiſe a government to receive occaſionally new families into the burgherſhip, in order to prevent the ill effects ariſing from the partial and narrow ſpirit of too confined an oligarchy.

Government is adminiſtered throughout its ſeveral departments with great preciſion; and every ordinance is executed with as much diſpatch as in a monarchical ſtate. The adminiſtration of affairs is carried on with great wiſdom and moderation; and the rulers are particularly cautious not to encroach upon the privileges of the ſubject.

The canton of Berne is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, called bailliages; over which, bailifs are choſen from the Sovereign Council: and, theſe poſts being the moſt profitable in the diſpoſal of government, are the great objects of general purſuit. Formerly the bailifs, taken indifferently from the Senate or Great Council, were nominated by the bannerets; but as this method rendered the members entirely dependent upon thoſe who had the chief credit and influence in the commonwealth; the mode of election was altered in 1712, and they are now choſen by lot. No competitor, however, can be received as a candidate, in oppoſition to a more antient member of the Great Council: for inſtance, he who was admitted in 1766, cannot ſtand againſt one who was choſen in 1756. None but married men or widowers are capable of being elected into this office; nor can any perſon occupy more than once the principal bailliages: thoſe of a leſs valuable kind may be poſſeſſed three times.

The ſeveral bailifs are repreſentatives of the ſovereign power in their reſpective diſtricts. They enforce the edicts of government; collect the public revenues; act as juſtices of the peace; and are judges in civil and criminal cauſes, except

cept where there is any local * juriſdiction. In civil cauſes, beyond a certain value, an appeal lies to the courts of Berne: in criminal affairs, the proceſs is made out in the bailif's court, undergoes a reviſion in the ſenate, and is referred to the criminal chamber, which inflicts puniſhment for ſmall miſdemeanors. In capital caſes, the ſentence muſt be confirmed by the Senate, and by the Sovereign Council, if the delinquent is a citizen of Berne. The bailif delivers his accounts to the œconomical chamber, to which court an appeal lies, in caſe of exaction, either on the part of the bailif, or of his officers: and with reſpect to thoſe miſdemeanors that are puniſhable by fine, and of which the bailif is entitled to a ſhare; the proportion of the reſpective penalties is ſettled by the legiſlature with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs, and not left to the arbitrary deciſion of an intereſted judge.

Although from all theſe conſiderations it ſhould ſeem, that every poſſible precaution has been taken by government to prevent the extortions of the bailifs, yet inſtances have not been wanting to prove, that theſe wiſe and ſtrict regulations may be eluded: but it is no leſs certain, that where bailifs have been guilty of oppreſſions, frequent examples occur of their being impartially and ſeverely puniſhed.

The profits of this office ariſe from the produce of the demeſnes, of the tithes, and certain duties paid to government in the reſpective bailliages. In ſome parts of the German diviſion,

* The lord of the eſtate of Dieſbach enjoys, within his own lands, the ſame powers, in criminal affairs, as are poſſeſſed by the bailifs in their reſpective diſtricts.

ſion, the bailif is entitled, upon the death of every peaſant, to a determinate part of the inheritance: although his ſhare is very inconſiderable, yet in ſome ſituations it may prove an oppreſſive tax upon the family. This tax is the only inſtance that has fallen under my knowledge, where the peaſants of this canton are liable to any impoſition, which can juſtly be deemed grievous.

Although there are no ſtanding armies in Switzerland; yet in many of the cantons, and particularly in Berne, the militia is ſo well regulated, that government could aſſemble a very conſiderable body of men at a moment's warning. To this end, every male at the age of ſixteen is enrolled in the militia; and about a third of the whole number are formed into particular regiments, compoſed of fuſileers and electionaries; the former conſiſting of batchelors, and the latter of married men. Every perſon thus enrolled, is obliged to provide himſelf, at his own expence, with an uniform, a muſket, and a certain quantity of powder and ball: and no peaſant is allowed to marry, unleſs he produces his uniform and arms. Every year a certain number of officers, who are called Land Majors, are deputed by the council of war, throughout the canton, to inſpect the arms of the ſoldiers; to complete the regiments; to exerciſe the militia: and upon their return they make their report to that council. Beſide this annual review, the regiments are occaſionally exerciſed by veteran ſoldiers, appointed for that purpoſe.

Beſide the arms in the arſenal of Berne, a certain quantity is alſo provided, in the arſenal of each bailliage, ſufficient for the militia of that

diſtrict; and likewiſe a ſum of money amounting to three months pay, which is appropriated to the electionaries in caſe of actual ſervice. The dragoons are choſen from the ſubſtantial farmers; as each perſon is obliged to provide his horſe and accoutrements. In time of peace, the advoyer out of office, is preſident of the council of war, and a member of that council is commander of the militia in the Pays de Vaud; but during war a general in chief is nominated, who commands the forces of the republic.

A certain number of regiments being thus always in readineſs, ſignals are fixed on the higheſt part of each bailliage, for aſſembling the militia at a particular place in each diſtrict; where they receive orders for marching.

Before I cloſe this letter, I ſhall juſt mention an inſtitution called the *Exterior State*, as remarkable for its ſingularity as its utility. It is a model of the Sovereign Council, and is compoſed of thoſe burghers, who have not attained the age requiſite for entering into that Council. It has a Great Council, a Senate, two advoyers, treaſurers, bannerets, and ſeizeniers; all of whom are choſen in the uſual manner, and with the accuſtomed ceremonies. The poſt of advoyer in this mimic community is ſolicited with great aſſiduity, and ſometimes obtained at a conſiderable expence; as the ſucceſsful candidate is always admitted into the Great Council, without any farther recommendation. This body poſſeſſes a certain number of bailliages, which conſiſt of ſeveral ruined caſtles diſperſed over the canton: it has alſo its common treaſure, and its debts. In this latter article, however, it by no means reſembles the actual government of Berne, which is

is not only free from debts, but poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable fund in reſerve.

This remarkable inſtitution, may be conſidered as a political ſeminary for the youth of Berne. It renders them acquainted with the forms of the conſtitution; and, as the members debate upon all kinds of political ſubjects, affords them an opportunity of exerciſing and improving their talents, and by that means of becoming more capable of ſerving the public, whenever they may be admitted to a ſhare in the adminiſtration of government.

I am, &c.

LETTER 57.

Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of Haller.

BERNE has produced few men highly eminent in literature; but has eſtabliſhed her glory in being the birth-place of the celebrated Haller.

Albert Haller *, the youngeſt of five brothers, was born on the 16th of October, 1708. His father,

* The materials for this biographical ſketch, are chiefly collected from the following lives of this great man, which, as I was informed, by his eldeſt ſon, ſince deceaſed, are thoſe to which moſt credit may be given. 1. *Leben des Herrn von Haller*, by George Zimmerman. Zuric, 1755. The author was the diſciple and friend of Haller. 2. *Lobrede auf Herrn Albrecht von Haller, von Herrn von Balthaſar.* Baſel, 1778. The author was Haller's intimate friend, and was well acquainted with the principal events of his life. He is the ſame gentleman whom I have mentioned in vol. i. of this work. 3. *Lobrede auf Herrn Albert Haller.* Durch, V. B. *Tſcharner des Groſſen Raths, &c.* Berne, 1778. Mr. Tſcharner, being a native of Berne, and an intimate acquaintance of Haller, his account deſerves implicit credit. He was author of ſeveral eſteemed works on the topography and hiſtory of Switzerland. He died in 1778, a ſhort time after he had pronounced this panegyric on his deceaſed friend. 4. *Eloge Hiſtorique d'Albert de Haller, avec un Catalogue de ſes Oeuvres.* Geneve, 1778. Sennebier, the writer of this eulogium, is well known as the learned author of *Bibliotheque de Geneve*, and

father, Emanuel Haller, a citizen of Berne, practiſed the law as an advocate with great ſucceſs; and in 1713, removed from the capital to Baden, where he was appointed ſecretary of that bailliage.

Although many accounts are uſually related concerning the early genius of diſtinguiſhed perſons, which do not always deſerve implicit credit; yet the premature abilities and application of Haller are inconteſtibly proved. When he had ſcarcely attained his fifth year he was accuſtomed to write the new words, which he recollected to have heard in the courſe of the day. His progreſs in the languages was ſo rapid, that in his tenth year he could tranſlate from the Greek, and compoſed for his own private uſe a Chaldaic grammar, a Greek and Hebrew lexicon. His paſſion for letters was alſo ſo general and ardent, that, about the ſame period, he abridged from Bayle and Moreri an hiſtorical dictionary, comprizing above two thouſand lives, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſatire in Latin

and of *Hiſtoire Literaire de Geneve.* He informs us, that he received ſeveral anecdotes from the family of Haller.

Many other panegyrics and lives of Haller have been publiſhed in various parts of Europe; but as they were moſtly written by thoſe who were not perſonally acquainted with him, I have not cited them as authorities. His ſon mentions nineteen lives and panegyrics of his father, that had fallen under his notice in 1784. See Bibl. Schweit. Geſhic. vol. ii. N° 882—906. I have been enabled to add ſeveral anecdotes which I procured at Berne, and from his eldeſt ſon the late bailif of Nyon.

The completeſt liſt of Haller's works is to be found in the 6th volume of "*Epiſtolæ ad Hallerum ſcriptæ.*" Berne, 1775. His ſubſequent publications may be ſupplied from Sennebier's catalogue.

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verſe againſt his preceptor Abraham Baillodz, a perſon of conſiderable learning, but of a capricious and moroſe diſpoſition.

Such unwearried application, and ſuch aſtoniſhing progreſs, in a youth of his years, ought to have inſured the approbation and encouragement of his family. On the contrary, his father, who had deſtined him to the law, reproved his growing taſte for polite literature, was particularly offended at his inclination for poetry, as likely to draw him from the ſeverer occupations, and objected to the variety of his purſuits as too deſultory and ſuperficial. He did not conſider, that, during childhood, the principal requiſite of education is to infuſe a taſte for application in general; and, that when the baſe of education is rendered as broad as poſſible, it may always, like a pyramid, be reduced to a point. But neither his father's repeated exhortations, nor his preceptor's ſevere admonitions, could oblige the youth to confine his ſtudies to one object, or check his inſatiable thirſt for general information.

In this manner he was educated until 1721, when, on his father's death, he was removed to the public ſchool at Berne. He was placed in a claſs far above his age; and uſually wrote in Greek the exerciſe, which he was expected to compoſe in the Latin tongue.

In 1723, he obtained permiſſion to accompany a young friend to Bienne, in order to be inſtructed in philoſophy by the father of his companion, who was a celebrated phyſician. But his new preceptor being a bigot to the Carteſian ſchool, Haller ſoon rejected with diſdain that logic and philoſophy, which tended to cramp his

his genius rather than extend his knowledge; and continued to cultivate hiſtory, poetry, and polite literature, but with as little order and method as might be expected from his years.

Haller, during his reſidence at Bienne, began a cuſtom, which he afterwards followed through life, that of writing his opinion of the books which he peruſed, and making large extracts from them. His genius being alſo awakened by the romantic ſcenery of the country to poetical enthuſiaſm, he compoſed various pieces in the epic, dramatic, and lyric ſtyles. He was at this time ſo entirely abſorbed in this favourite ſtudy, that, on a fire breaking out in the houſe in which he reſided, he ruſhed into his apartment, and reſcued his poetry from the flames, leaving his other papers, with little regret, to deſtruction. Afterwards, when a more mature age had ripened his judgment, he was frequently heard to ſay, that he had preſerved from the flames thoſe compoſitions which he then thought the fineſt productions of human genius, in order at a future period to conſign them to deſtruction as unworthy of his pen *.

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* Many of his biographers have confounded theſe two facts; and, from a natural proneneſs to exaggeration, have aſſerted, that at Bienne, Haller, with a greatneſs of mind above his years, burned his poetical compoſitions, from a ſtrong conviction, that poetry tended to alienate his mind from the ſeverer ſtudies: whereas, the very contrary happened. He ſaved his poetical pieces in preference to his other papers, and burned them afterwards, becauſe they would have diſgraced his reputation: although, as juvenile productions, they were not wholly without merit. I have in this inſtance preferred the authority of his particular friends, Balthaſar and Tſcharner, to his other biographers, who had not ſuch opportunities of obtaining the truth. Beſides, as a confirmation of their evidence, Haller did

In this period of his life, Haller compares himſelf to a wild plant, which is left to grow without pruning; and this very circumſtance was probably the principal cauſe of his future proficiency, and the foundation of that univerſal knowledge, to which he afterwards attained.

He had been originally intended for the law: but his active mind could not ſubmit to follow a profeſſion which would limit his inquiries; which entirely depended on precedent and authority; and which, to uſe his own quotation from Horace, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, obliged him,

Jurare in verba magiſtri.

And although he could not ſubmit to the ſhackles of that narrow philoſophy, ſo ſtrongly recommended and enforced by his new preceptor, yet he appears to have been principally determined by his advice to dedicate himſelf to phyſic; the ſtudy of which comprehends ſuch a variety of literary purſuits, as ſeemed congenial to the zeal and activity of his capacious mind. He had no ſooner formed this reſolution, than he adopted a more regular and uniform plan, than he had hitherto been able to purſue. For this purpoſe he removed, towards the end of 1723, to the univerſity of Tubingen, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with that unwearied application, which never forſook him, under the profeſſors Elias Camerarius and Du Vernoy. From Camerarius he learned thoſe ſound principles of rational philoſophy,

did not intermit his poetical ſtudies; and wrote at Tubingen his *Morgen-gedanken* and *Selın-Sucht*, which are the earlieſt ſpecimens he ever gave to the public.

loſophy, which teach us firſt to doubt, and afterwards to believe; and which are as far removed from credulity on one hand, as from ſcepticiſm on the other. From the lectures of Du Vernoy he imbibed his firſt taſte for botany, and made ſo rapid a progreſs in the ſtudy of anatomy, that his maſter predicted, from ſeveral diſſertations, his future proficiency in that line. Notwithſtanding, however, his ſtrong and invariable attachment to theſe two branches of natural hiſtory, he repreſents himſelf as ſtudying, *invitâ Minervâ*, againſt nature; anatomy though he could not ſupport bad ſmells, and botany though he was extremely ſhort-ſighted. At Tubingen he alſo diſtinguiſhed his knowledge in mineralogy by refuting the error of Tournefort, in aſcribing to foſſils a vegetating power.

During his continuance in that univerſity, he gave an inſtance of his early controul over his paſſions; a difficult conqueſt for a young man of ſtrong feelings and lively imagination. A ſingle deviation into exceſs, into which he had been hurried by the example of ſome of his fellow-pupils, ſo greatly affected a perſon like him, no leſs enamoured of virtue, than ſuſceptible of ingenuous ſhame, that he inſtantly formed a reſolution to abſtain from wine; and adopted a ſtrictneſs of morals, which renders highly probable the aſſertion of his French encomiaſt, the Marquis de Condorcet, that he was deſcended from a family, in which piety might be ſaid to be hereditary.

In 1725, Haller repaired to Leyden, to which place he was drawn by the great reputation of Boerhaave. Here he found a more ample field for a diſplay of his abilities, and the improve-

ment

ment of his mind. He became the favourite ſcholar of Boerhaave, by whoſe example and encouragement he ſtrengthened his growing inclination for botany. He noted down his maſter's lectures on the *Inſtitutes of Medicine* with ſuch preciſion, as afterwards gave birth to one of his moſt uſeful publications. He continued his anatomical ſtudies under Albinus, juſt then riſing into fame, and the venerable Ruyſch, who ſo highly improved the art of injecting anatomical preparations.

The precarious ſtate of his health, probably occaſioned, or at leaſt increaſed, by his intenſe application, induced him to accompany two of his countrymen through part of Germany. On his return, in 1726, he received his doctor's degree, though only in the nineteenth year of his age; and publiſhed on that occaſion his inaugural diſſertation *de Ductu ſalivali Coſchwiziano.*

In 1727 he viſited England, was favourably received by Cheſelden, Douglas, and Sir Hans Sloane; and improved his knowledge of medicine and ſurgery under the auſpices of thoſe celebrated men, and by diligently attending the hoſpitals.

At Paris, whither he next directed his courſe, he ſtudied botany under Geoffroy and Juſſieu; anatomy under Le Dran and Vinſlow, a celebrated ſurgeon. Vinſlow was indeed his favourite maſter, to whom he particularly attached himſelf; whom he propoſed to his diſciples as the beſt model for their imitation, as an anatomiſt, who, ſhackled by no ſyſtem, deſcribed ſimply and faithfully what he himſelf obſerved in his diſſections.

Haller

Haller had propoſed to continue his travels to Italy, that country where medicinal knowledge firſt revived in the darker ages, and where,

"*Smit with the love of ſacred ſong,*"

he might indulge his enthuſiaſm and improve his taſte in claſſical literature. The uncertain ſtate of his health, the *maladie du pays* which ſo remarkably affects the Swiſs in foreign parts, and on which he has compoſed a poem, together with the advice of his friends, prevailed over his inclination, and induced him to return to his native country.

In his way to Berne he ſtopped at Baſle, in order to ſtudy mathematics and algebra under the celebrated John Bernoulli; and in this, as well as every other inſtance of his life, applied with ſuch indefatigable perſeverance, as if thoſe ſciences were to form the ſole object of his future reſearches. His proficiency in theſe ſtudies is ſufficiently proved by ſeveral treatiſes ſtill extant in manuſcript, which he compoſed on arithmetic and geometry, and particularly by his remarks on the Marquis de l'Hoſpital's Analyſis of Infiniteſimals; and his attachment to them by his being deeply employed in a profound calculation on the day of his marriage. But though he made ſuch a progreſs as aſtoniſhed Bernoulli himſelf, he continued his other purſuits, being appointed to read lectures on anatomy during the ſickneſs of the profeſſor: while he fulfilled the duties of that office, he alſo attended the lectures of Tzinger on the practical parts of medicine; thus at the ſame time diſplaying, with equal propriety,

priety, the dignity of a profeſſor, and the humility of a pupil.

During the ſummer of 1729, he, in company with his friend John Geſner, made an excurſion into the mountains of Switzerland; an excurſion rendered memorable by its ſuggeſting to him the plan of a *Flora Helvetica*, and by inſpiring his poem on the Alps, which he compoſed in the 21ſt year of his age; a poem as ſublime and immortal as the mountains which are the ſubject of his ſong. Not to interrupt theſe biographical anecdotes with a chronological detail of his poetical productions, I ſhall juſt mention, that, not long after his poem on the Alps, he wrote his ethic epiſtles, on the Imperfection of Human Virtue, on Superſtition and Infidelity, on the Origin of Evil, on the Vanity of Honour, Various Satires, Doris, a Paſtoral on his firſt wife, and his much admired Elegy on her death. It is a convincing proof of Haller's verſatile genius and extraordinary mental powers, that he ſhould have ſo eminently excelled in poetry, which, except in his early youth, he never conſidered otherwiſe than as an amuſement, either to ſooth him under afflictions, and in the bed of ſickneſs, or to conſole him for the envy and neglect of his contemporaries.

The ſoundeſt German critics place Haller among the moſt eminent of their poets; and conſider ſublimity as the grand characteriſtic of his writings. They acknowledge, that he improved the harmony and richneſs of his native tongue; that he poſſeſſed the higheſt powers of invention and fancy; great originality both in his ideas and language; that he is the true colouriſt of nature; that he ſounded the depths of metaphyſical

ſical and moral ſcience; that he equally excels in pictureſque deſcriptions, in ſoft and delightful imagery, in elevated ſentiments, and philoſophical preciſion. A few ſupercilious critics have reproached his poetry with occaſional obſcurities; and accuſe him of having introduced a new language affectedly averſe to the common modes of diction. Cold criticiſm may cenſure; but twenty-two ſucceſſive editions of his German poems, and the tranſlation of them into the principal languages of Europe, prove, that they poſſeſs the great aim of poetry, that of pleaſing and intereſting the reader. And it may be remarked with truth, that although Haller's ſtupendous labours in erudition and ſcience render his poetical talents of inferior account; yet that if he had confined himſelf to poetry, that alone would have immortalized his name.

But it is time to follow Haller to his native city, where he returned, in 1729, expecting from his countrymen that reſpect and patronage, he had ſo liberally received abroad. He had, however, the mortification to experience that neglect, and even envy, to which every man of genius is expoſed in his own country, and which he ſeems to have augmented by his ſatirical compoſitions.

He continued three years without having the intereſt to procure any public employment; and, though he prevailed on Government to eſtabliſh an anatomical theatre, and gave lectures gratis; yet he did not ſucceed in obtaining the place of phyſician to the hoſpital, which he much deſired. He alſo ſolicited a profeſſorſhip, and was again repulſed. He ſeems to have ſenſibly felt theſe diſappointments; and he expreſſed his impatience

and indignation in his ſatirical poems. Inſtead, however, of damping his activity or abating the ardour of his genius, he redoubled his application and ſervices in order to force himſelf into public notice.

The firſt diſtinguiſhing tribute to his literary talents was paid by the Royal Society of Upſala, which, in 1735, choſe him a member. This election was the prelude to more honourable and beneficial employments. In the ſame year his countrymen at length acknowledged his merit, by appointing him director of an hoſpital and public librarian. In the former ſituation he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal and humanity; in the latter, he beſtowed great pains in arranging the library, and in forming the firſt catalogue. Scarcely any branch of literature, however remote from his uſual occupations, was omitted by Haller, whenever an opportunity preſented itſelf, either of improving his general knowledge, or of being uſeful to ſcience. Finding in the public library a collection of antient medals, which had been hitherto neglected; he took conſiderable pleaſure in claſſing them. His love of hiſtory led him to pay great attention to the ſtudy of medals, which he juſtly conſidered as the moſt authentic documents of hiſtorical truth, and the moſt certain monuments to aſcertain the ever-fluctuating ſtate of language.

His literary reputation began now to ſpread itſelf by various botanical, anatomical, and medical publications, and by a collection of poems*, which firſt made its appearance in 1732.

* *Verſuch Schweitzeriſcher Gedichte.* The beſt edition is printed at Berne, 1775.

At

At length, in 1736, he received, unſolicited on his part, the offer of the profeſſorſhip of phyſic, botany, and ſurgery, in the univerſity of Gottingen, newly eſtabliſhed by George the Second. Notwithſtanding, however, all the advantages and honours which accompanied this offer, he, for ſome time, heſitated whether he ſhould accept it. He had, in 1731, eſpouſed a young lady of good family, whoſe great beauty and accompliſhments were rendered ſtill more endearing by her affectionate ſubſerviency to his manner of life. She had brought him three children; and theſe ties attached him more ſtrongly to his native place, where his merits had procured him many ſincere friends; and the air of which he conſidered as in ſome reſpect neceſſary for the continuance of his health. On the contrary, the honour of being invited by ſo great a monarch, the dignity of the eſtabliſhment to which he was called, and the conſideration of having a more ample theatre for the improvement of his knowledge, induced him to remove to Gottingen.

He quitted, however, Berne with much regret; preſaging, as it were, the heavy ſtroke which overtook him ſoon after his arrival in that univerſity. He loſt his wife. The death of his beloved Marianne, whoſe memory he has celebrated in a pathetic elegy, afflicted him ſo deeply, that it almoſt brought him to the grave. In this criſis of deſpondency he redoubled his application, as the moſt probable means of ſubduing his ſorrow; and the duties of his ſtation forced him from the contemplation of his own grief into public life.

During

During ſeventeen years, in which he reſided at Gottingen, where his abilities expanded in proportion as his opportunities of acquiring knowledge increaſed; he obtained from government the eſtabliſhment of a botanical garden, which he ſuperintended, of an anatomical theatre, a ſchool for midwifery, and a college for the improvement of ſurgery. He formed the plan for a Royal Society of Sciences, of which he was appointed perpetual preſident.

The comprehenſive mind and verſatile genius of Haller, united with his unremitting diligence and ardour in all his purſuits, enabled him to cultivate, with uncommon ſucceſs, a variety of knowledge. Had not the great Swede pre-occupied the field, it is probable, that Haller would have ſtood the firſt among his contemporaries as an improver of botanical knowledge*. Yet botany was not among his earlieſt purſuits, for he informs us, that he had made no advances in it until his return from his travels: during his reſidence at Baſle, in the year 1728, as if inſpired, he ſays, by the genius of that place, which had nurtured the Bauhines, and where at that period botany was ſucceſsfully cultivated by Stahelin, he laid the deſign of his future Flora. From this time he made annual journies into various parts of Switzerland, and principally among the Alps. He cultivated the correſpondence of the moſt eminent botaniſts; particularly with Scheutzer, Ludwig, Linnæus, Van Royen, and Dr.

* I ſhould not have preſumed to have given any detailed account of Haller's botanical, medical, or anatomical works, if I had not received aſſiſtance on theſe ſubjects from my very judicious friend Dr. Pulteney.

John

John Geſner of Zurie, who had alſo meditated a deſign to publiſh a Swiſs Flora, and freely communicated his materials to Haller.

His eſtabliſhment at Gottingen afterwards enlarged his views and opportunities; and at length, in 1742, his great botanical work on the plants of Switzerland, the reſult of fourteen years ſtudy, made its appearance. It was entitled, *Enumeratio Methodica Stirpium Helvetiæ*, in 2 vols. folio. It was the moſt copious Flora the world had ever ſeen, comprizing 1,840 ſpecies, and was enriched with ſeveral advantages, that rendered it ſingularly acceptable. The preface contains a compendious geographical deſcription of Switzerland, and of the Alps particularly; an account of all the authors who had written on the plants of that country; the recital of his own journies; acknowledgments to thoſe who had aſſiſted him; concluding with the order and method he means to purſue in this work.

After the preface follows a chronological account of 268 volumes, which he cites in the work, each accompanied by a general character; in which, with great candour and impartiality, he points out the merit or demerit of the author, in the manner which he afterwards purſued in the *Methodus Studii Medici*, and in the *Bibliotheca Medicinæ*. This is in reality a very uſeful and entertaining part of his work, inaſmuch as it forms almoſt a hiſtory of the progreſs of the ſcience, from the time of Brunfelſius to his own.

He next delineates his own ſyſtem of botany, according to which the plants are diſpoſed. Throughout this great work, Haller is entirely an original; not ſatisfying himſelf with giving the deſcriptions of former writers; he appears

every where to have deſcribed the plant himſelf, and to have formed new genera, and commonly new ſpecifical characters for the whole, accommodated to his own ſyſtem. He informs us, that it was his cuſtom to write down the natural characters of each plant on the day he found it.

In treating on each ſpecies, he has not only added a moſt copious number of ſynonymes, but, unſatisfied with Bauhine's Pinax, he appears to have conſulted all the old authors, and extricated their ſynonymes, with uncommon diligence and ſingular diſcrimination. And theſe are arranged, as much as poſſible, in chronological order; a method highly worthy of imitation, as it exhibits at one view, a brief hiſtory of the plant, by pointing out the firſt diſcoverer, and the regions of its growth. This, to the curious botaniſt, is a very meritorious part of Haller's labour. To each is ſubjoined a ſummary account, from the beſt writers, of the qualities and uſes, both œconomical and medical. The work is embelliſhed with plates of ſome rare ſpecies, remarkable for their exactneſs and delicacy.

Having, in 1741, obtained from the king of Great Britain the eſtabliſhment of the phyſic garden at Gottingen, Haller publiſhed the following year a catalogue of its plants. This was but a ſmall volume, but the liſt ſerved to ſhew the diligence with which he had fulfilled the intention of the royal founder. In 1753, he much enlarged it, and comprehended the plants ſpontaneouſly growing in the environs, eſpecially thoſe of the Black Foreſt. He informs us that this volume was the production of a three months vacation, and laments that the importance of his other avocations, prevented him from fulfilling his

his intention of deſcribing the plants of Germany at large.

This little work is curious, ſince it exemplifies his ſyſtem as extended to exotics, of which the new and rare kinds are herein deſcribed. But the ſmall ſize of the volume precluded the introduction of the generical characters.

In 1745, he gratified the botaniſts by a new edition of the *Flora Jenenſis* of Ruppius; and, that he might do juſtice to his author, he took a journey to Jena, where he gained acceſs to the papers and *hortus ſiccus* of the author. He prefixed to this book anecdotes of this extraordinary man; and, by reforming the whole, and augmenting it with many plants, diſcovered by himſelf, he in ſome meaſure made it a *Flora Germanica*. Theſe performances were by no means the termination of his botanical labours. On his return to Switzerland he continued his diſcoveries in this branch of natural hiſtory; he alſo ſent, at his own expence, perſons properly qualified into the leſs frequented parts of Switzerland.

The reſult appeared in a new edition of the *Enumeratio*, which however was ſo much improved and altered, that he conſiders it as a new work. It was publiſhed in three vols. fol. in 1768, under the title of *Hiſtoria Stirpium indigenarum Helvetiæ, inchoata.* The ſubject is arranged in his own method, with the alteration however, of inverting the order of the claſſes; beginning with the *Compoſitæ*, or the *Syngeneſia* claſs of Linnæus, and ending with the *Cryptogamia*, which ſtood firſt in the *Enumeratio;* both of which are objectionable, as ſubjecting the ſtudent to the moſt difficult parts of the ſyſtem at

his entrance on the ſtudy. Several intereſting particulars of the former publication are alſo omitted in theſe volumes, of which curious botaniſts will much regret the loſs: for, though he has inſerted, with enlargement, the phyſical geography of Switzerland, together with the account of thoſe authors who had previouſly inveſtigated the plants of the country, and has recited his own excurſions for that purpoſe; yet he has not introduced the critical catalogue of the authors, ſatisfying himſelf with giving a bare liſt of all the botanical writings, from the time of Theophraſtus to the year 1768. It is ſtill more to be regretted, that Haller has ſuppreſſed, in this edition, a great number of ſynonymes under each plant; inſerting only a few of thoſe of later date. It may further be remarked, that although in all poſſible inſtances he has introduced the ſynonymes of Linnæus, yet he has, unfortunately for ſuch as uſe the works of both, omitted Linnæus's trivial names; a circumſtance which renders his book much leſs uſeful to thoſe who are converſant in the ſexual ſyſtem. Yet, if theſe are defects, they are doubtleſs more than compenſated, by the innumerable improvements made in the deſcriptions, both of the genera and ſpecies, by the great addition to the number of plants, which are extended from 1840 to 2486, of which more than 800 are of the Cryptogamia claſs; Haller having, after Micheli, beyond any of his contemporaries, enlarged the orders of Fungi, of which he tells us, he had the paintings of more than 400 ſpecies drawn under his own inſpection. It is not, however, ſurprizing, that Switzerland ſhould produce a greater variety of vegetables than the middle parts of Europe; when we reflect

flect that the alpine ſituations afford growth to the plants of the arctic regions, and the warm vallies of the ſame country, to many of thoſe common to ſouthern. The value of this edition is much enhanced by enlarging the obſervations on the uſes of plants; and by referring to his authorities for what is not his own, with his accuſtomed accuracy. As an acceſſion to this work, it may be added, that the author has, in the notes, under each genus, introduced the plants of Theophraſtus and Dioſcorides, in as many inſtances as they admit of being aſcertained.

Few botaniſts have laboured more than Haller; and yet his diſcoveries in botany occupied only a comparatively ſmall portion of his time.

To ſuch as feel not, in the fulleſt extent, that enthuſiaſm which the love of ſcience creates, it may appear a paradox to aſſert, that the diſſection of human bodies could be a pleaſurable employment; yet Haller, in 1742, pronounced an elegant and ſpirited eulogium, in the univerſity of Gottingen, to prove it; and his zeal in the purſuit of anatomical diſcoveries was attended with uncommon ſucceſs. He ſeems early to have apprehended, that the knowledge of the diſtribution of the arterial ſyſtem, had not kept pace with that of the bones, muſcles, nerves, and viſcera, which had been ſeparately and ably treated by men of eminence. Haller, therefore, wiſhed to illuſtrate more perfectly this part of the human body; and he gave to the world a more complete ſyſtem on the ſubject than had yet appeared. He publiſhed the firſt part of this great work in 1743, and the laſt in 1756. His

tracts

tracts on other parts of anatomy, when collected in 1768, form three vols. in 4to. Thoſe who are curious, may ſee an enumeration of his many diſcoveries in anatomy and phyſiology, at the head of the ſixth volume of his Phyſiology; and although ſome of theſe may have been conteſted by his contemporaries; yet his unalienable right to moſt of them, and the light particularly which he threw upon incubations, oſſification, irritability, and ſeveral other parts of the animal œconomy, will unqueſtionably ſecure to him a large and honourable ſhare of fame with poſterity.

Haller's emoluments augmented as his merits were diſplayed; and honours flowed upon him from all quarters. He was elected, in 1748, into the Royal Society of Stockholm, into that of London, in 1749, and, in 1754, choſen one of the eight foreign members in the Academy of Sciences at Paris. In 1739, he was appointed phyſician to George the Second, and king's counſellor in 1740. In 1749, the emperor Francis conferred on him letters of nobility at the requeſt of George the Second; and about the ſame time the king, in a viſit which he paid to the univerſity, diſtinguiſhed Haller with particular marks of approbation: an honour which the author gratefully acknowledges, in an Engliſh publication, intitled, "A ſhort Narrative of the King's Journey to Gottingen," and in the dedication to George the Second, prefixed to his edition of Boerhaave's *Methodus Studii Medici*.

He declined, in 1745, an invitation to Oxford, which would probably have terminated in his nomination to the profeſſorſhip of botany, vacant by the death of the celebrated Dillenius; a ſecond

a ſecond from the univerſity of Utrecht; and, in 1750, a third from the king of Pruſſia, with the offer of a very conſiderable penſion.

But of all his promotions, none gave him more real ſatisfaction, than his election into the Great Council of Berne, as it inſured to him a retreat accompanied with dignity, and probably with emolument, in his native city, to which he looked forward with affection and attachment.

At length, in 1753, induced by the precarious ſtate of his health, by the deſire of removing from Gottingen, which he called the *grave* of his wives*, and by his earneſt anxiety to dedicate the

* Haller was three times married, firſt to Marianne Wytſen, in 1731, who died in 1736. 2. To Elizabeth Buchers, in 1738, who died in childbed the ſame or the following year; both natives of Berne. 3. In 1739, to Amelia Frederica Teichmeyer, a German lady, who ſurvived him. He has written and publiſhed the lives of his two firſt wives. He left eight children, four ſons and four daughters: all of whom he lived to ſee eſtabliſhed. His eldeſt ſon, Gotlieb Emanuel, who was born in 1735, followed his father's example in dedicating himſelf to the ſervice of his country, and to the purſuits of literature. He was elected member of the Great Council, and obtained various employments under government, particularly the bailliage of Nyon, in which ſituation he died in 1786. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an author by various publications tending to illuſtrate the hiſtory and literature of Switzerland, and particularly by his *Schweitzer-bibliothek*, or Swiſs Library, in 6 volumes 8vo. of which he lived to publiſh only the firſt. In this work, deſervedly eſteemed for its method and accuracy, the indefatigable author enumerates all the books which treat of Switzerland, in all languages, and all the works publiſhed by the Swiſs on all ſubjects. He even deſcends to the minuteſt articles which have appeared in reviews and journals; and in moſt inſtances, where the publication deſerves detail, analyſes the contents, corrects the errors, and gives his opinion on the merits of the performance.

I was

the remainder of his days to the ſervice of his country, he took a journey to Berne, in order to procure an eſtabliſhment, which, though not adequate to his preſent appointments, might place him in the boſom of his beloved Switzerland. Soon after his arrival, he fortunately obtained by lot the office of Amman: although this office was of ſmall emolument, yet, as it might be conſidered a prelude to future appointments, and as it gave him an immediate opportunity of ſerving his children, he reſigned his profeſſorſhip at Gottingen, and ſettled at Berne. Such was the general joy of his countrymen on this event, that Morikoſof ſtruck a medal to commemorate his return.

Having formed this reſolution, he could not be ſhaken by the moſt ſplendid offers. He declined, in 1755, the preſſing invitation of Frederic the Second, to ſuperintend the academies of Pruſſia, and to accept the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Hall, vacant by the death of Wolfe. In 1767, he rejected the offer of a very advantageous and honourable ſettlement at St. Peterſburgh, made by Catherine the Second; and, in 1770, the ſtill more dignified promotion to the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Gottingen, with a very conſiderable appointment; although George the Third wrote not only to Haller, but to the Senate of Berne, requeſting their influence to perſuade his acceptance of it.

I was perſonally acquainted with the learned author, and am indebted to him for ſome curious information on Switzerland, and for ſeveral anecdotes relative to his illuſtrious father, which I have introduced into theſe biographical memoirs.

His

His grateful country rewarded this diſintereſted attachment with the moſt liberal and unbounded confidence, and employed his talents in the public ſervice.

In 1757, he was ſent to reform the academy of Lauſanne; and, in the following year, was deputed by the Senate to examine ſome curious remains of antiquity lately diſcovered at Culm. About the ſame time he was appointed director of the ſalt-works at Bex and Aigle, with an annual ſalary of £.500. During the term of this appointment, which continued ſix years, he reſided at La Roche.

In this retirement, he employed himſelf in ſuperintending and improving the ſalt-works, of which he has given a ſhort account; in making occaſional excurſions into the neighbouring country, which he has likewiſe deſcribed; but more particularly diſtinguiſhed his retreat by preparing and publiſhing his great work on phyſiology.

Notwithſtanding the amplitude and ſucceſs of Haller's labours in the various branches of medical knowledge, it was, however, principally on phyſiology, which ſeems to have been his peculiar delight, that he diſplayed the whole force of his genius, and that he founded his merit as an *inventor* in ſcience.

His Outlines of Phyſiology, or *Primæ Lineæ Phyſiologicæ*, publiſhed at Gottingen in 1747, delineate the plan, and were the prelude to his immortal work, which he modeſtly ſtyles *Elements* only, or *Elementa Phyſiologiæ corporis humani*, in eight volumes in quarto, which ſucceſſively made their appearance from 1757 to 1766.

In

In conformity to Boerhaave's plan, this part of the ſcience of phyſic is here emancipated from theoretical ſubtlety, from the ſhackles of metaphyſical, mechanical, and chymical hypotheſes, with which, for ages, it had been incumbered; and, for the firſt time, built on the true baſis of anatomical knowledge.

It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the exquiſite knowledge which he diſplayed in relation to the ſtructure of the human body, his indefatigable reſearches into the facts and opinions of all his predeceſſors, the judicious ſelection of them to eſtabliſh his own, his ſkill in comparative anatomy, the extent of his own diſcoveries, and the application of the whole to illuſtrate the uſe of the parts in the human frame, afford ſuch an inſtance of learning, induſtry, penetration, and genius, as will undoubtedly tranſmit the author's name to poſterity among the greateſt contributors to uſeful knowledge.

On his return to Berne he was elected member of the chamber of appeal for the German diſtrict, of the council of finances, of the committees for matrimonial affairs, and for improving the ſmall livings in the French diſtrict of the canton: he was alſo appointed perpetual aſſeſſor of the Council of Health, with an annual ſalary of about £.100, as a token of his country's gratitude for having declined ſo many ſplendid offers from foreign courts, and for preferring his native place to the advancement of his fortune.

In theſe ſeveral offices he performed eſſential ſervices to the ſtate, by promoting the moſt uſeful inſtitutions, propoſing neceſſary alterations, and in framing new laws and ordinances. In his capacity of aſſeſſor to the Chamber of Health, he

he was particularly uſeful in forwarding the moſt important regulations; ſuch as the prohibition of empirics, the recovery of drowned perſons, and the means to prevent the ſpreading of the infectious diſtemper then prevalent among the cattle in various parts of Europe.

He alſo ſhewed himſelf a friend to humanity, by the zeal with which he aſſiſted in obtaining from government a public eſtabliſhment for orphans, by his activity in providing it with a fund, and by drawing up the plan. As a member of the Œconomical Society, he laboured much to improve the ſtate of agriculture, and made many experiments conducive to that end. In the meetings of the Great Council he delivered, on important occaſions, his opinion with a manly freedom and lively eloquence, the reſult of the ſoundeſt judgment and the moſt feeling heart.

In 1766, and the following years, this great man, who had hitherto enlightened ſcience from his cloſet, diſplayed in the theatre of public life the more active and diſtinguiſhed parts of a patriot and politician. He re-eſtabliſhed the harmony and ſettled the diſputes between the Vallais and the canton of Berne by a ſucceſsful negociation, in which he fixed the new boundaries of the two ſtates; he was aſſociated with the moſt enlightened characters of the republic in terminating the diſſentions of Geneva; he drew up the principal diſpatches to the court of Verſailles on the ſubject of the changes which had been projected at Verſoi, on which occaſion he held a perſonal conference with the French ambaſſador; and was employed to prepare the plan of a treaty, which the canton of Berne contracted with the

Elector

Elector of Bavaria relating to the purchaſe of ſalt.

On the concluſion of theſe public employments, Haller, who had now attained the ſixty-ſecond year of his age, withdrew himſelf from the buſtle of life, and lived in a more retired manner, fulfilling the duties of a father, a citizen, and a magiſtrate; and, although his health gradually declined, yet his activity ſtill remained undiminiſhed.

He reſumed his literary labours, which had been neceſſarily interrupted amidſt his other more important avocations. He publiſhed, in 1768, his hiſtory of Swiſs plants, mentioned above: and, in 1771, the firſt part of his *Bibliotheca Medicinæ*, or his Medical Library.

No part of Haller's writings affords a more ſtriking example of the value of early and perſevering induſtry, than this publication. That habit which he had formed, ſo early as from the eighteenth year of his age, of noting his opinion of books and authors, neceſſarily accumulated a conſiderable maſs of materials; and thus enabled him afterwards to turn them to very uſeful purpoſes.

By theſe means the foundation of his *Medical Library* was laid, even before he gave the improved edition of Boerhaave's *Methodus Studii Medici*, in 1751.

Boerhaave uſed to recommend to his ſtudents the books which they ought to conſult on each ſubject: this catalogue was, in 1726, ſurreptitiouſly and inaccurately printed, and formed only a ſmall volume in octavo; many neceſſary obſervations were forgotten, and various authors both modern and antient were omitted. Haller undertook

dertook to remedy theſe deficiencies; and extended the publication to two volumes in quarto. In order to appreciate the merits of this compilation, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that various lexicons and catalogues of medical authors were extant; but the writers had merely given bare liſts and titles, unaccompanied by that critical diſcrimination of the deſign, doctrine, and general merit of each author, which rendered theſe volumes ſo highly acceptable. In this manner Haller has given, under that claſſical method which Boerhaave had formed, his opinion of more than 4,000 volumes.

In the extenſion of this plan, as it appears in his own *Bibliotheca*, Haller begins, by tracing the hiſtory of each branch of medicine from its origin, through the preceding ages; and by connecting the hiſtory of each in the ſeveral periods, has, in ſome meaſure, made his publication a compendious hiſtory of phyſic.

Haller's extenſive knowledge of antient and modern languages, enabled him to comprehend a large field; and his indefatigable induſtry, united to great penetration in inveſtigating the doctrines of the antients, equally exhibits his erudition, and that ſound judgment by which he has appreciated the merit of thoſe ſages of phyſic, in a manner highly intereſting and inſtructive.

In his judgment of the moderns he is candid and impartial; his great knowledge of his ſubjects qualified him to diſtinguiſh all original doctrines, new facts, and obſervations, and to guard againſt ſuch errors as might miſlead young and incautious practitioners; who are but too apt to be influenced in their practice, by imbibed theories,

theories, and prejudice towards particular authors.

He has given additional value to his work, by annexing to the account of celebrated books, ſhort biographical anecdotes of the author. He mentions all the different editions, that came to his knowledge, and particularly marks ſuch as were in his own library. And it is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that in this manner he notices and reviews not fewer than 11,000 volumes. As the literary hiſtory of phyſic was among the favourite objects of Haller, this publication cannot but be highly acceptable to ſuch as poſſeſs a congenial taſte; while the general uſe and information they afford are ſufficiently obvious.

Eight volumes of this work were publiſhed during the author's life-time, between the years 1771 and 1778. The anatomical, including the phyſiology, the botanical, and the chirurgical, were each comprized in two volumes, and bring down the reſpective ſubjects nearly to the preſent time. Two, on the practice of phyſic, were publiſhed by Haller himſelf, and a third after his deceaſe by Dr Tribolet.

He alſo employed the latter period of his life in ſending extracts from eminent publications for the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnee;* furniſhed many of the articles for the ſupplement to the Paris Encyclopédie, for the quarto improved edition of the ſame work publiſhed at Yverdun, and for the dictionary of natural hiſtory printed at the ſame place. He meditated alſo a new edition of his great phyſiological work, of which he put forth the firſt volume in 1777, only a few months before his death.

His

His active imagination brooding on the civil and political affairs, in which he had been lately engaged, produced, between 1771 and 1774, his three political romances, Uſong, Alfred, and Fabius and Cato, which treat of the deſpotic, monarchical, and republican governments. In Uſong he ſketches, with a maſterly hand, the abuſes of abſolute authority, and ſets forth, in the character of the principal perſonage, the happy effects which may be derived from a virtuous and intelligent ſovereign, even amidſt the horrors of oriental deſpotiſm. In Alfred he diſplays the advantages of a limited monarchy, wherein the balance of power is wiſely diſtributed; and which, while it avoids the extremes of either, enjoys the benefits of both. In Fabius and Cato he deſcribes, with an animation and ſpirit worthy of antient Rome, but with a partiality natural to a republican, the ariſtocratical government as moſt friendly to the diſplay of patriotiſm, and moſt congenial to the exertions of genius. In theſe romances he diſcovers ſound principles of legiſlation, great political ſagacity, a deep inſight into human nature, and a moſt extenſive acquaintance with hiſtory.

If we conſider Haller as a man of piety and a Chriſtian, we ſhall obſerve him tracing, from a comprehenſive view of the creation in its grandeſt as well as in its minuteſt parts, the *neceſſary* exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and the great principles of natural religion. We ſhall ſee him demonſtrating the divine origin of Chriſtianity from a profound ſtudy of the New Teſtament, from the excellence of its morality, its manifeſt influence over the happineſs of mankind, and its tendency to meliorate our nature; and we ſhall

find

find him proving himſelf, both in his life and writings, a zealous friend and able advocate of the revealed doctrines.

Haller, at a very early period of his life, undertook the defence of natural and revealed religion on all occaſions. In 1732, he declared, in his preface to his poetry, that he was firmly convinced of their truth; in 1747, he rejected with horror the dedication which La Metrie offered to prefix to his work, entitled, "*L'Homme Machine*;" and he declared, in various literary journals, that he neither acknowledged as his friend, or his diſciple, a man who entertained ſuch impious notions. In a preface which he publiſhed in 1751, to Formey's abridgment of Crouzas's "*Examen du Pyrrhoniſme*," he paints, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the dreadful effects of infidelity both on ſociety and individuals. He alſo put forth, in the German tongue, "Letters to his Daughter, on the Truth of the Chriſtian Revelation;" he publiſhed an extract from Ditton's "Truth of the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt," which he acknowledges to have firſt cleared any doubts he might entertain on that ſubject. He avows, at the ſame time, that he received infinite ſatisfaction from the ſtudy of the New Teſtament, becauſe he was never more certain of holding converſe with the Deity, than when he read his *will* in that divine book.

In 1775, he finally gave to the public, alſo in the German language, "Letters concerning ſeveral late Attempts of Freethinkers yet living againſt Revelation. In this work the author examines and refutes the objections to Chriſtianity, advanced in ſo lively and dangerous a manner by Voltaire in his *Queſtions ſur l'Encyclopedie*.

"If

"If this latter publication," adds Sennebier, "may be conſidered as an Index to the Doubts and Arguments againſt the Chriſtian Religion, the work of Haller may be intitled an Index to the Anſwers in favour of the ſame Revelation, to be conſulted by thoſe who wiſh impartially to diſcuſs both ſides of this important queſtion." When learning and philoſophy, inſtead of being employed in ſupporting ſceptical tenets by artful ſophiſtry, thus lend their united aſſiſtance to the cauſe of religion, they then truly become an honour to the poſſeſſor, and a benefit to ſociety.

Even this great and good man was not exempt from a too anxious ſolicitude for his welfare in a future ſtate. That depreſſion of ſpirits, which ought juſtly to be conſidered as the effects of diſeaſe, and the warmth of his imagination conſpiring perhaps with the narrow principles of Calviniſm, in which he had been educated, led him to reflect rather on the *juſtice* than the *mercy* of the Deity, and to bewilder himſelf in the endleſs mazes of predeſtination and grace. In one of his deſponding fits, he compared himſelf, as uncertain of ſalvation, to a man placed on the edge of a precipice without any ſupport, and expecting every inſtant to fall. At another moment, animated with a paſſion for ſcience, he breaks out, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, into the following exclamation, expreſſive of his regret to quit a world which he had improved by his diſcoveries, and which he might ſtill further illuminate by his zeal and application. "O my poor brain, which muſt return to duſt; and all the knowledge and information, which I have been collecting with ſuch unwearied

labour, will *fade away* like the dream of an infant."

Theſe little weakneſſes of a great mind overpowered by conſtitutional irritability, and ſtruggling againſt early prejudices, are more intereſting to the man who feels and reſpects the imperfections of human nature, even in its moſt exalted ſtate, than the moſt pompous and exaggerated accounts of *unerring* wiſdom, or *uniform* virtue, which never exiſted. And it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to learn, that reaſon and religion roſe ſuperior to the gloomy deſpondency of ſickneſs; and that Haller met death with the calmneſs of a philoſopher, and the faith of a Chriſtian. In the laſt letter which he wrote, a few days before his deceaſe, he ſpeaks indeed of the tremendous grandeur of eternity, but with hopes rather than with fears; and looks back upon his paſt life with ſatisfaction: amidſt a few complaints uttered on his painful ſufferings, he mentions his country with the moſt ardent affection, and offers up his laſt prayers for its preſervation and welfare. He continued his literary labours, and preſerved his ſenſes and compoſure to the laſt moment; he beheld his end approaching without fear and regret; "My friend," ſaid he to the phyſician who attended him, "I die, my pulſe is ſtopped," and then expired. He died on the 12th of December, 1777, in the ſeventieth year of his age.—Thus lived, and thus died, the great Haller; a man to whom Michaelis, the eminent orientaliſt, juſtly applies an obſervation which had been made on the genius of Ariſtotle; "*Neque cælo, neque terrâ, neque mari quicquam relinquere voluit incognitum, indole præterea*

*præterea adeo mirabili, ut ad ſingula natum præcipuè dicas**."

In his perſon Haller was tall and majeſtic, of a ſerious and expreſſive countenance; he had at times an open ſmile, always a pleaſing tone of voice, uſually low, and ſeldom elevated, even when he was moſt agitated. He was fond of unbending himſelf in ſociety, was on thoſe occaſions remarkably cheerful, polite, and attentive; he would converſe with the ladies on faſhions, modes of dreſs, and other trifles, with as much eaſe as if he had never ſecluded himſelf from the world.

Mr. Bonnet informed me, that Haller wrote with equal facility the German, French, and Latin tongues; that he was ſo well acquainted with all the European languages, except the Ruſſian, Poliſh, and Hungarian, as to ſpeak with the natives in their reſpective idioms. When he converſed on any ſcience or ſubject of literature, his knowledge was ſo extenſive, that he ſeemed to have made that his particular ſtudy. His profound erudition in every branch of ſcience, is well known to all who are converſant with his works: but the variety of his information, and the verſatility of his talents, are thus delineated by a perſon †, who was his particular friend. "He poſſeſſed a fundamental knowledge of natural hiſtory; was well read in

* He left nothing unexplored, either in the heavens, on the earth, or in the ſea, and was of ſuch a wonderful capacity, that he ſeemed born for the immediate object of his purſuit.

† Tſcharner Lobrede, &c. p. 87.

hiſtory both antient and modern, univerſal and particular; and uncommonly verſed in the ſtate of agriculture, manufactures, trade, population, literature, and languages of the reſpective nations of Europe: he had read with attention the moſt remarkable voyages and travels; and was particularly converſant in the late diſcoveries which tend to illuſtrate the geography of the globe. He had even peruſed many thouſand novels and plays; and poſſeſſed ſuch an aſtoniſhing memory, that he could detail their contents with the utmoſt preciſion.

As it was his cuſtom to make extracts, and to give his opinion of every book which came into his hands, as well for his own private uſe, as for the Gottingen Review *, he read moſt new publications, and ſo eager was he uſually in the peruſal, that he laid them upon the table even when he was at dinner, occaſionally looking into them, and marking thoſe parts with a pencil, which he afterwards extracted or commented upon. He was accuſtomed to make his remarks on ſmall pieces of paper, of different ſizes, which he placed in order, and faſtened together; a method he learned from Leibnitz.

He derived from nature extreme ſenſibility, or rather irritability of temper, which is ever the child of genius. He ſpoke therefore from his own experience, when, in a letter to Voltaire, he thus expreſſed himſelf:—"Providence holds with an equal hand the balance of human happineſs.

* Haller reviewed, as his department for that literary journal, all publications on hiſtory, medicine, anatomy, natural hiſtory, and ſeveral miſcellaneous works, particularly thoſe which appeared in Italy.

pineſs. He has loaded you with riches, he has loaded you with glory; but misfortune was neceſſary, and he preſerved the equilibrium by giving you ſenſibility. If my wiſhes could take effect, I would beſtow upon you that *tranquillity* which flies at the approach of genius, which is inferior to genius in relation to ſociety, but far ſuperior in regard to ourſelves: then the moſt celebrated man in Europe ſhould be at the ſame time the moſt happy *."

He was always impatient under ſickneſs, as well from his extreme ſuſceptibility of pain, as becauſe he was precluded in that ſituation from his literary occupations. He was fond, therefore, of taking violent remedies, more calculated to remove the immediate effects of pain, and to check his diſorder, than to cure it radically. In his latter years he accuſtomed himſelf to opium, which, operating as a temporary palliative, only increaſed his natural impatience. This reſtleſſneſs of temper, which occaſionally diſturbed his tranquillity even in his younger days, and in the full flow of his health and ſpirits, was conſiderably heightened by the advances of age, and the diſorders which ſhattered his frame towards the cloſe of his days.

His

* *Il faut bien que la providence veuille tenir la balance égale pour tous les humains. Elle vous a comblé de biens, elle vous a comblé de gloire; mais il vois falloit du malheur, elle a trouvé l'équilibre en vous rendant ſenſible.—Si les ſouhaits avoient du pouvoir, j'ajouterois aux bienfaits du deſtin; je vous donnerois de la tranquillité, qui fuit devant le genie, qui ne le vaut pas par rapport à la ſociété; mais qui vaut bien davantage par rapport à nous-même: des-lors l'homme le plus célébre de l'Europe ſeroit auſſi le plus heureux.*

His correſpondence in every period of his life was extenſive, punctual, and carried on in the Engliſh, French, German, Latin, and Italian languages.

Six volumes of Latin epiſtles, and three in the German tongue, addreſſed to him from men of learning in various parts of Europe, have been given to the public, but his own have never made their appearance. It is much to be lamented, that he ſeldom preſerved any copies, being himſelf too much occupied for that purpoſe; and never ſufficiently rich to maintain a ſecretary. His two principal correſpondents, to whom he opened his heart, were Bonnet of Geneva, and John Geſner of Zuric: to the latter he wrote either in German or Latin, to Mr. Bonnet in the French tongue. This celebrated friend of Haller poſſeſſes ſeven manuſcript volumes of his letters: it was an uninterrupted correſpondence of twenty-three years; begun in March, 1754, and finiſhing only a few days before his death, in December, 1777. This epiſtolary commerce comprehends a great variety of ſubjects, principally concerning phyſiology, natural hiſtory, the ſtructure of the globe, politics, morality, and religion. Haller being accuſtomed to conſult his friend on all occaſions, to diſcloſe his moſt ſecret thoughts, and to relate his diurnal occupations; theſe effuſions of the moment diſcover the ſucceſſive train of his ſtudies, the progreſs of his diſcoveries, and his gradual advances in knowledge.

"Theſe letters of my moſt reſpectable friend," added Bonnet, "diſplay his genius, his

his underſtanding, and the goodneſs of his heart, more fully than any of his publications. His ſtyle, conciſe, energetic yet pictureſque, correſponds with the ſtrength and originality of his ideas; and he ſpeaks, with no leſs ſublimity than conviction, of the great truths of natural and revealed religion. Though he treats the numerous advocates for infidelity, and particularly Voltaire, with ſufficient ſeverity; yet his heat is the ardour of conviction, and did not proceed from either pique or ſpirit of contradiction: he ſeemed as if he was perſonally intereſted in all queſtions on revelation, and pleaded its cauſe as if it had been his own. He is no leſs ſevere againſt thoſe writers, who ſeem to exclude the intervention of a firſt intellectual cauſe in the creation and arrangement of the univerſe, and particularly cenſures the materialiſts, who endeavour to deduce mechanically the formation of organized bodies. In a word, his philoſophy was entirely practical, becauſe it was entirely Chriſtian; and nothing ſecured his approbation, but what tended to improve the underſtanding, or to amend the heart."

I am concerned to find, that the publication of this correſpondence, between two ſuch enlightened and virtuous philoſophers as Haller and Bonnet, which in ſome works had been announced to the public, ſhould, on account of private reaſons, be relinquiſhed. Religion, morality, philoſophy, and learning, would be greatly benefited by this epiſtolary commerce.

Haller's library, conſiſting of about four thouſand volumes, was purchaſed for £. 2,000 by the

the emperor, for the public library of Milan, where I examined it in 1785. The collection is particularly rich in books of natural history, and is rendered invaluable from numerous annotations of Haller, written on the margins.

LETTER

Head of the BEARDED VULTURE *from Nature*

Head of the BEARDED VULTURE *from Nature*

LETTER 58.

Mr. Sprungli's Collection of Swiſs Birds—Of the Bearded Vulture.

DURING my various expeditions through Berne, I never omitted viſiting Mr. Sprungli's cabinet of natural hiſtory, which is remarkable for the collection of ſtuffed birds, both local and migratory, that are found in Switzerland.

In 1776, this collection conſiſted of two hundred ſpecimens; and when I laſt viſited Berne, in 1786, it had received an addition of fifty ſpecies.

As naturaliſts have long expected with impatience an account of this invaluable collection, I obtained from Mr. Sprungli the encloſed catalogue, which will aſſiſt me in attempting to form a *Faunula Helvetica* *.

One of the moſt remarkable birds in Mr. Sprungli's collection, is the *vultur barbatus* of Linnæus, the *vultur aureus* of Geſner, or bearded vulture of the Engliſh ornithologiſts. As many fabulous tales have been related concerning its uncommon ſtrength and rapaciouſneſs; as great

* See the latter end of this Volume.

confuſion

confuſion has ariſen from the variety of names applied by different naturaliſts to the ſame bird; and as ſome travellers have doubted whether this ſpecimen is the large vulture of the Alps, or the golden vulture of Conrad Geſner; I ſhall here ſubjoin a deſcription from particulars principally communicated to me by Mr. Sprungli himſelf, accompanied with a drawing of the head from the natural ſize.

This ſpecimen was a female bird, caught in the canton of Glarus; it meaſured from the tip of the beak to the extremity of the tail, ſix feet ſix inches French * meaſure; and eight feet from the tip of one wing to that of the other expanded. It weighed, when firſt taken, eleven pounds. This bird, though always called a vulture, yet differs from that genus, and is referable to the eagle, in having the head and neck covered with feathers; whereas one of the diſtinctions of the vulture, according to Linnæus, is that the head is deſtitute of feathers.

Notwithſtanding this diſtinguiſhing mark, by which it is referable to the eagle or *falco* genus; yet Linnæus was probably induced to claſs it with the vultures, from the general form of the body, and ſhape of the beak, which is the *firſt eſſential* characteriſtic in the genera of birds.

Mr. Sprungli, however, is of opinion, that it might be claſſed between the vulture and the eagle; and Stor † propoſes to form a new genus of it, under the name of GYPAETUS, by the following characters:

* Six feet eleven inches $\frac{1}{3}$ Engliſh, and eight feet ſix inches $\frac{0}{1\,3}$.

† See Stor's Alpen Reiſen, vol. i.

Roſtrum

Roſtrum rectum, baſi cera inſtructum ſetis porrectis conferti ſſimis barbatum; apice auctum unco ſulcato.
Caput pennis tectum.

The ſpecific character he would define thus:

Gypaetus (grandis) albido-rutilus dorſo fuſcus, tænia nigra ſupra et infra oculos.

It inhabits the higheſt parts of the great chain of the Alps which ſeparates Switzerland from Italy; it makes its neſt in clefts of rocks inacceſſible to man, and uſually produces three young ones at a time, ſometimes four; as may be judged from that number accompanying the old birds, when they deſcend into the lower regions for prey. They live on animals which inhabit the Alps, ſuch as the chamois, white hares, marmots, ſnow hens, kids, and particularly lambs, from which circumſtance it is called *lammer-gayer*, or *lamb* vulture.

If common report may be credited, this rapacious creature ſometimes attacks even man, and carries off children. Mr. Sprungli, without abſolutely denying the poſſibility of this account, has, notwithſtanding all his reſearches, never been able to aſcertain a well-authenticated inſtance; and thence rather concludes it to be a fable invented by the peaſants to frighten their children. This ſpecies does not appear but in ſmall companies, uſually conſiſting of the two old birds and their young.

Conrad Geſner has given a ſhort but accurate deſcription of this bird under the name of *vultur*

aureus,

aureus, or gold geyer *; and an engraving from a ſkin ſent to him from the Griſons. This figure, although rudely executed, yet exhibits with ſufficient accuracy the diſtinguiſhing characters of the ſpecies and genus, ſuch as the configuration of the beak, the legs feathered down to the claws, and particularly the beard. In fine, a compariſon with the ſpecimen in Mr. Sprungli's collection evidently proves that it is the ſame bird.

Since this great naturaliſt, no other perſon ſeems to have deſcribed it from nature, except Edwards, under the denomination of the bearded vulture. The deſcription of that bird, and the engraving given by Edwards † from a ſpecimen ſent from Santa Cruz in Barbary, correſpond exactly with the *vultur barbatus* of Sprungli; and the head, if compared with the drawing annexed to this account, will be found to anſwer ſufficiently.

Mr. Sprungli alſo favoured me with the following remarks, in anſwer to thoſe travellers who aſſert, that his ſpecimen is not the large vulture of the Alps, ſometimes called, from its *yellowiſh* plumage, the *vauteur jaune*, but a ſmaller ſpecies; becauſe the larger ſort meaſures ſometimes fourteen feet, or more, from the tip of one wing to that of the other. He poſſeſſes two ſpecimens of this bird; the one a full grown female, from which my deſcription and drawing are taken, meaſuring eight French feet: the other is a male, but young, and is ſomewhat leſs. He has alſo examined four ſpecimens, none of

* See *Hiſt. Avium, edit. Frank.* p. 710.
† See tab. 106. of his Hiſtory.

which

which meaſured more than nine feet; but as theſe ſeveral ſpecimens were not full grown males, he is ready to allow, that an inſtance or two may poſſibly have occurred, in which this bird may have meaſured near twelve feet from tip to tip of the wing. Thoſe who give it a greater expanſion, have derived their information either from perſons who were not naturaliſts, or from uncertain and exaggerated reports. The ſame remark may alſo be applied to the fabulous ſtories recorded by the peaſants, concerning its wonderful ſtrength as well as ſize. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the peaſants do not confine the name of *lammer-geyer* to this ſpecies; but extend it indiſcriminately to ſeveral large birds of prey, from whence has ariſen great confuſion of names, and much uncertainty in the accounts of this bird.

Some ornithologiſts ſeem to have formed of it ſeveral ſpecies; which on compariſon will appear to be the ſame, or only varieties of the ſame ſpecies. Thus the bearded vulture, the cinereous vulture, and the fulvous vulture, which Mr. Latham has deſcribed as three different ſpecies, are probably the ſame bird as that in Mr. Sprungli's collection. Of the firſt there can be no doubt, ſince Mr. Latham refers to the bearded vulture of Edwards, which I have ſhewn to be that of Mr. Sprungli. The cinereous vulture is deſcribed by Latham after Briſſon: "Beneath the throat hangs a kind of beard, compoſed of very narrow feathers like hairs; legs covered with feathers quite to the toes, which are yellow; claws black*. This deſcription accords with the bird

* *Syn.* vol. i. p. 14.

in

in queſtion, and particularly in the beard, which is the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic.

The fulvous vulture of Latham is the griffin of Buffon: and the French naturaliſt doubts whether it is not a variety of Geſner's golden vulture, which is proved to be the ſame as Mr. Sprungli's ſpecimen.

While the moſt celebrated ornithologiſts have thus given to the bird different names, they have alſo in other inſtances confounded it with other birds, to which it has no other reſemblance than that of ſize, ſtrength, and voracity.

Thus Buffon erroneouſly conjectures the *vultur gryphus* of Linnæus, or the *condor* of America, to be the ſame as the *lammer-geyer*, or vulture of the Alps; whereas the deſcription of the condor given by Linnæus, as well as by thoſe who had ſeen it, differs entirely from that of the bearded vulture. The condor is deſcribed by the Swede as having "the head deſtitute of feathers, but covered with a ſlight brown coloured down, with a comb reaching along the top of the head, and having the throat naked and of a reddiſh colour." Frezier, in his Voyage to the South Seas, alſo thus deſcribes the condor:—"We one day killed a bird of prey called a condor, which was nine feet from the end of one wing to the end of the other, and had a brown comb or creſt, but not jagged like a cock's: the fore part of its throat is red without feathers, like a turkey; and they are generally large and ſtrong enough to take up a lamb. In order to get them from the flock, they draw themſelves into a circle, and advance towards them with their wings extended, that being drove together, and too cloſe, they may not be

able to defend themſelves; then they pick them out and carry them off. Garcilaſſo ſays, there are ſome in Peru ſixteen feet from the point of one wing to the other, and that a certain nation of Indians adored them."

Mr. Latham ſeems alſo to be no leſs miſtaken, when, on the authority of the tranſlator of the Abbé Fortis's Travels into Dalmatia, he conceives the *vultur percnopterus* of Linnæus to be the *vautour des Alpes* deſcribed by Conrad Geſner, and the ſame as Mr. Sprungli's ſpecimen; whereas, on the authority of Haſſelquiſt, who ſaw great numbers of the *percnopteri* in Egypt, the head of that bird is "naked and wrinkled;" and Ray ſays, the feet are naked; two characters that eſſentially diſtinguiſh it from the bearded vulture, in which the head is wholly covered with feathers, and alſo the feet down to the ends of the claws.

The bearded vulture, beſides inhabiting thoſe Alps which ſeparate Italy from Switzerland, is found in Corſica and Sardinia. M. de Hahn informed Mr. Sprungli, that he ſaw a bird in Corſica which was wounded in the wing, and ſhewed as a ſight, that was unqueſtionably the ſame as Mr. Sprungli's ſtuffed ſpecimen: and M. Lettel, in his Natural Hiſtory of Sardinia, gives a figure and deſcription of the ſame bird, under the name of *bartgeyer*, or bearded vulture. It has alſo been found in the mountains of Africa, ſince Mr. Edwards received his ſpecimen from Santa Cruz in Barbary. It is alſo frequent on Caucaſus and the mountains of Dauria, or the ſouth-eaſtern part of Siberia, as we learn from the travels of both Pallas and Gmelin.

You will perhaps be ſurprized not to find among the Swiſs birds in the annexed catalogue, the *aigle blanc*, or *aquila alba* of * Briſſon; the *falco Italicus* †, and the *falco montanus* of the ſame ‡; as particularly *zwitzer-falk*, the German name of the latter, ſeems neceſſarily to imply that it muſt be a Swiſs bird: Mr. Sprungli however aſſured me, that he never had been able to diſcover any of theſe ſpecies in the Alps; that probably the *aigle blanc*, if it exiſts, is a variety of the chryſaetos; and that both Briſſon and Willoughby do not cite Geſner for their deſcriptions of the *falco italicus*, but thoſe only who have never been in the Alps.

Of the crows it is worthy of obſervation, that the *corvus graculus* of Linnæus, or *coracias* of Briſſon, is faithfully repreſented by Mr. Pennant, in his Britiſh Zoology, under the denomination of the red-legged crow. It is the ſame bird of which Conrad Geſner § has given a figure, and to which he applies the German appellations, *taha*, *ſteintaben*, *ſteinkrae*, and which he juſtly ſuſpects to be the *cornix cornubiæ*, or the red-legged crow. The *pyrrhocorax* of Geſner, which ſome ornithologiſts ſeem to have confounded with the *corvus graculus*, is however very different, and is called by Linnæus *corvus pyrrhocorax*. Both theſe ſpecies inhabit the Alps, but the pyrrhocorax is the moſt common; and theſe appear, according to Mr. Sprungli's obſervations, to be the only ſpecies of the crow genus that prefer to all others alpine ſituations. As to the *corvus eremita* of Linnæus, Mr. Sprungli acknowledges

* I. p. 424. † Ib. p. 336. ‡ Ib. p. 352.
§ *Hiſt. Av. ed. Frank.* p. 468.

it

it is totally unknown to him. All the ornithologiſts indeed mention this bird as an inhabitant of the Alps, on the authority of Conrad Geſner, who deſcribes it under the name of *corvus ſylvaticus*, accompanied with a figure, which has not the leaſt reſemblance to a crow, but rather to a curlew; yet Geſner's deſcription of it is much too imperfect to aſſiſt us in aſcertaining the bird of which he treats.

LETTER 59.

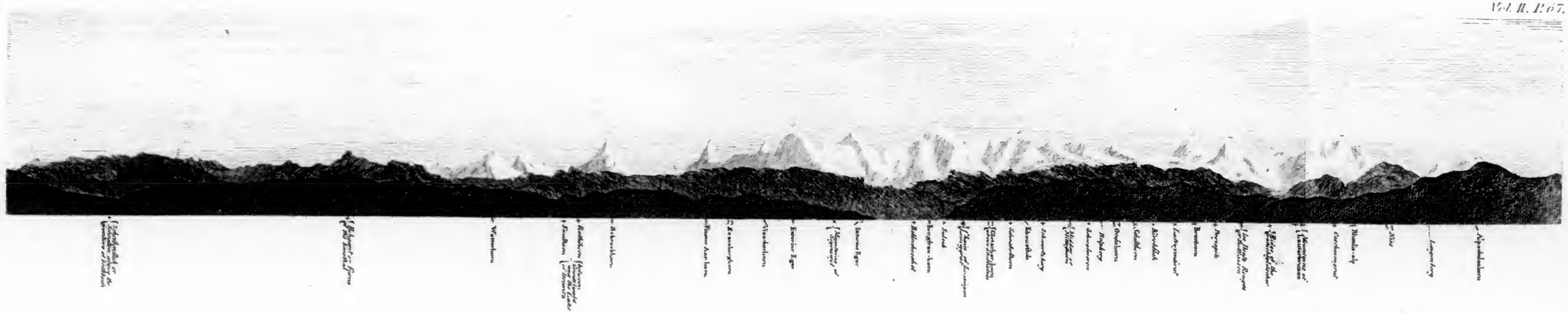
Mr. Wyttenbach's Collection—Account of the Chain of Hills and Alps ſeen from the Environs of Berne.

THE Reverend Mr. Wyttenbach of Berne, poſſeſſes a very curious cabinet, principally relating to the natural hiſtory of Switzerland, and to the canton of Berne in particular. It contains ſpecimens of ſeveral thouſand plants, among which is a large number of the alpine plants of Switzerland; and he has already began to arrange ſeparately the capſules, ſeeds, and fruits.

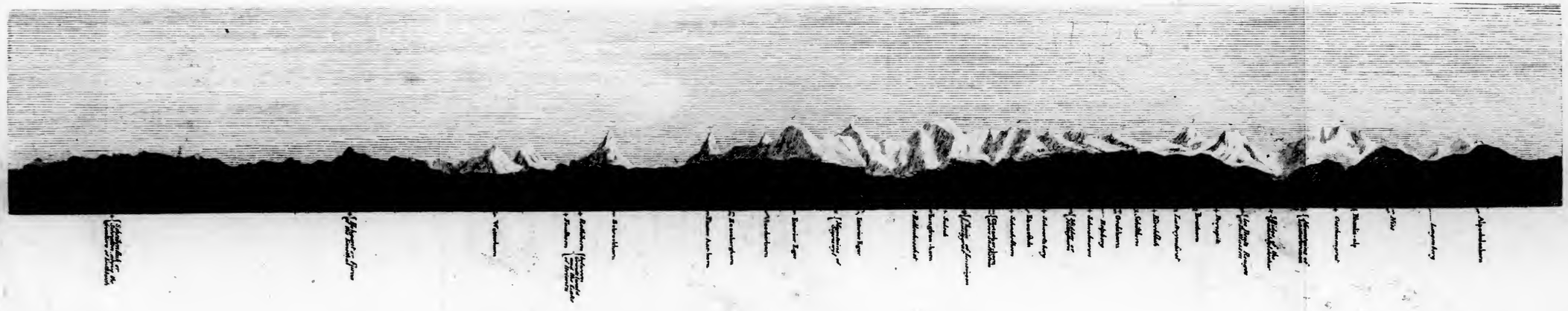
It is ſtill more intereſting for the great variety of foſſils, ſtones, and petrifactions collected by himſelf in the neighbourhood of Berne, and from the upper and lower Alps.

Mr. Wyttenbach alſo poſſeſſes various ſhells, inſects, and numerous drawings of the Glaciers and upper Alps, which cannot fail of being highly pleaſing to the curious traveller.

But I was moſt ſtruck with that part of his cabinet, comprehending thoſe objects of natural hiſtory, which in any degree influence agriculture,



View of the Alps as seen from the Environs of Berne.



View of the Alps as seen from the Environs of Berne.

ture, phyſic, arts, and trades; and which ſufficiently prove the utility of that ſcience in the progreſs and improvement of human comfort and knowledge. On this ſubject he has already publiſhed a diſſertation in the Acts of the Œconomical Society at Berne.

He has not formed this ample collection from mere motives of curioſity, or from deſultory views, but with a ſettled intention to illuſtrate the natural hiſtory of Switzerland in general; to form a topographical and mineralogical deſcription of the canton of Berne in particular; and to elucidate the original formation of mountains, which is the favourite object of his reſearches, and which his frequent viſits to the Alps will aſſiſt him in executing with fidelity and accuracy.

At my requeſt, this indefatigable obſerver favoured me with a deſcription of that range of Alps which is ſeen from Berne, and of the intervening diſtrict; an extract from which I now ſubmit to your peruſal.

That part of the chain of Alps ſeen from Berne, is diſtinguiſhed by the different names of Wetterhorn, Schreckhorn, Eger, Jungfrauhorn, Lauter-Aar-Horn, Blumlis Alp, &c. This immenſe amphitheatre, gradually riſes from the environs of Berne, to thoſe elevated peaks, covered with eternal ſnow, and has been hitherto inacceſſible.

The plains and hills between Berne and Thun are compoſed of rounded ſtones, and argillaceous ſtones called *molaſſes*, frequently ranged in alternate ſtrata.

The *molaſſe* at Gurten, about two miles from Berne, contains, though rarely, gloſſopetræ;

and the ſtrata of Belpberg, about ſeven or eight miles from the capital, are full of different ſpecies of chamites, oſtracites, globoſites, ſelenites, ſtrombites, and other ſimilar petrifactions.

The ridge of hills which border the high road between Berne and Thun contains, in ſeveral places, and particularly above Muſingen, an extenſive ſtratum of oſtracites, ſome pieces of which weigh more than fifteen pounds each. The ſituation of the ſtrata in theſe different hills, their direction, their nature, and the bodies which they encloſe, ſeem to prove, that theſe hills formed antiently one great plain, which has been ſince hollowed and divided by the waters, particularly by thoſe of the Aar.

On the ſlopes and ſummits of theſe hills, which in ſome places are of conſiderable elevation, are frequently found thoſe large maſſes of granite, which furniſh materials for the public works and buildings of Berne. Theſe maſſes ſo nearly reſemble the granite of the Grimſel, and of the mountains which compoſe the great central chain of the Alps, as to render it probable, that in the antient revolutions of this globe, they have been brought by the waters to the places where they are at preſent found, before the deep vallies, which now ſeparate them from their original mountains, exiſted. The ſame remark may be as juſtly applied to the blocks of marble and other calcareous ſtones, which, though now removed to a conſiderable diſtance from their native ſituation, are alſo diſcovered in large quantities upon the hills adjacent to Berne, and which likewiſe ſerve for the buildings of that capital.

As

As we approach the town and lake of Thun, the view opens and diſcovers, towards the ſouth-eaſt, that high calcareous chain, of which the Stockhorn, the Neuneren, and the Ganteriſh have been illuſtrated by the botanical labours of the celebrated Haller. This chain, which joins that of Schwartenburgh towards the canton of Friburgh, is chiefly calcareous, and contains fewer petrifactions than the above-mentioned hills: it is not of ſufficient elevation to be covered with ſnow in ſummer.

The Nieſs, which is the laſt mountain in this calcareous chain, ſtands on the borders of the lake; and ſeparates the valley of Frutingen from that of Simme. It is peculiarly intereſting to travellers, on account of the fine view from its ſummit; and to naturaliſts, becauſe it joins to the Alps. Towards its foot beds of ſlate have been diſcovered; higher up it is of calcareous ſtone: and near its top is found a ſpecies of pudding-ſtone, filled with ſmall fragments of broken petrifactions.

In traverſing the lake of Thun, its borders, which are planted with vines, are compoſed of rounded ſtones, united by a calcareous cement, as far as the mountains of St. Beat. There, near Rallingen, the rocks are calcareous and rugged, containing, in a few places, broken petrifactions, of which it is often difficult to aſcertain the ſpecies. On continuing my route at the foot of the St. Beat, I obſerved the firſt rocks, that are abſolutely perpendicular, and even impending, and which are marked at different elevations with furrows, occaſioned by the waters of the lake, that, in former periods, was probably ſeveral hundred feet above its

preſent

preſent level. I remarked the ſame furrows nearly at the ſame elevations, in the vallies of Lauterbrunnen and Haſli, which coincidence ſeems to prove, that the lake of Thun once extended over all theſe parts, covered the whole plain of Berne, and reached as high as the Lengenberg, where Gruner ſeems to have diſcovered theſe petrifactions called Pholades.

Having traverſed the lake of Thun, I entered the narrow but agreeable valley of Uterſeven and Interlachen, on each ſide of which the mountains approach each other, and form, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, the *veſtibule* of the Alps. This valley, ſeparating the lakes of Thun and Brientz, which appear to have been once united, is entirely formed by the ſtones which the torrents have brought from the Alps.

On the right is Abendberg covered with trees and herbage, and ſtretching towards a groupe of mountains of conſiderable extent; yet little known, though their tops may be ſeen at Berne.

The Ballenhoechſt, Sulek, Schnabelhorn, Schwartzberg, Schwalmern, Schilthorn, Kirchfluh, Latreyenfirſt, and Dreyſpitz, are the moſt remarkable mountains in this groupe, which on one ſide borders the valley of Lauterbrunnen, and on the other towers oppoſite to the Nieſs, at the commencement of the valley of Frutingen. It is united by means of the ſefinen Alps with the Dents Rouges, and the great central chain of granitical mountains. The mountains of this groupe ſtand on a baſe of argillaceous ſchiſtus, containing a few petrifactions, which is rarely viſible but at certain elevations. Towards Lauterbrunnen, particularly, a fine-grained calcareous ſtone abounds.

To

To return to the valley of Unterſeven. On the left is another groupe of calcareous mountains, which extend along the lake of Brientz towards Haſli, and ſtand alſo on an argillaceous ſchiſtus, which is but rarely viſible. And though the granitical chain is at a very ſmall diſtance, it is, however, ſo entirely concealed by theſe ſecondary mountains, as to be no where diſcovered, except between Unterſeven and Interlachen, where the Junfrau preſents herſelf in all her majeſty.

From theſe delightful plains I attempted to penetrate towards the granitical chain of Alps, through narrow vallies encloſed between perpendicular rocks of an enormous height; but every where I met with ſecondary mountains, which, to a conſiderable height, conceal the primitive bed of granite, and render the approach to it extremely dangerous, if not impracticable. Thus the valley of Lauterbrunnen is bordered by calcareous rocks even to its farther extremity. At Sichellauenen the firſt maſſes of granite appear, forming the baſe of the calcareous rocks, which are of a very great height. As I continued my route towards the chain, which ſtretches from the Jungfrau to the Groſshorn and Breithorn, I obſerved a rock of ſteatite, in which ſome veins of lead have been diſcovered and worked at Hohalp. Higher up is the true granitical chain, which, however, even there is frequently covered with calcareous peaks.

I found the approach to this chain leſs difficult at Wengenalp, the laſt of a groupe of calcareous and ſchiſtous mountains between Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald, which there joins

the Jungfrau, the ſummits whereof appear to be of granite. In the valley of Grindelwald I obſerved only the argillaceous ſchiſtus and calcareous ſtone: the external parts of the top of the Eger, of the Mettenberg, and of the Wetterhorn, are calcareous, and cover the granite of the central chain; and the only pieces of granite are the fragments, which are brought into the valley by the two Glaciers. That chain, which is oppoſite to theſe Glaciers, and borders the northern ſide of the valley of Grindelwald, has an argillaceous baſe, which, in ſeveral places, particularly towards Haſli, contains cornua ammones: this baſe is alſo covered with calcareous rocks, through which it often penetrates at different heights.

I will now take a nearer view of the primitive chain, and trace the Alps in the ſame order as they will appear to an obſerver. I ſhall conſider the Jungfrau as the center, from which I will take my departure on one ſide towards the Gemmi, and on the other towards the Schreckhorn, Wetterhorn, and Grimſel.

The Jungfrau, or Virgin, is one of the higheſt and moſt beautiful mountains in the canton of Berne. The granite does not appear till a very conſiderable elevation; its foot being in moſt parts covered by rocks, which are of calcareous ſtone, called by the natives *Staldenfluh*, of which an elevated peak is denominated the Monk. On following theſe rocks to Sichellauinen, about two leagues from Lauterbrunnen, I obſerved a red ſtratum, that ſeems to form the ſeparation between the granite and the calcareous ſubſtance: it is compoſed of an argillaceous ſlate of red colour, ſpotted with brown and green, and of

of a fine-grained iron ore (as I was ſurprized to find) containing anomites. I obſerved the ſame ſtratum at the bottom of the Eger and Wetterhorn, and of ſeveral mountains towards Haſli: I remarked it at different heights; but as all acceſs to them has been hitherto found impracticable, I cannot attempt to explain a phænomenon, which merits a nearer inveſtigation.

The chain of the Jungfrau ſtretches to the right by thoſe inacceſſible peaks called the Gletſcherhorn, Ebenfluh, Mittaghorn, Groſſhorn, Breithorn. I am entirely unacquainted with their ſtructure, except from the fragments, which I have obſerved at their feet, or on the maſſes of ice deſcending from their tops. Limeſtone occurs at very conſiderable heights; particularly white marble, and a fine grey marble, which is the matrix of a red hematite filled with innumerable ſmall cryſtals of iron of an octagon figure, and attractable by the magnet.

Beſides theſe ſtones, I noticed on the Glaciers of Breitlauinen and Breithorn, various ſpecies of granite, both foliated and in blocks, of ironſtone, of *ſaxum fornacum*, or *ſtelſtein*, and of argillaceous and micaceous ſchiſtus. All theſe fragments ſufficiently prove, that granite prevails in the higher parts, although it is frequently covered with ſecondary mountains.

To the right is the majeſtic Blumlis Alp, which is a fine object from the plains: a large Glacier, mentioned by no author, ſtretches at its feet. I firſt noticed it from the oppoſite heights of Oeſchenengrat, and at the ſame time obſerved, that the feet of the Alpſchelenhorn and Blumlis Alp are covered with black ſchiſtus, and

that

that the granite is not apparent, but at a great height.

A few days after this expedition, I mounted to the ſummit of the Glacier, called by the peaſants Gamchigletſcher, where it forms a very ſteep ridge towards the valley of Lauterbrunnen. From thence I beheld the vaſt amphitheatre of the Lauterbrunnen Glaciers: I remarked alſo, that the valley of Lauterbrunnen ends at this place; that it has only one iſſue behind Blumlis Alp, where a large Glacier, with a plain and unbroken ſurface, ſtretches towards the valley of Lauterbrunnen, which expands at the feet of the Eger and the Jungfrau, continues almoſt in a ſtrait line as far as Sichellauinen to the foot of the Gletcher-horn and of the Glacier of Stuffiſtein, where it forms an angle, and bends towards Blumlis Alp.

The ridge of the Glacier of Gamchi is of a black calcareous ſtone, which, in many places, is of a fine texture, and ſplits into lamina of a rhomboidal form; in other parts it is coarſely granulated, containing white and black ſpar.

The ſides of the Blumlis Alp, that border the Glacier, are black ſlate, in which I found ſeveral balemnites, and a fragment of a cornu ammonis a foot in diameter. The pieces of granite which are diſcovered upon the Glacier, and which moſt probably fell from the ſummits of the Blumlis Alp and of the Dents Rouges, is very ſimilar to that granite, in which the veins of lead are traced near Sichellauinen in the valley of Lauterbrunnen.

The granitical chain, which extends on the right by the Alpſchelenhorn and the Altits, is entirely concealed and loſt in Mount Gemmi, where

where only calcareous ſtone and ſlate are diſcovered. As I have not yet had any opportunity to examine the mountains of Simmenthal and of Geſſenay, I cannot inform you, if the granite appears through their calcareous covering.

But let us return to the Jungfrau, and trace the mountains towards Grindelwald and the Grimſel. The two high pyramids which tower near the Jungfrau are the two Egers, called from their poſition Exterior and Interior. Calcareous ſtone is viſible to a great height. Many perſons indeed pretend, that the whole ſide of the Exterior Eger towards Grindelwald is entirely calcareous; but I am convinced, from repeated obſervations, that the ſubſtance of theſe mountains is granite, though it is covered with calcareous ſtone lying on reddiſh ſlate, which in many places forms a ſpecies of breſcia, compoſed of an argillaceous baſe, covered with calcareous fragments. You obſerve behind the Exterior Eger two ſmall peaks, which ſeem united by a ridge: theſe are the Vieſcherhorn and the Zeſenberg, which overlook the inferior Glacier of Grindelwald. The ſtones that have fallen on the Glacier ſhow, that their ſummits, as well as that of the Schreckhorn, are of granite in blocks, veined granite, and other lamellated rocks, which frequently contain green ſteatites, amianthus, and cryſtals of quartz.

The high peak, which appears to ſtand near the Zeſenberg, is at a very conſiderable diſtance, and probably ſeparated from it by large vallies of ice. This peak, that has hitherto eſcaped the mention of travellers, ſeems to be the Finſter-Aar-horn, which can only be approached from the Grimſel; and by traverſing the Glacier

of

of the Aar. I have ſeen it from the ſummits of the St. Gothard, from one of the heights which ſeparate the valley of Grindelwald from the lake of Brientz; I have been at its foot upon the Glacier of the Finſter-aar; and on all ſides, and in all places, its elevation is ſtupendous, and appears to me to exceed even that of the Schreckhorn, which has been hitherto conſidered as the higheſt.

The Schreckhorn, or peak of terror, riſes between the two Glaciers of Grindelwald. Concealed by its baſe, the Mettenberg, it is not ſeen from the valley of Grindelwald; and the rugged paths which lead acroſs the ſuperior Glacier to its foot, are extremely difficult and dangerous. Part of it is obſerved from that Glacier. The tops of the Mettenberg are of granite, and its lower parts of lamellated rock, blended with mica and quartz. The piked ſummits of the Schreckhorn, which riſe to an enormous height, appear to be of pure granite and other primitive ſtones.

The next in this chain, is the Wetterhorn, or Stormy Peak, whoſe perpendicular ſides border the ſuperior Glacier. The exterior part of this mountain is of calcareous ſtone to a very conſiderable elevation, but its ſummits are undoubtedly a primitive rock. I noticed along its ſides the ſame red ſtratum, which makes its appearance on the Eger and at the foot of the Jungfrau.

Behind the Wetterhorn is ſeen an elevated rock, which is ſaid by the inhabitants of Grindelwald to border the Glacier of the Lauter-aar, and which from thence has been aſcended by ſeveral *chaſſeurs*.

On

On examining the ſtones which have been brought down by the ſuperior Glacier, I did not diſcover much granite in maſs, but often veined granite, and lamellated rock, which frequently encloſe pieces of the corneus ſpathoſus mixed with ſteatites, pyrites, and quartz.

The foot of the Wetterhorn and that of the Mettenberg contain, in ſeveral places, a fine ſpecies of white marble, with red, green, and yellow veins: a quarry of which, now covered by the inferior Glacier, was formerly worked.

In paſſing from Grindelwald to Meyringen, I traverſed the Scheidek, which entirely conſiſts of black ſlate, that ſtands on the foot of the Wetterhorn. This ſlate continues to compoſe the chain, that divides Grindelwald from the plains of Haſli and the lake of Brientz.

As I deſcended the Scheidek, I obſerved, on my right hand, the chain that joins the Wetterhorn and runs towards the Grimſel. As I have not particularly examined this chain, I ſhall only remark in general, that from an inveſtigation of the ſtones and fragments which ſtrew the vallies and ſides of the hills, it appears to contain the ſame ſpecies of marble which I found on the ſuperior Glacier of Grindelwald, alſo red ſlate, argillaceous breſcia, and various granites. But thus much is certain, that the front of theſe mountains is entirely concealed by ſecondary ſubſtances; and that the true region of granite was not apparent, until I had paſſed Meyringen and aſcended the Grimſel, during the greateſt part of which aſcent I only noticed lamellated rocks and granite. All the mountains which form the Grimſel and neighbouring chain, are concealed in my plan by the Wetterhorn; they

extend

extend behind the Schreckhorn as far as the Finſter-aar-horn. This is the true region of granite and other primitive rocks, the heart of the central chain, and the great obſervatory of the naturaliſt.

LETTER

LETTER 60.

Excurſion to Thun, Worbe, and Hindelbank.— Tomb of Madame Langhans.

THE environs of Berne are in general extremely delightful, and there is no road which exhibits a more pleaſing variety of hill and dale than that which leads to Thun. It runs through an agreeable country; winds through fertile meadows, enriched with dark foreſts of pine and fir, and occaſional groves of beech and oak. The cattle, lately deſcended from the Alps, were browzing on the paſtures, and added to the animation of the ſcenery. The well-being of the inhabitants is viſible from the cultivation of the grounds, and the number and neatneſs of the cottages and farm-houſes which are ſcattered about the fields, ſkirted by trees, or half concealed amid tufts of wood.

Thun is diſtant about twelve miles from Berne: it occupies the bottom and the brow of a hill, and ſtands on both ſides of the Aar. It contains twelve hundred ſouls; enjoys conſiderable immunities; has its own magiſtrates and courts of juſtice, in which the bailif from Berne always preſides, and from whoſe deciſion an appeal lies to the capital. The inhabitants employ themſelves in carding and ſpinning ſilk for the manufactures of Baſle. Some of the burghers poſſeſs large herds of cattle.

To the north-eaſt ſtands, on an eminence, the church and the caſtle, which is the reſidence of the bailif, and occupies the higheſt point. From its windows I enjoyed a moſt pleaſing and extenſive view, not inferior in its kind to any proſpect in Switzerland. Underneath is the town, occupying both ſides of the Aar, ſtanding in a rich plain of paſture, and bounded by a chain of hills, black with foreſts of fir, which extend from Berne and join the Nieſs, a brown and rugged mountain, that riſes rapidly from the edge of the lake. To the eaſt, a ſmall ridge covered with vines and trees; and to the ſouth-eaſt, part of the lake of Thun, bounded by hills riſing to the mountains and Alps of Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald, "*piled up to the clouds.*"

The Aar flows from the lake between two level promontories, prettily ſprinkled with trees, on one of which ſtands the caſtle of Schadan. The lower parts of this view, contraſted with the rugged rocks and mountains, reſemble a painting of Claude by the ſide of a Salvator Roſa.

From

From Thun I returned about ſix miles to the village of Maſſic, where I quitted the high road and paſſed through pleaſant thickets of beech and oaks, over fields and encloſures; the cottages and hamlets agreeably ſituated in lawns, and amid clumps of trees.

In about an hour and a half I entered the road which leads from Berne to Langenau, and aſcended to the upper part of the village of Worbe, where I paſſed a moſt agreeable day with an amiable family, who favoured me with a moſt cordial and polite reception. The view from their houſe, which ſtands in the midſt of a field, is not inferior to that from the caſtle of Thun: it commands a rich encloſed and well-wooded country, gently broken into hill and dale, and watered by many lively ſtreams; the huge white peaks of the Jungfrauhorn, Schreckhorn, and Wetterhorn, overtopping a hill embrowned with firs.

I made alſo an excurſion to Hindelbank, a village about four miles from Berne, in order to examine the tomb of Madame Langhans, a moſt celebrated work of Nahl, a Saxon ſculptor. Being employed in conſtructing a ſepulchre for Count d'Erlach, he was lodged in the houſe of the clergyman, his particular friend, whoſe wife, a woman of uncommon beauty, expired in childbed on Eaſter-eve. Struck with the time of her death, animated by the recollection of her beauty, ſympathizing with the affliction of her huſband, he conceived and finiſhed this affecting monument. It is placed in the body of the church, ſunk into the pavement like a grave, and covered with two folding-doors. When

 theſe

theſe are opened, a grave-ſtone appears as if juſt rent into three fractures, through which is half diſcovered the figure of a woman ſlightly veiled with a ſhroud. She is repreſented at the moment of the reſurrection, when "*the graves are commanded to yield up their dead.*" With her right hand ſhe is gently raiſing that portion of the broken grave-ſtone which lies over her head; and in the other holds a naked infant ſtruggling with its little hands to releaſe itſelf from the tomb. "*Here am I, Lord, and the child whom thou gaveſt me**," are the ſublime words which form the inſcription. Below is the name of the deceaſed, "Anna Magdalena Langhans, wife of the clergyman. Born 1723; died 1751." The workmanſhip is by no means inferior to the original deſign. The artiſt has formed the whole ſepulchre out of one block, and ſo naturally expreſſed the ſwelling of the ſtone, that the fragments ſeem as if they had juſt burſt, and were in the act of opening. The only circumſtance to be regretted is, that the materials are not ſo durable as ſuch a monument deſerves; being of ſand-ſtone, they are too ſoft to reſiſt the effects of time, and even now exhibit ſome ſymptoms of decay.

Nothing perhaps can more ſtrongly diſplay the ſuperior effect of ſimplicity over magnificence, than the compariſon of this tomb with the mauſoleum of Count d'Erlach in the ſame church. The latter conſiſting of ſeveral marble figures, executed in a maſterly ſtile, and loaded with

* Hier Herr bin ich; und das kind, ſo du mir gegeben haſt.—An engraving of this monument is publiſhed by M. de Mechel of Baſle.

with all the emblems of rank and opulence, ſcarcely attracts a momentary attention; while this ſimple grave-ſtone "*ſpeaks home*" to the heart of every perſon of taſte and feeling.

LETTER 61.

Viſit to Michael Schuppach, the Phyſician of Langenau.

Langenau, Sept. 18.

YOU have heard, perhaps, of Michael Schuppach, the famous Swiſs doctor; of whoſe ſagacity in diſcovering the ſeat of diſorders, and applying ſuitable remedies to them, many wonderful ſtories are recounted by travellers; and which, like Virgil's Progreſs of Fame, have increaſed in the marvellous in proportion as they receded from the ſcene of action. I am now lodged in the houſe of this celebrated Æſculapius: it is ſituated above the village of Langenau, on the ſide of a ſteep acclivity; from which circumſtance he is generally ſtyled *the phyſician of the mountain.*

Upon

Upon our arrival we found the doctor in his apartment, ſurrounded by ſeveral peaſants, who were conſulting him upon their reſpective complaints; each having brought with him a ſmall bottle, containing ſome of his water: for, by inſpecting the urine, this medical ſage pretends to judge of the ſtate of the patient. His figure is extremely corpulent; he has a penetrating eye; and a good humoured countenance. He is ſeated oppoſite to the perſon who conſults him, one moment looks at the water, the next at the patient; and continues examining alternately the one and the other for ſome time, occaſionally whiſtling during the intervals. He then opens the ſtate of the caſe, acquaints the conſultant with the nature of his complaints, and has ſometimes the good fortune to hit upon the true cauſe. In a word, his knack of diſcovering diſorders by urine, has gained ſuch implicit faith in his ſkill, that we might as well queſtion the Pope's infallibility before a zealous catholic, as the doctor's in the preſence of his patients. He has certainly performed ſeveral great cures; and the rumour of them hath brought perſons from all quarters of Europe, who are come hither for his advice.

The doctor was formerly a village ſurgeon, has a ſlight knowledge of anatomy, and is tolerably verſed in botany and chemiſtry. His acquaintance with the theory of phyſic is ſaid to be inconſiderable: the greateſt part of his knowledge being derived from his extenſive practice, notwithſtanding he never ſtirs a quarter of a mile from his own houſe; for he would not take the trouble of going to Berne, even to attend the king of France.

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It is more than probable, that much of this extraordinary man's ſucceſs, is owing to the great faith of his patients; to the benefit they receive from change of climate; to the ſalubrious air of this place; and to the amuſement ariſing from the conſtant ſucceſſion of different company. But whatever may have been the cauſes of his celebrity, it has come to him, as all accounts agree, unſought for by himſelf. He has certainly many excellent qualities: humane and charitable to the higheſt degree, he not only furniſhes the indigent peaſants who conſult him, with medicines gratis, but generally makes them a preſent in money beſides; and he always appropriates a certain portion of his gains to the poor of his pariſh. His wife and grand-daughters are dreſſed like the peaſant women of the country; and he has ſhewn his good ſenſe in giving to the latter a plain education: the eldeſt he beſtowed in marriage, when ſhe was but fifteen, upon one of his aſſiſtants, and with her £.1,300; no inconſiderable portion for this country. He procured a match for her ſo early, he ſaid, to prevent her being ſpoiled by the young gentlemen telling her that ſhe was pretty, and inſpiring her with the ambition of marrying above her rank.

If domeſtic harmony, and the moſt perfect ſimplicity of manners, have any pretenſions to pleaſe, you would be highly delighted with this rural family. The wife is a notable active woman, and ſuperintends the houſhold affairs with remarkable cleverneſs: ſhe aſſiſts her huſband likewiſe in preparing his medicines; and, as he talks no other language than the German, ſhe ſerves

ſerves occaſionally as an interpreter. And, as a proof of his confidence in her adminiſtration of his affairs, ſhe acts alſo as his treaſurer, and receives all his fees; which, in the courſe of a year, amount to a conſiderable ſum: for, although he never demands more than the price of his medicines, yet no gentleman conſults him without giving an additional gratuity. She has likewiſe received many preſents from perſons who have reaped benefit by her huſband's preſcriptions: ſeveral of theſe conſiſt of valuable trinkets, with which on days of ceremony ſhe decks herſelf to the beſt advantage, in the ſimple dreſs of the country.

The family ſit down to table regularly at twelve o'clock: there are always ſome ſtrangers of the party, conſiſting not only of thoſe perſons who are under the doctor's care, but of travellers, like ourſelves, who are led by motives of mere curioſity. When the weather is fine, and their gueſts more numerous than uſual, dinner is ſerved in an open ſhed, that overlooks the adjacent country, with a diſtant view of the Glaciers beyond the lake of Thun. Yeſterday ſome peaſants, whom the doctor had invited, formed part of our company; after dinner, he gave ſome money to thoſe that ſate near him, and ordered one of his grand-daughters to diſtribute his bounty to the others. The benevolence of the old man, his gaiety and good-humour, the cheerfulneſs of his family, the gratitude of the poor peaſants, the beauty of the proſpect, and the fineneſs of the weather, formed all together a moſt agreeable and delightful ſcene; and I do not remember to have ever

partaken

partaken of any meal with a more ſenſible and heart-felt ſatisfaction.

This ſingular man is very often employed in giving advice from eight in the morning till ſix in the evening, with no other intermiſſion than during the time he is at table. His drugs are of the beſt kind; for he collects the ſimples, and diſtils them himſelf. His houſe, like thoſe of the peaſants, is conſtructed of wood; and, though always full of people, is remarkably neat and clean. In ſhort, every thing about him bears the appearance of the pleaſing ſimplicity of former ages.

I had almoſt forgotten to tell you, that I conſulted him this morning; and have reaſon to be highly ſatisfied with his preſcription: for, he told me I was in ſuch good health, that the only advice he had to give me, was "to eat and "drink well, to dance, be merry, and take "moderate exercise."

It is now Langenau fair; and the village is crowded with the neighbouring peaſants. Great numbers of the men have long beards, and many of them cover their heads with a woman's ſtraw hat, extremely broad, which makes a very groteſque appearance: their dreſs is chiefly a coarſe brown cloth jacket without ſleeves; with large puffed breeches of ticken. The women, who are remarkably handſome, wear their hair plaited behind in treſſes, with the riband hanging down below the waiſt; a flat plain ſtraw hat, which is very becoming; a red or brown cloth jacket without ſleeves; a black or blue petticoat bordered with red, and ſcarcely reaching below the knees; red ſtockings with black

black clocks, and no heels to their ſhoes; their ſhifts of extremely fine linen, faſtened cloſe round the throat by a black collar with red ornaments: the better ſort have chains of ſilver between the ſhoulders, brought round under each arm, and faſtened beneath the boſom, the ends hanging down with ſome ſilver ornaments.

I am ſo charmed with the ſituation of this village, the cheerfulneſs and ſingularity of this ruſtic and agreeable family, and the uncommon character of the humane doctor, that I could with pleaſure continue here ſome days longer: but I am preſſed for time, and have a long journey before me.

POSTSCRIPT.

THIS celebrated empiric died in March, 1781; and Langenau, which I again viſited in Auguſt, 1785, was no longer the reſort of the ſick, the valetudinarian, the curious, and the idle. The doctor had gained by his practice ten thouſand pounds; of which ſum his wife received a third, and the remainder was diſtributed among his ſon-in-law and grand-children.

Langenau is ſituated at the commencement of the Emmethal, a valley remarkable for its cultivation and beauty. Many of the farmers are extremely rich: the people appear in general contented and happy; the wooden cottages

tages ſcattered about the fields, are uncommonly neat and comfortable; and announce, in their general appearance, the well-being of the peaſantry.

EETTER

LETTER 62.

Payerne—Moudon—Geneva—Calvin.

Geneva, Sept. 6.

I TOOK leave of my friends at Langenau, in order to proceed to Avignon; where I am going to pay a viſit to the *Abbé de Sade*, author of the intereſting memoirs of the life of Petrarch. Monſieur de Vigur, a ſenator of Soleure, offered me a place in his carriage to Berne: and, as my principal object in travelling is to acquire intelligence, I very gladly embraced this opportunity of leading my worthy and well-informed companion into a converſation, not only concerning the government of Soleure in particular, but in relation alſo to Switzerland in general; and I found him exceedingly well-diſpoſed to anſwer the ſeveral queſtions he allowed me to propoſe to him.

The

The next day I repaſſed through Morat and Avenches, and ſlept at Payerne, a town in the canton of Berne, which enjoys conſiderable privileges. Upon the bridge over the Broye, is an antient Roman inſcription: as I was endeavouring to decypher it, a plain-looking man accoſted me in a very ſolemn tone of voice, and ſaid, he had often tried to make out the inſcription, but without ſucceſs; though he could read very well, and had a ſmattering in Latin. "For," added he, "what can be the meaning of N and I and O, and all thoſe great letters, which ſeem to have no connection with each other? Give me a page of plain Latin, and I will tranſlate it from the beginning to the end; but for theſe Ns, Is and Os; take my word for it, notwithſtanding all your pains, you will never be the wiſer." However, as I did not ſeem diſpoſed to follow his advice, but continued decyphering the inſcription (which was by no means a difficult taſk) he appeared aſtoniſhed at my obſtinacy, and left me, with an apparent air of pity, to my hopeleſs fortune.

Moudon is an handſome town, the principal burgh of a bailliage of the ſame name, and formerly the capital of all that part of the Pays de Vaud, which belonged to the duke of Savoy. It was alſo the ordinary reſidence of his chief bailif, and the place where the aſſembly of the ſtates were accuſtomed to meet. The bailif appointed by the ſovereign council of Berne, reſides in the caſtle of Lucens, built upon the ſummit of a mountain, in a ſituation exceedingly picturesque. This caſtle formerly belonged to the biſhops of Lauſanne, and was one of their favourite

favourite ſeats, before the reformation was introduced into this country.

Geneva lies upon the narroweſt part of the lake, where the Rhone iſſues in two large and rapid ſtreams, which ſoon afterwards unite. That river ſeparates the town into two unequal diviſions; receives the muddy Arve in its courſe; and flows through France into the Mediterranean. The adjacent country is uncommonly picturesque; and abounds in magnificent views: the ſeveral objects which compoſe this enchanting proſpect, are, the town; the lake; the numerous hills and mountains, particularly the Saleve and the Mole, riſing ſuddenly from the plain in a variety of fantaſtic forms, backed by the Glaciers of Savoy, with their frozen tops gliſtening in the ſun; and the majeſtic Mont Blanc rearing its head far above the reſt.

Geneva, which lies partly in the plain upon the borders of the lake, and partly upon a gentle aſcent, is irregularly built; the houſes are high, and many, which ſtand in the trading part of the city, have arcades of wood, which are raiſed even to the upper ſtories. Theſe arcades, ſupported by pillars, give a gloomy appearance to the ſtreet; but are uſeful to the inhabitants in protecting them from the ſun and rain. Geneva is by far the moſt populous town in Switzerland; and contains 24,000 ſouls. This ſuperiority of numbers is undoubtedly owing to the great induſtry and activity of the inhabitants; to its more extenſive commerce; to the facility of purchaſing the burgherſhip; and to the privileges which government allows to all foreigners. The members of this city are diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed into citizens and burgheſſes, inhabitants and natives *. The citizens and burgheſſes are alone admitted to a ſhare in the government: the inhabitants are ſtrangers who are allowed to ſettle in the town with certain privileges; and the natives are the ſons of thoſe inhabitants, who poſſeſs additional advantages. The two laſt claſſes form a large majority of the people.

The liberal policy of this government, in receiving ſtrangers and conferring the burgherſhip, is the more remarkable as it is contrary to the ſpirit and uſage of the Swiſs. It is here, indeed, more neceſſary; the territory of this ſtate being ſo exceedingly ſmall, that its very exiſtence depends upon the number and induſtry of the people: for, excluſive of the city, there are ſcarcely 16,000 ſouls in the whole diſtrict of the Genevois.

The reformed doctrines firſt preached at Geneva, in 1533, by William Farel, a native of Gap, in Dauphine; and Peter Viret, of Orbe, owed their final reception and eſtabliſhment to John Calvin. That reformer was born at Noyon, in 1509, and being driven from France by the perſecutions which Francis the Firſt had raiſed againſt the proteſtants, made his firſt appearance in this city, in 1536.

Notwithſtanding Zuingle, Œcolampadius, and Haller, had reformed the greateſt part of Switzerland,

* Since the late revolution in 1782, there is a fifth claſs, called *domiciliés*, who receive from the magiſtrates an annual permiſſion to remain in the city.

zerland, ſome years before that period; yet Calvin, as Voltaire juſtly obſerves, has given his name to the ſectaries of the reformed religion, in the ſame manner as the new continent took its appellation from Americus Veſpuſius, although the original diſcovery was made by Columbus. And although Calvin was not the firſt reformer of Geneva; yet, as he gave additional ſtrength and ſolidity to the new eſtabliſhment, and founded the eccleſiaſtical form of government, he totally eclipſed the fame of his friend William Farel, who ſcattered the firſt ſeeds of reformation, which the other brought to maturity. In truth, ſo great was the aſcendancy which Calvin, although a foreigner, acquired over the citizens, that he poſſeſſed conſiderable influence even in civil matters; and bore a large ſhare in ſettling the political conſtitution. Conſcious that religion derives ſupport from every branch of knowledge, he liberally promoted the cultivation of ſcience, and the ſtudy of elegant literature. To this end, as well as to encourage theological erudition, he prevailed upon government to eſtabliſh a public academy: but with ſingular diſintereſtedneſs declining the propoſal of being appointed perpetual preſident, he obtained that office for his friend and fellow-labourer, Theodore Beza. In this new ſeminary, Calvin, with Theodore Beza, and his other colleagues, eminent for their ſuperior knowledge, read lectures with ſuch uncommon reputation and ſucceſs, as attracted ſtudents from all quarters.

There is ſuch a ſtriking ſplendor in the brighter parts of this diſintereſted and celebrated

brated reformer's character, as to render us, at firſt glance, almoſt inſenſible to thoſe dark ſpots which in ſome inſtances have obſcured its glory. But when we reflect on his aſperity and arrogance; and, above all, on the cruel perſecution of Servetus; we cannot but lament that he did not riſe ſuperior to the intolerant principles of the age, which in all other inſtances he helped to enlighten. With regard, however, to his intolerant principles, it muſt be acknowledged, that the ſame uncharitable ſpirit prevailed alſo among many of the moſt celebrated reformers; who unaccountably conceived, in oppoſition, not only to the genius, but to the cleareſt precepts of the goſpel, that perſecution for conſcience ſake, although unchriſtian in every other eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, was juſtifiable in their own. This abſurd and dangerous opinion, gave great advantage to their adverſaries of the papal hierarchy: for, it is obvious to the meaneſt underſtanding, that, if perſecution is juſtifiable in any particular church, it muſt be ſo univerſally.

The republic of Geneva is, however, at preſent, the moſt tolerating of all the reformed ſtates in Switzerland; being the only government in this country, which permits the public exerciſe of the Lutheran religion. In this reſpect the clergy, no leſs wiſely, than ſuitably to the ſpirit as well as the letter of the Chriſtian revelation, have renounced the principles of their great patriarch, Calvin: although they ſtill hold that able reformer in high veneration; yet they know how to diſtinguiſh

guiſh his virtues from his defects, and to admire the one without being blindly partial to the other.

I am, &c.

LETTER 63.

On the Literature of Geneva.

TO a man of letters, Geneva is particularly intereſting: learning is diveſted of pedantry, and philoſophy united with a knowledge of the world. The pleaſures of ſociety are mixed with the purſuits of literature; and elegance and urbanity give a zeſt to the profoundeſt diſquiſitions. Nor are letters confined in this city merely to thoſe who engage in them as a profeſſion, or to thoſe whoſe fortune and leiſure enable them to follow where genius leads. Even the lower claſs of people are exceedingly well informed; and there is perhaps no city in Europe, where learning is more univerſally diffuſed. I received great ſatisfaction in converſing even with ſeveral tradeſmen upon the topics both

both of literature and politics; and was aſtoniſhed to find, in this claſs of men, ſo uncommon a ſhare of knowledge. But the wonder ceaſes, when we are told, that all of them were educated at the public academy, where the children of the citizens are taught, under the inſpection of the magiſtrates, and at the expence of government.

One circumſtance in this ſeminary particularly contributes to excite the induſtry and emulation of the ſtudents: prizes are annually diſtributed to thoſe, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in each claſs. Theſe rewards, conſiſting of ſmall medals, are conferred with ſuch ſolemnity, as cannot fail of producing great effect. A yearly meeting of all the magiſtrates, profeſſors, and principal inhabitants, is held at the cathedral, when the firſt Syndic himſelf diſtributes, in the moſt public manner, the honorary retributions. I met this morning one of the ſcholars, and, ſeeing his medal, inquired its meaning? "*Je la porte,*" replied the boy, ſcarcely eight years old, "*parce que j' ai fait* "*mon devoir.*" I required no ſtronger proof to convince me of the beneficial influence upon young minds, from theſe encouraging and judicious diſtinctions, than appeared from this ſprightly ſpecimen.

The citizens enjoy the advantage alſo of having free acceſs to the public library; and by this privilege, they not only retain but improve that general tincture of learning which they imbibe in their early youth.

The public library owes its origin to Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor, who was twice impriſoned for having aſſerted, againſt the dukes

of Savoy, the independence of Geneva; and who conſidered the hardſhips he had ſuffered, and the perils he had eſcaped, as ties that endeared him more ſtrongly to a city, which he had adopted as his own. He was a principal promoter of the reformation by gentle means and gradual inſtruction. He cloſed his benefactions to his beloved city by the gift of his valuable manuſcripts and books, and by bequeathing his fortune towards the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of the ſeminary. His works, which chiefly relate to the hiſtory of Geneva, are preſerved with that care and reverence, which are due to ſo eminent a benefactor.

The library contains 25,000 volumes and many curious manuſcripts, of which an accurate and learned catalogue has been lately publiſhed by the Reverend Mr. Sennebier the librarian. He has attempted to determine the ages of the ſeveral manuſcripts; he deſcribes their form and ſize, the materials on which they are written, the ornaments, the characteriſtic phraſes, and mentions the proofs on which he grounds his opinions. He adds alſo the notes, and diſtinguiſhes thoſe which have never been printed.

M. Sennebier has alſo favoured the world with "*Hiſtoire Literaire de Geneve*," accompanied with biographical anecdotes of thoſe natives, who have been celebrated for their learning. As I ſhould treſpaſs too much upon your time, if I were to attempt ſending you an account of the principal men of letters in Geneva, I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe only, with whom I am perſonally acquainted.

Charles Bonnet was born in 1720. His life has been devoted to the purſuits of literature, and

and to the improvement of philoſophy and ſcience. He has proved by his publications, that his indefatigable induſtry in ſearching into the phænomena of the creation, is equalled only by his ingenuity in explaining them. His works, printed at Neuchatel, form nine volumes in quarto, or eighteen in octavo, and contain divers ſubjects of natural hiſtory, many accurate obſervations on inſects, on the vegetation of plants, on the uſe of leaves in plants, conſiderations on organized bodies, and the contemplations of nature.

By ſeveral treatiſes, and particularly his Analytical Eſſay on the Faculties of the Soul, he has ſhewn himſelf an acute metaphyſician. Like his friend Haller, he has alſo ſtood forth an able advocate for the great principles of natural and revealed religion. His * Philoſophical Reſearches on Chriſtianity, and his treatiſe on the Exiſtence of God, prove, that an intimate knowledge of nature neceſſarily tends to eſtabliſh a rational belief of thoſe great truths.

I had frequent opportunities of converſing with this reſpectable philoſopher: though now in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, he poſſeſſes an uncommon degree of vivacity and animation, ſtill retains his enthuſiaſm for the purſuits of ſcience, and ſpeaks with the ſame perſpicuity and elegance as are obſervable in his writings.

* A tranſlation of his *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Preuves du Chriſtianiſme*, has been lately given to the public, by John Lewis Boiſſier, Eſq. under the title of "Philoſophical and Critical Inquiries concerning Chriſtianity."

I was

I was no leſs ambitious of being known to his nephew M. de Sauſſure. Born in 1740; he was elected profeſſor of philoſophy in 1762; and has given to the public the following ſpecimens of his indefatigable induſtry, and of the verſatility of his talents: various remarks and experiments on microſcopic animals; obſervations on electricity; on baſaltic lavas and volcanic productions; on the phyſical geography of Italy. He has invented an inſtrument for meaſuring the degrees of magnetic force; and ſo much improved the electrometer of Cavallo, that it may be almoſt conſidered as a new inſtrument. But above all, his invention of the hair-hygrometer, or an inſtrument for meaſuring the moiſture of the atmoſphere, has enabled him to make many theoretical and experimental reſearches that are detailed in his *Eſſai ſur l'Hygrometre.* And although a controverſy is now ſubſiſting between him and M. de Luc, concerning the propriety of hair as an inſtrument for this purpoſe; yet it cannot depreciate this invention; and new lights muſt be thrown on that ſubject by the oppoſition of two ſuch able naturaliſts.

His *Voyages dans les Alpes*, of which two volumes in quarto have already made their appearance, treat of the phyſical geography of the Alps, the formation of mountains, the origin of the Glaciers, and various phænomena of nature, which peculiarly diſtinguiſh Switzerland. Unlike ſome philoſophers of the preſent age, who from their cabinet, and with no other knowledge of the earth than what is acquired by books, peremptorily and preſumptuouſly decide on the theory

theory of the globe, this indefatigable obſerver draws from repeated travels, and inceſſant experience, a fund of facts, which may enable him to complete the great deſign and object of all his reſearches, that of eſtabliſhing a more perfect theory of the earth.

The cabinet of M. de Sauſſure is an object worthy of the traveller's curioſity. It contains a collection of foreign and Swiſs butterflies; various petrifactions and foſſils, more particularly a large variety of baſalts and volcanic productions; numerous ſpecimens of granites and other primitive ſtones; which he has collected during his various expeditions, and from parts which have been only viſited by himſelf.

M. de Sauſſure has lately reſigned the profeſſorſhip of experimental philoſophy, and is ſucceeded by my very worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Pictet Turretini, who has already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by various publications, which elucidate ſeveral important branches of experimental philoſophy.

Paul Henry Mallet, born at Geneva in 1730, paſſed the earlier part of his life at Copenhagen as preceptor to the preſent king, Chriſtian the Sixth. His introduction to the hiſtory of Denmark, under the title of Northern Antiquities, proves him a profound and accurate antiquarian; and his hiſtories of Heſſe, Brunſwic, and Denmark, ſhew him no leſs eminent as an hiſtorian. I ſhould on this occaſion be unmindful of the honour conferred on me, if I omitted to mention, that his lateſt work is a tranſlation of my Travels into Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, to which he has added many remarks, and a Journey into Norway.

M. de

M. de Luc, reader to the Queen of Great Britain, and reſident in England, is alſo a native of Geneva. He was born in 1727, and publiſhed, in 1772, his celebrated work on the modification of the atmoſphere, and on the theory of barometers and thermometers: a performance which marks a diſtinguiſhed æra in the hiſtory of experimental philoſophy, and which we are happy to find he is ſtill carrying on under the title of *Ideés ſur la Metéorologie*. But in his *Lettres Phyſiques et Morales, ſur l'Hiſtoire, de la Terre et de l'Homme*, M. de Luc appears to ſingular advantage. In this extraordinary performance, he has diſplayed a moſt extenſive knowledge of nature, and has applied it with great ſagacity in forming a new theory of the earth, and in a happy accommodation of his hypotheſis to the Moſaic account of the creation.

The cabinet of M. de Luc is not only remarkable for the number and rarity of many ſpecimens; but more particularly claims the attention of the naturaliſt, as it is a ſyſtematic collection, tending to illuſtrate his theory of the globe. With this view it may be divided into three principal parts. The firſt part contains petrifactions and foſſils; the ſecond, the collection of ſtones; and the third, lavas and volcanic productions.

The firſt part is arranged in ſuch a manner, under three diſtinct heads, as may enable the naturaliſt, 1. to compare the petrifactions of animals and vegetables with the ſame bodies, which are ſtill known to exiſt in our parts of the globe; 2. to compare thoſe petrifactions of animals and vegetables with the ſame bodies which are known to exiſt in diſtant countries; 3. to conſider the petrifactions

petrifactions of thoſe bodies which are no longer known to exiſt.

The ſecond part comprehends the ſtones under three points of view; 1. thoſe of the primitive mountains, which contain no animal bodies; 2. thoſe of the ſecondary mountains, which contain only marine bodies; 3. thoſe which contain terreſtial bodies.

In the third part, the lavas and other volcanic productions are diſtinguiſhed into, 1. thoſe from volcanos now in a burning ſtate; 2. thoſe from extinct volcanos.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 64.

Government of Geneva in 1776.

THE city of Geneva and its territory were formerly united to the German empire, under the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne: but as the power of the emperors, feeble even in Germany, was ſtill weaker in the frontier provinces, the biſhops of Geneva, like ſeveral other great vaſſals of the empire, gradually acquired very conſiderable authority over the city and its domains; which the emperor had no other means of counterbalancing, than by encreaſing the liberties of the people. During theſe times of confuſion, conſtant diſputes ſubſiſted between the biſhops and the counts of the Genevois; for the latter, although at their firſt inſtitution merely officers of the emperor, and conſidered as vaſſals of the biſhops; yet claimed and aſſerted a right to the excluſive adminiſtration of juſtice. The citizens took advantage of theſe quarrels; and, by ſiding occaſionally with each party, obtained an extenſion of their privileges from both.

But the Houſe of Savoy having purchaſed the Genevois, and ſucceeded to all the prerogatives of the counts, with additional power; the biſhops and

and the people firmly united, in order to oppoſe encroachments, which were no leſs prejudicial to the authority of the one, than to the liberties of the others. During this period, the reſpective pretenſions of the counts, biſhops, and citizens, were ſo various, as to form a government equally ſingular and complicated. The harmony, however, between the biſhops and citizens, was at length broken by the artful management of the counts of Savoy, who had the addreſs to procure the epiſcopal ſee for their brothers, and even for their illegitimate children. By theſe methods, their power in the city became ſo enlarged, that, towards the commencement of the ſixteenth century, Charles the Third, duke of Savoy, (although the form of government was entirely republic) obtained an almoſt abſolute authority over the citizens; and exerciſed it in the moſt unjuſt and arbitrary manner. Hence aroſe perpetual ſtruggles between the duke and the citizens; the latter continually oppoſing, either by open violence, or ſecret meaſures, his tyrannical uſurpation: thus two parties were formed; the zealots for liberty were called *eidgenoſſen*, or confederates; while the partizans of the duke were branded with the appellation of *mammelucs*, or ſlaves.

The treaty of alliance, which the town contracted with Berne and Friburgh, in 1526, may be conſidered as the true æra of its liberty and independence: for, not long after, the duke was deprived of his authority; the biſhop driven from the city; a republican form of government eſtabliſhed; and the reformation introduced. From this time, Charles and his ſucceſſors waged inceſſant war againſt the town: but

but his hoſtilities were rendered ineffectual, by the intrepid bravery of the citizens, and the aſſiſtance of Berne.

In 1584, Geneva concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance with Zuric and Berne, by which it is allied with the Swiſs cantons.

The laſt attempt of the Houſe of Savoy againſt Geneva, was in 1602; when Charles Emanuel treacherouſly attacked the town during a profound peace. Two hundred ſoldiers ſcaled the walls in the night, while the inhabitants were repoſed in unſuſpecting ſecurity; but being timely diſcovered, were repulſed by the deſperate valour of a few citizens, who glorioufly ſacrificed their lives in defence of the liberties of their country. As a tribute of public gratitude for their glorious reſiſtance, theſe brave Genevans were buried with great pomp, and their names are recorded on a ſepulchral ſtone. In memory of this event, ſome of the ſcaling-ladders, by which the enemy entered the town, are preſerved in the arſenal; and alſo the petard, which was faſtened to one of the gates, when the gunner was killed before it could be diſcharged. The war occaſioned by this perfidy was concluded in the following year by a ſolemn treaty: ſince that period, uninterrupted peace has been maintained between the houſe of Savoy and Geneva; although the king of Sardinia did not formally acknowledge, till 1754, the independence of the republic.

No ſooner was peace concluded with the Houſe of Savoy, than the flames of internal diſcord, ſo apt to kindle in popular governments, and which had been ſmothered by their common danger from a foreign enemy, began to

to appear. During the greateſt part of the laſt century, to the preſent period, the hiſtory of Geneva contains little more than a narrative of contentions between the ariſtocratical and the popular parties. Theſe mutual ſtruggles have been occaſionally exerted with ſo much violence and animoſity, as to threaten, for a moment, a total revolution in the ſtate; but, happily, they have been hitherto compromiſed without producing any fatal effects *.

About the beginning of the preſent century, the power of the Great Council was become almoſt abſolute. In order to reſtrain its authority, the popular party, in 1707, procured an edict, that every five years a general council of the citizens and burghers ſhould be ſummoned, to deliberate upon the affairs of the republic. Agreeably to this law, a general aſſembly was convened in 1712; and the very firſt act exerted by the people in this their collective capacity, was the abolition of the above-mentioned edict.

An event of ſo ſingular a nature, can hardly be accounted for upon the general principle of popular fickleneſs and inconſiſtency: accordingly Rouſſeau, in his *Letters ecrites de la Montagne*, imputes it to the artifices of the magiſtrates; and to the equivocal terms marked upon the billets then in uſe. For, the queſtion propoſed to the people being, "Whether the opi-" nion of the councils, for aboliſhing the pe-" riodical general aſſemblies, ſhould paſs into a " law?" the words employed on the billets de-

* The reader will recollect that this letter was written in 1776, before the late Revolution of 1782, which is related in the ſubſequent letter.

livered

livered for that purpoſe, were, *approbation*, *rejection*; ſo that whichever ſide was taken, it came to the ſame point. If the billet of *approbation* were choſen, the opinion of the councils which rejected the periodical aſſembly, was approved; if that of *rejection*, then the periodical aſſembly was rejected of courſe. Accordingly, ſeveral of the citizens afterwards complained that they had been deceived, as they never meant to reject the general aſſembly, but only the opinion of the councils *.

In conſequence of this extraordinary repeal, the power of the ariſtocracy continued increaſing till within theſe few years; when the citizens, by a ſingular conjunction of favourable circumſtances, joined to an uncommon ſpirit of union and perſeverance, have procured ſeveral changes in the conſtitution of Geneva; by which the authority of the magiſtrates has been limited, and the rights of the people enlarged. Happy! if they know where to ſtop; leſt, continuing to extend the bounds of their own privileges, they ſhake the foundations of civil government, by too much reſtraining the power of the magiſtrates.

The preſent conſtitution of Geneva, may be conſidered as a mean between that of the ariſtocratical and popular cantons: more democratical than any of the former, inaſmuch as the ſovereign and legiſlative authority entirely reſides in the general aſſembly of the citizens; and more ariſtocratical than the latter, becauſe the powers veſted in the Great and Little Councils are very conſiderable.

* Miſcellaneous Works of Rouſſeau, Vol. iv. p. 279.

The

The members of the Senate, or Little Council of twenty-five, enjoy, in their corporate capacity, ſeveral prerogatives almoſt as great as thoſe which are poſſeſſed by that of the moſt ariſtocratical ſtates. They nominate half the members of the Great Council; ſupply the principal magiſtrates from their own body; convoke the Great Council and the General Council; they previouſly deliberate upon every queſtion which is to be brought before theſe councils: in other words, in them is lodged the power of propoſing; conſequently, as every act muſt originate from them, no law can paſs without their approbation. In this ſenate is veſted alſo the chief executive power; the adminiſtration of the finances; and, to a certain degree, juriſdiction in civil and criminal cauſes. They nominate, likewiſe, to moſt of the ſmaller poſts of government; and enjoy the ſole privilege of conferring the burgherſhip. They compoſe, moreover, in conjunction with thirty-five members of their own chooſing, the Secret Council; which never aſſembles but by their convoking, and only upon extraordinary occaſions.

Theſe conſiderable prerogatives, however, are counterbalanced as well by the privileges of the Great Council, as by the franchiſes of the General Council. The privileges of the former conſiſt in chooſing the members of the ſenate from their own body; in receiving appeals in all cauſes above a certain value; in pardoning criminals; in diſpoſing of the moſt important charges of government, thoſe excepted which are conferred by the General Council; and in approving or rejecting whatever is propoſed by the Senate to be laid before the people.

The

The General Council, or aſſembly of the people, is compoſed of the citizens and burghers of the town: their number, in general, amounts to about 1,500, but ſeldom more than 1,200 meet at the ſame time; the remainder being either ſettled in foreign countries, or uſually abſent. I ought to have explained to you ſooner, the diſtinction between *citizens* and *burghers:* the latter, are either the ſons of citizens or burghers *, born out of Geneva, or have obtained the burgherſhip by purchaſe; the former, are the ſons of citizens or burghers, born within the town of Geneva. The burghers may be choſen into the council of two hundred, but the citizens alone can enter into the Senate, and poſſeſs the charges appropriated to that body.

The General Council meets twice a year; chooſes the principal magiſtrates; aſſents to, or rejects, the laws and regulations propoſed by the councils; impoſes taxes; contracts alliances; declares war or peace; and nominates half of the members in the Great Council. All queſtions are decided by the majority of voices; and each member delivers his vote without having the liberty of debating. The reſtriction is certainly reaſonable; for, in a popular aſſembly, like this of Geneva, compoſed of citizens, the meaneſt of whom is well verſed in the conſtitution of the commonwealth, and where the people in general have a ſtrong propenſity to enter into political diſcuſſions; if every voter was permitted to ſupport and enforce his opinion by argument, there would be no end of debate, and the whole time would be conſumed in petulant declamation.

* The children of thoſe who are employed in foreign countries, in the ſervice of the ſtate, although born out of Geneva, are entitled to all the privileges of citizens.

But

But the principal check to the power of the Senate, ariſes from the right of *re-election*, or the power of annually expelling four members from the Senate at the nomination of the Syndics, and from the privilege of *repreſentation.* The right of re-election may be exerciſed in the following manner:—The four Syndics, or chiefs of the republic, are choſen annually out of the Senate by the General Council; and there muſt be an interval of three years before the ſame members can be again appointed. The uſual mode of election is as follows:—The Senate nominates from its own body eight candidates, who muſt be approved by the Great Council; and out of theſe eight, the members of the General Council chooſe the four Syndics. They have it in their power, however, not only to reject theſe eight candidates, but alſo all the other ſenators ſucceſſively: and in that caſe, four members of the Senate retire into the Great Council, and an equal number of the laſt-mentioned body occupy the places of the degraded ſenators.

With reſpect to the ſecond reſtraint I mentioned upon the power of the Senate, the right of *repreſentation:* every citizen or burgher has the privilege of applying to the Senate in order to procure a new regulation, or of remonſtrating againſt any act of the magiſtracy. Theſe repreſentations have, perhaps, proved one of the principal means of ſecuring the liberties of the people from the reſpective encroachments of the two councils; as they have frequently prevented the magiſtrates from ſtretching their authority to the ſame extent that has been practiſed

in ſome other commonwealths of Switzerland. The magiſtrates are obliged to give an explicit anſwer to theſe repreſentations; for, if the firſt is not conſidered as ſatisfactory, a ſecond remonſtrance is preſented. According to the nature and importance of the complaint, the repreſentation is made by a greater or leſs number of citizens; and it has ſometimes happened that each remonſtrance has been accompanied by ſeveral hundred, in different bodies.

The ſalaries of the magiſtrates are ſo inconſiderable, as not to offer any temptation on the ſide of pecuniary emolument: a ſenſe of honour, a ſpirit of ambition, the deſire of ſerving their country, together with that perſonal credit which is derived from exerciſing any office in the adminiſtration, are the principal motives which actuate the candidates to ſolicit a ſhare in the magiſtracy. Accordingly, the public poſts are generally filled with men of the firſt abilities, and of the moſt reſpectable characters. The revenues of government, at the higheſt calculation, ſcarcely amount to 30,000 pounds a year; a ſum, however, which, by a well-regulated œconomy, is more than ſufficient to defray the current expences: ſo that this republic is enabled to provide for the ſecurity of its ſubjects, from an income which ſome individuals, in other countries, ſquander in pomp and diſſipation.

It is very remarkable that, in a republic ſo free as this of Geneva, and where the true principles of liberty are ſo well and ſo generally underſtood, there ſhould be no preciſe code of penal laws: for, although the form of the proſecution is ſettled, yet the trial of the criminal is private,

private, and the puniſhment left to the deciſion of the magiſtrate. Nor are the franchiſes of the people aſcertained with that accuracy which might be expected. Indeed, under Ademar Fabri, biſhop of Geneva in the fourteenth century, a certain number of political regulations, both civil and criminal, together with ſeveral particular cuſtoms and franchiſes, were drawn up in form; and the biſhop took an oath to obſerve them. Theſe ſtatutes, if they may be ſo called, were confirmed by Amadeus the Eighth, duke of Savoy. This code, to which the people appeal in all caſes of controverſy, is compiled in a very inaccurate and confuſed manner, and the magiſtrates refuſe to ſubmit to its authority, becauſe it was publiſhed before the independence of the republic was confirmed. The people have repeatedly demanded a preciſe code of municipal and penal laws, ſo expreſs and determinate, as to prevent the arbitrary deciſion of the magiſtrate; and although ſuch a code was ordered to be compiled in 1738 and 1768, yet its compilation has been hitherto deferred.

The code of civil law is the moſt perfect part of the conſtitution: all matters concerning commerce being well regulated, and private property ſecurely guarded. It is unneceſſary to trouble you with a particular detail of the ſumptuary laws; they are much the ſame as thoſe in moſt of the other ſtates of Switzerland, where reſtrictions of that kind are enforced. But there is one law, relating to bankrupts, too ſingularly ſevere not to be mentioned. If a member of either council becomes a bankrupt, he is immediately degraded; and from that moment is

rendered incapable of holding any poſt under government, until he ſhall have diſcharged all the juſt demands of his creditors: even his children are ſubjected to the ſame diſgrace; and no citizen can exerciſe any public employment, while the debts of his father remain unpaid.

In this city, as in all the other principal towns of Switzerland, a public granary is eſtabliſhed. Magazines of this kind, uſeful in all ſtates, are more particularly neceſſary in ſo populous a place as Geneva; which, if the neighbouring powers were to prohibit the importation of corn, might be expoſed to the horrors of famine. This corn is dried by means of machines well contrived for that purpoſe; retailed to the innkeepers and bakers: a conſiderable profit accrues to government; and there is always, in caſe of neceſſity, a ſufficient quantity in reſerve to ſupport the inhabitants during a year and an half.

Geneva is ſtrongly fortified on the ſide of Savoy; and a garriſon conſtantly maintained: but theſe fortifications, and this garriſon, are only ſufficient to guard them from any ſudden attack; they could not defend them long againſt a regular ſiege. The great ſecurity of the republic conſiſts in its alliance with the Swiſs cantons, by means of Zuric and Berne: and, as it is the intereſt both of the kings of France and Sardinia to be in friendſhip with the Swiſs, and to preſerve the independence of Geneva; it derives its greateſt ſecurity from a circumſtance which, in ſome caſes, would be the ſource of danger; namely, that its territory borders upon the dominions of ſuch powerful neighbours.

This is the only republic in Switzerland, that has no regular companies in any foreign ſervice; wiſely prohibiting the enliſting of mercenaries in every part of its territory.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 65.

Account of the late Revolution at Geneva.—Origin and Progreſs of the inteſtine Troubles.—Siege and Surrender of the Town.—Changes in the Form of Government.—Emigration.—Project for a Genevan Settlement in Ireland—relinquiſhed.

HAVING in a former letter ſketched the general hiſtory of Geneva, and deſcribed the form of government exiſting in 1776; I ſhall now give an account of the late troubles, and relate the changes of the conſtitution in 1782. In this narrative, inſtead of entering into the altercations of party, I ſhall endeavour to develope the principal cauſes which excited the people to take arms, to impriſon ſeveral of the magiſtrates, and at length, to ſurrender the town, at the moment when they ſeemed moſt determined to defend it to the laſt extremity.

By

By the edict of 1768, tranquillity was, apparently reſtored to Geneva, and ſeveral alterations were introduced into the antient conſtitution. By theſe changes, however, the inteſtine troubles were only ſmothered, but not extinguiſhed; the *Negatives*, or ariſtocratical party, diſcontented at the right of re-election extorted from them in 1768, which they conſidered as a ſpecies of oſtraciſm, were ready to ſeize the firſt opportunity of obtaining its abolition; while the *Repreſentants*, or partizans of the people, were inclined to puſh their advantages to the utmoſt, and to ſecure their victory by too precipitate an exerciſe of this new privilege.

The project for the compilation of a new code of laws, which, although ordered by the edicts of 1738 and 1768, had been hitherto delayed under various pretences, was another cauſe of miſunderſtanding between the two parties, and was the immediate occaſion of the ſucceeding troubles. Many reaſons induced the Negatives to oppoſe its compilation.

Firſt; An accurate ſtatement of the cuſtoms and uſages would conſiderably diminiſh their prerogatives, by abridging the great diſcretionary powers, which the want of a preciſe code muſt neceſſarily entruſt to the will of the magiſtrates.—Secondly; As, in order to furniſh materials for ſuch a work, it became abſolutely neceſſary to ſearch into the antient archives; it was ſurmiſed, that many titles would be expoſed to the public eye, which would favour the pretenſions of the Houſe of Savoy; and that others would be brought forward by the democratical party, in order to juſtify farther encroachments. The Repreſentants, however, continued to demand

mand the compilation of a new code; and at length, in January, 1777, forced the Negatives to conſent to their demand, by excluding, according to their right of *re-election*, four members from the Senate or Little Council. In conſequence of this meaſure, a committee, for the purpoſe of forming a code of laws, was appointed by the concurrence of the Little, Great, and General Councils. This committee was to exiſt two years; and the code was to be laid before the three Councils, for their joint approbation or rejection.

At length, on the firſt of September, 1779, the committee ſubmitted a ſketch of the firſt part of this code to the Little and Great Councils, in order to profit by their obſervations, before it was preſented to the General Council. Many articles, however, being conſidered by the Negatives as too democratical, met with great oppoſition; and the Senate propoſed to the Great Council, that the Committee ſhould be prorogued for the purpoſe of amending the code; but the Negatives, who formed the majority, decided, that the code ſhould not be accepted, and that the committee ſhould be diſſolved.

This meaſure was violently reprobated by one party as unconſtitutional, and ſupported as warmly by the other. By the former it was argued, that the Great Council exceeded its powers; becauſe the Little Council having laid before the Great Council the queſtion, "Whether the powers of the committee ſhould be prolonged?" the latter, inſtead of deciding that point, and *that* only; had determined, "that the code itſelf ſhould not be accepted."—The popular party conſidered this mode of proceeding as an evident breach of the conſtitution: for

for it was argued that the Senate alone has the power of propoſing, and the Great Council the privilege of approving or rejecting the motion, and not that of amending or altering it. Further, it was urged, that as the committee had been appointed conjointly by the three Councils, and the code was to be ſubmitted to their approbation or rejection; the Great Council did not poſſeſs the right of cancelling the code, although they had that of diſſolving the committee.

To theſe objections the Negatives anſwered; that the Great Council did not diſſolve the committee; becauſe, being appointed only for two years, it ceaſed of courſe at the expiration of that term: and that as to the neceſſity of ſubmitting the approbation or rejection of the code propoſed by the committee to the three Councils; it might be urged, that the Little and Great Councils had the ſole prerogative of framing a new code, and of laying it before the General Council; that they had acted inconſiſtently in permitting that Council to have any ſhare in appointing the committee; and, therefore, that they now only uſed their prerogative in reſuming thoſe powers which they had unwarily granted to others.

Many perſons, however, were of opinion, that although the Little and Great Councils poſſeſſed the undoubted right of propoſing to the General Council; yet, as they had once admitted that Council to a ſhare in appointing * the committee,

* Strictly ſpeaking, the names of the commiſſioners were not laid before the General Council; but ſimply the propoſal of appointing a committee. The commiſſioners were privately ſettled by the two parties, and the burghers acceded to the propoſition

committee, they were imprudent in rejecting the code by their own authority; and ought, at the expiration of two years, to have nominated, conjointly with the burghers, a new committee, for the purpoſes of compiling a code of laws, according to the edicts of 1738 and 1768.

In conſequence of theſe diſputes, the body of citizens remonſtrating againſt the act of the Great Council, that aſſembly offered to undertake the compilation of the code; and to ſubmit it to the public examination. The oppoſite party conſidering this offer as inſidious, many debates took place, and various negotiations were carried on between the two parties, which only ſerved to widen rather than heal the diſſentions. At length the *Negatives*, conſidering the public tranquillity as endangered, appealed to their guarantees, France, Zuric, and Berne; and entreated them to protect the laws and conſtitution. But this appeal had no other effect than to heighten the diſtruſt and ſuſpicion of both parties. In this criſis of affairs, the *Negatives* redoubled their efforts to ſtrengthen themſelves by the acceſſion of the natives, and to ſpread the ſeeds of jealouſy between the latter and the citizens.

The natives, ſons of the inhabitants, who had purchaſed the right of ſettling at Geneva, formed a numerous body, diſcontented and jealous of many excluſive privileges enjoyed by the citizens, and inflamed with reſentment againſt them, for having, in 1770, baniſhed eight

propoſition in general terms, as they previouſly knew, that the commiſſioners were moſtly favourable to the popular party.

eight of the principal natives, who, pretending that the rights of the burgherſhip belonged to the natives as well as to the citizens, demanded, that, inſtead of being purchaſed, it ſhould be gratuitouſly conferred. With a view of acquiring ſo conſiderable an acceſſion to their own party, the Negatives courted the natives by careſſes, ſubſidies, and entertainments; and iſſued a public declaration, that they were ready to confer upon them thoſe privileges of trade and commerce, which had been hitherto excluſively confined to the citizens.

The count of Vergennes alſo openly favoured the deſign of the Negatives; and even wrote diſpatches to the reſident of France at Geneva in order to be communicated to the principal natives, who ſided with the Negatives. Theſe diſpatches contained the higheſt expreſſions of approbation, and ſtrongly recommended them to perſevere in their attachment to that party. The attorney general conceiving this interference contrary to the eſtabliſhed mode of proceeding, which required, that all diſpatches from a foreign miniſter ſhould paſs through the hands of government, delivered to the Great Council a ſpirited remonſtrance, diſplaying the danger which reſulted from a private correſpondence between the court of France and the natives. He artfully, indeed, ſurmized, that the report of the diſpatch from the French miniſter to the natives, was falſe and inſidious, and calculated to raiſe a miſunderſtanding between that power and the republic; and even advanced ſeveral arguments, which tended to prove the impoſſibility, that ſuch an extraordinary correſpondence could have been maintained.

The

The irony and ſpirit of this remonſtrance were ſo offenſive to the count of Vergennes, that he inſtantly obtained the depoſition of the attorney general; and this public ſtep in favour of the Negatives conſiderably increaſed their party among the natives.

In order to counterbalance the offers of the Negatives and the favour of France, the Repreſentants manifeſted the moſt generous intentions in behalf of the natives; and even promiſed, what they had hitherto reprobated in the ſtrongeſt manner, to facilitate the acquiſition of the burgherſhip, and to beſtow it as the recompence of induſtry and good behaviour.

Thus the two parties ſtriving who ſhould offer the higheſt terms, two factions were formed among the natives; and it was eaſy to foreſee, that the firſt opportunity of recurring to force would be ſeized by the populace; many of whom had nothing to loſe, and much to gain in times of tumult and confuſion.

In effect, ſuch an opportunity preſented itſelf on the 5th of February, 1781; when a particular quarrel brought on a general riſing. Two neighbouring and oppoſite parties of natives, caſually diſputing, loaded each other with virulent reproaches; and from reproaches, would have immediately proceeded to an aſſault, if the Syndics on one ſide, and the chiefs of the Repreſentants on the other, had not quelled, by their preſence, the riſing tumult. The populace aſſembled on the occaſion began to diſperſe; when a diſcharge of muſquetry was heard from the arſenal. Several youths, who ſided with the Negatives, having taken poſſeſſion of the arſenal, had

had fired *, by miſtake, on ſome natives of their own party, killed one of them and wounded another. This diſcharge was conſidered by the Repreſentants as the ſignal of a general inſurrection. They inſtantly took arms, and marched, in three columns, to the arſenal; where, finding only a few young men, who had raſhly fired without orders, they prudently reſtrained their reſentment, and permitted the others to retire without moleſtation. They then continued under arms, and occupied the principal avenues of the city.

The next morning the committee of the Repreſentants being ſummoned by the natives to fulfil their promiſes of granting additional privileges, and particularly of gratuitouſly conferring the burgherſhip, held ſeveral meetings with the principal Negatives on that ſubject, but without ſucceſs: for the latter, while they readily conſented to the requeſt of the natives reſpecting the augmentation of their commercial privileges, poſitively refuſed to facilitate the acquiſition of the burgherſhip.

Notwithſtanding this refuſal, the committee, embarraſſed and alarmed at the number and threats of the natives, determined to abide by their promiſes, drew up an edict, which permitted the natives to carry on trade; to hold the rank of officers in the military aſſociations; and conferred the burgherſhip on more than a hundred perſons, taken from the natives and inhabitants, and even from the peaſants of the

* It is but juſtice to the Negatives to add, that, according to the opinion of ſome, this firſt inſurrection was concerted, and the Repreſentants fired firſt.

territory.

territory. This edict was laid before and approved by the three Councils; the Negatives abſenting themſelves on this occaſion from their apprehenſions of the popular party, who had made themſelves maſters of the city. By this meaſure the Repreſentants eſteemed themſelves ſecure of having inviolably attached the natives to their intereſt; and concluded that nothing more remained than to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Affairs, however, turned out otherwiſe; deputies being diſpatched from Zuric and Berne in order to mediate between the rival parties, prevailed on the Repreſentants to lay down their arms; and before their departure declared the edict in favour of the natives, to be null and illegal. And when the queſtion for executing that edict was laid before the Senate, it was repeatedly carried in the negative, under the juſt pretence, that the mediating powers had declared it to be illegal; that while the city was in the power of the Repreſentants, who were under arms, none of the members could venture to oppoſe it; and that therefore their aſſent, which had been extorted by fear, was abſolutely null.

Inflamed by this refuſal, the oppoſite party tendered, on the 18th of March, 1782, another repreſentation, in which they again ſummoned the magiſtrates to confirm the edict. The anſwer, expected with the moſt extreme impatience, was at length returned on Sunday, the 17th of April, and concluded with ſaying, "Government is neither willing nor able to ratify the edict."

Although the committee endeavoured, firſt to conceal, and when that was impoſſible, to ſoften and

and palliate its contents, yet the generality of the natives, who found themſelves excluded from the favourite object of their wiſhes, at the moment when they ſeemed moſt ſecure of obtaining it, crouded tumultuouſly in different parts of the city; repeating, one after the other, in a kind of frenzy, "Government is neither able nor willing to ratify the edict." As theſe cries of deſpair were followed by the moſt violent menaces; the popular chiefs, after ſeveral vain attempts to reſtrain the riſing commotions, acquainted the magiſtrates with the general indignation; and endeavoured, though without ſucceſs, to perſuade them to recal or mollify their fatal anſwer. Mean while, night approached, ever favourable to tumults and inſurrections, and brought on the criſis which ruined the republic.

Some of the loweſt populace having ſet fire to a wooden barrack, cried out, "to arms;" on which ſignal the natives aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and were joined by the moſt violent Repreſentants. The moſt moderate among the citizens, well convinced, that the fire was only a pretext, and that ſuch an ill-timed inſurrection would greatly prejudice their cauſe, diſperſed themſelves in various quarters of the town, and tried to prevail on the mob to retire; but without effect. Many were wantonly inſulted; and a party, in attempting to ſecure one of the gates, having fired on the garriſon who reſiſted, it became abſolutely neceſſary for the citizens either to abandon the natives, or to join them in the inſurrection. Having haſtily adopted the latter meaſure, the officers of the popular party made their appearance, took poſſeſſion of the town, and

and appeaſed the tumult. At length, after various unſucceſsful negotiations to prevail on the Negatives to ratify the edict, the popular party arreſted and confined a few of the magiſtrates and the principal Negatives; and the chiefs of the Repreſentants, apprehenſive that an immediate appeal to France would be the firſt conſequence of their liberty, detained them in priſon as hoſtages for their farther ſecurity.

As this arreſt and impriſonment of the principal magiſtrates appeared a meaſure as daring and atrocious as contradictory to ſound policy; it may be proper to conſider on what principles the Repreſentants acted, and by what arguments they defended their conduct. For this purpoſe it will be neceſſary to view the political ſituation of Geneva in the moment of this inſurrection, with reſpect to the neighbouring ſtates, and particularly in relation to France, of whoſe aſſiſtance the ariſtocratical party was ſecure, as ſoon as that power could interfere with effect and propriety.

The act by which France, Zuric, and Berne guarantied the conſtitution of Geneva, as new-modelled in 1768, was no longer in force; a circumſtance highly unfavourable to the popular party. For, as by this act, the king of France could not publicly interfere in the affairs of Geneva, except in concert with Zuric and Berne, he had only one voice; and conſequently could not effectuate any change in the government, provided thoſe two cantons were united againſt him. Theſe ſhackles being highly diſpleaſing both to the court of Verſailles, and to the Negatives, who were protected by that court, the count of Vergennes, by a letter written on the 28th

28th of September, 1781, declared to the cantons of Zuric and Berne, that Louis the Sixteenth renounced the guarantee, becauſe they had refuſed to enter into views for the purpoſe of reſtoring peace to Geneva; and in a diſpatch to the Senate, bearing the ſame date, and to the ſame effect, he added; that the king, in renouncing the guarantee, did not withhold his protection from the commonwealth; but ſtill reſerved to himſelf the power of puniſhing the diſturbers of public tranquillity, and of ſupporting the conſtitution. The greateſt number of the repreſentants weakly rejoiced at this meaſure, from an idle perſuaſion, that the miniſter, fatigued with their trifling diſputes, and deſpairing to overcome the perſeverance of the citizens, abandoned them to themſelves; and, thus in the very act which inevitably prepared ſubjection, imagined that they ſaw the firſt gleam of abſolute independence.

Soon after this renunciation, M. de Vergennes ordered a regiment to march into the land of Gex, which borders on the territory of Geneva; and the troops were ſtill quartered on the frontiers, when the refuſal of the Senate to confirm the edict, gave riſe to the inſurrection. In this ſituation, the popular leaders argued, that for a long time a pretext had been wanted to appeal to Verſailles; and it was now found: they dreaded every moment to ſee the French troops at the gates of the town; they thought it, therefore, moſt adviſeable to arreſt and confine the magiſtrates, in order to intimidate them from calling in the ſuccours of France, and to render them reſponſible for the public ſecurity.

Won over by theſe ſpecious arguments, the body of citizens continued to act as if their power was likely to be permanent. They depoſed ſeveral members of the Great and Little Councils, and appointed in their place an equal number of perſons who were favourable to the cauſe of the Repreſentants. The Great Council, thus new-modelled, executed the edict for conferring the burgherſhip on the ſtipulated number of natives; and appointed a committee of ſafety, compoſed of eleven members, with very conſiderable authority. This committee entirely reeſtabliſhed public tranquillity; ordered the fortifications of the town to be repaired; and inſpired the people with the moſt dangerous confidence in their own ſtrength.

Zuric and Berne, on the firſt news of the late inſurrection, interdicted their ſubjects from all intercourſe with a government founded on uſurpation and violence; and ſtrenuouſly adviſed the Syndics to exhort the citizens to an immediate reſtoration of the legal conſtitution: a moment's delay, they urged, would be inevitable ruin. A few days afterwards, the French miniſter returned, unopened, the diſpatches of the new Senate; and reminded the citizens of the king's ſolemn engagement to ſupport the oppreſſed, and to protect the antient form of government. The citizens of Geneva, though thus deſerted by their allies, were deaf to all admonitions, idly appealed to the juſtice of their cauſe; and diſclaimed all overtures of accommodation, except on their own terms.

During two months the citizens and natives, apparently ſecure within their ramparts, convinced, either that France durſt not venture to attack

attack them, or that the priſoners would be the immediate victims of ſuch an attempt, and that they ſhould be able to make a long and glorious reſiſtance, would not even liſten to any propoſal of re-eſtabliſhing the depoſed magiſtrates; and could not be prevailed upon to ſacrifice a part of their privileges, and particularly the right of reelection, for the ſecurity of the remainder.

At length, the ſtorm gathering from all quarters, ſlowly approached, and hovered over the town. The king of Sardinia and the canton of Berne, both ſeconding the views of France, diſpatched troops againſt Geneva; and their reſpective generals, Meſſrs. de la Marmora and Lentulus, were ordered to act in concert with the French commander M. de Jaucourt, who had advanced to the frontiers at the head of a conſiderable detachment.

Nothing occaſioned more ſurprize and indignation than the junction of Sardinia and Berne with the King of France; and yet no meaſure was more conſonant to the views of thoſe two powers.

The Sardinian monarch was intereſted in the preſervation of a town, which is the chief ſource of induſtry and wealth to his ſubjects of Savoy; and whoſe inteſtine troubles had already cauſed a diminution of his revenue: and as he could not in common policy permit the French to increaſe their influence in theſe parts, and to quell, without his interference, the commotions of Geneva, he *voluntarily* tendered his aſſiſtance towards the accompliſhment of ſo beneficial a purpoſe.

The Canton of Berne, deſirous to prevent the interpoſition of foreign powers in the affairs of

Switzerland, uſed, in a letter to the Syndics, the following exhortations. " Redouble your " efforts with your fellow-citizens; and exert " yourſelves in order to compoſe the unhappy " differences, which muſt infallibly terminate in " the deſtruction of the republic. A ſpeedy " re-eſtabliſhment of the legal government will " reſtore to them their faithful allies, who are " anxious to employ their good offices in behalf " of the ſtate." But when theſe well-timed admonitions proved ineffectual, and the perſeverance of the citizens had drawn upon them the reſentment of France and Sardinia; Berne could not tamely behold two ſuch powers thus interfering in a criſis ſo important to her own particular welfare, and to the general intereſts of the Helvetic union; and as Zuric had prudently declined to take an active part againſt her antient ally, ſtood forth with that firmneſs and deciſion which characterize all her councils; and joined her forces to the confederate armies of France and Sardinia.

Notwithſtanding this powerful combination, and even in the midſt of theſe threatening appearances, the Genevans continued to repair the ramparts with indefatigable ardour. The peaſants of the territory flocked of their own accord, and without pay, to mount guard, and to work at the fortifications; women, of all ranks, crowded to the ramparts, as to a place of public amuſement; encouraging and animating the men to perſevere in their labour; and ſome even ſharing in their fatigue aſſiſted in tranſporting burdens, or in planting cannon on the baſtions. In the midſt of this almoſt univerſal confidence, a few prudent perſons, who foreſaw the impoſſibility

impoſſibility of reſiſtance, ſighed in ſecret; but were obliged to diſguiſe their real ſentiments, and could not venture in public but with an air of hope, ſerenity, and fortitude.

Mean while the beſiegers advancing on all ſides, the three commanders held frequent conſultations, and formed a general plan of attack. At length, on the 29th of June, 1782, M. de Jaucourt diſpatched a meſſage to the Syndics; in which, after expatiating on the diſintereſted intentions of the king his maſter, and proteſting that he reſpected the independence of the republic, and was only deſirous of introducing good order, he added, that if they would not admit his troops, and accept the following preliminaries of peace, he muſt force his way into the town. Among other conditions, he exacted, that no perſon ſhould appear in the ſtreets, under pain of military puniſhment; that a certain number of citizens, among whom were all the chiefs of the Repreſentants, ſhould in twenty-four hours retire from Geneva; that all arms ſhould be delivered to the three generals; that the depoſed magiſtrates ſhould be inſtantly re-eſtabliſhed; and that a final anſwer ſhould be returned in two hours. The generals Lentulus and de la Marmora reſpectively inſiſted on the ſame conditions.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the rage, indignation, and deſpair, which theſe humiliating conditions excited at Geneva. Without the leaſt deliberation every perſon reſolved to periſh rather than accept them; and the moment of danger had no other effect than to animate and rouſe the courage of the beſieged. While they hurried to the ramparts, and were preparing for reſiſtance,

reſiſtance, the Syndics ſecretly obtained from the three generals a delay of twenty-four hours. In this interval not only the men of all ages prepared for defence; but even women and children tore the pavement from the ſtreets, and carried the ſtones to the tops of the houſes, in order to roll them down upon the enemy, in caſe they ſhould force their way into the town.

Such was the general ardour; that about eighty women and girls, dreſſed in uniforms, offered to form themſelves into a company, for the purpoſe of defending their country. The committee of ſafety accepted their ſervices, and placed them in a barrack, which by its ſituation was covered from the cannon of the beſiegers. Theſe amazons, with a ſpirit above their ſex, refuſed a ſtation that was not ſufficiently expoſed; and, as the town ſoon afterwards ſurrendered, they had no opportunity of proving their patriotiſm by a diſplay of their valour.

All theſe various ſigns of the moſt determined reſolution, flowing unanimouſly from every rank, age, and ſex, alarmed the Negatives, who never had ſuſpected, that the people would carry matters to ſuch deſperate extremities. Accordingly, their partizans conferred with the moſt moderate among the Repreſentants, in order to find ſome means of reconciliation; but without ſucceſs.

At length the fatal hour arrived, in which the anſwer was to be returned: it was to expire at ten on Sunday morning; and at the firſt beat of the drum the ramparts were covered with defenders. Although the moſt zealous had only calculated on 3000, above 5000 made their appearance. They ſeemed to be all animated with one

one and the ſame ſpirit; and reminded each other of thoſe brave citizens of Geneva, who by ſacrificing their lives had repulſed, in 1602, the troops of Savoy, when the latter had treacherouſly ſcaled the walls during a profound peace. No one ventured even to hint at ſurrendering; and all awaited the attack with the moſt determined intrepidity. In this criſis, the French general, at the interceſſion of the Negatives, alarmed for the fate of the priſoners, again prolonged the period preſcribed for the capitulation.

The firſt effect of theſe repeated delays was gradually to abate the enthuſiaſm of the women: they could not but feel that they were wives and mothers; and began to figure to themſelves all the horrors of a town taken by aſſault, and a prey to a licentious and enraged ſoldiery. In the next place, timid and prudent perſons could venture to conceal their fears under various pretences; and at length the committee of ſafety, hitherto ſtrenuous in enforcing the neceſſity of reſiſtance, ſuddenly changed their reſolution, but artfully diſguiſed their ſentiments from the public, until it was too late to prevent the ſurrender.

In the preſent ferment of paſſions and prejudices, if the leaders had openly propoſed a ſurrender, they would have been conſidered as traitors; they would only have endangered their own perſons, and accelerated thoſe calamities which they wiſhed to avoid. For the purpoſe, therefore, of gradually bringing matters to the iſſue which they intended, they aſſembled the citizens in the reſpective circles; and after warmly extolling their general zeal and patriot-

iſm,

iſm, repreſented, that if the city ſhould be attacked in the night, it would be no longer poſſible to convene them. For this reaſon they hinted, that it would be highly advantageous to the common cauſe, if each circle ſhould nominate ſeveral deputies, with full authority to decide in their ſtead; adding, that they ought rather to appoint thoſe perſons, who, from their age and reſpectable character, could aſſiſt their country by advice, while others were defending it by their valour.

This council, compoſed of about a hundred citizens, met at ſix in the evening, on the firſt of July; and a few hours before the laſt term appointed for the ſurrender was about to expire. The chiefs opened the debate with long ſpeeches, in order to prepare the minds of the aſſembly for the object which they had in view. After having repreſented the ſtate of the fortifications, which were judged by the moſt intelligent engineers to be only ſufficient for reſiſting an attack by ſtorm, and not for maintaining a ſiege of more than three or four days; they at length ventured to lay before them the neceſſity of an immediate ſurrender. On the bare mention of that word, the moſt violent of the aſſembly inſtantly burſt into reproaches, and accuſed the committee with an intention of betraying the republic. They declared, that they would inſtantly announce to their fellow citizens the treachery of their deputies: who were not appointed to deliberate upon a ſurrender, but only upon the means of moſt effectual reſiſtance. Apprehending the ill conſequences of ſuch a proceeding, one of the chiefs ſtarted from his ſeat, and barred the doors; while ſome of thoſe

thoſe who wiſhed to retire, drew their ſwords, and ſhedding tears of deſpair, "To remain," they cried out, "a moment, was to ſhare the treaſon, and to deſtroy their country." Every method was attempted to appeaſe them: cries and exhortations were heard from all quarters.

At length, when the queſtion concerning the ſurrender was propoſed, a conſiderable majority voted for defending the city to the laſt extremity. On this determination, many of the moſt zealous, truſting to this decided majority, retired from the aſſembly, in order to prepare themſelves for the hour of danger. Another conſultation was then propoſed by thoſe who remained; the danger of dividing into parties, and of alienating the citizens from their leaders, was repreſented in the ſtrongeſt colours. Theſe ſuggeſtions being attended with effect; long debates recommenced. One of the youngeſt in the aſſembly, being affected with the pathetic conſideration of the diſtreſs of thoſe widows and orphans, whoſe huſbands and fathers ſhould fall by the hand of the enemy, was of opinion, that only thoſe who were unmarried, and who had no children, ſhould be permitted to defend the ramparts. "We are not ſufficient," he added, "to preſerve the town from being taken; but enough to ſave our honour, and to obtain a leſs humiliating capitulation." He was interrupted by an elderly citizen, who claimed for fathers of families the glory of fighting for their country. "I have ſix ſons," exclaimed he, with tears of exultation ſparkling in his eyes, "and who ſhall prevent me from marching at their head to the ramparts?"

It was then propoſed to conduct the hoſtages in the face of the French batteries, as a means of intimidating M. de Jaucourt from firing againſt the ramparts; for it was to be preſumed, that he would not expoſe to certain deſtruction thoſe magiſtrates whom he came to deliver. This opinion, which for a ſhort time ſeemed likely to prevail, gave place to the more generous reſolution of reſtoring the priſoners to liberty; of permitting the Negatives to retire to the enemy's camp; and then of preparing for a vigorous reſiſtance. It was urged, ſuch a noble mode of proceeding, in ſo alarming a moment, would probably ſoften the reſentment of the ariſtocratical party; and induce them to obtain from the French general more favourable terms of accommodation.

Many hours were conſumed in diſcuſſing theſe various opinions. The fatal period approached: it was midnight; and the chiefs, who had now contrived to ſtrike the greateſt number with a panic, won over the aſſembly to their ſentiments, by propoſing a general emigration; and conſoled them, in the midſt of their deſpair, with the hopes of enjoying that liberty in another country, which they could no longer expect to find in their own.

A declaration being then drawn up, to be delivered to the Syndics at the ſame time with the keys of the city; the hoſtages were inſtantly conducted to their reſpective houſes; the chiefs ſummoned the principal officers from their poſts; ordered the cannon of ſeveral batteries to be rendered unfit for ſervice; and at length provided for their own ſafety by retiring from the

the town before the entry of the confederate troops.

When the unexpected news of the ſurrender was announced to the public, they became frantic with deſpair. Some mutually embraced each other without uttering a ſingle word; others loaded their chiefs with the moſt dreadful imprecations; while a few, ſtill determined to reſiſt, ineffectually ſummoned their fellow citizens by beat of drum to their ſtandards. The greateſt part, however, having diſcharged and broken their muſkets, flung themſelves with their faces to the ground, and lay motionleſs for a conſiderable time. At length a general retreat took place. The roads were covered with perſons of both ſexes, who fled haſtily from the walls; and the Sardinians, who firſt entered the gates at five in the morning, found the city almoſt deſerted.

The count de la Marmora, as if actuated by motives of compaſſion for the degraded ſituation of Geneva, marched in ſilence, and without an inſulting diſplay of military pomp; and, having occupied the town-houſe and the magazines for powder, viſited in perſon the different quarters of the city, in order to diſſipate all apprehenſions of danger. About noon the two other commanders made their entry: they were accompanied by a large body of Negatives, and marched at the head of their reſpective troops, with drums beating and colours flying. Having joined the Sardinian forces, the three generals conducted the magiſtrates, lately delivered from priſon, to the Great Council, and re-eſtabliſhed them in their ſeveral charges, to the ſound of martial muſic. The citizens were diſarmed; each

each houſeholder obliged to furniſh the officers with quarters; the edict of the 6th of February, 1781, which had conferred the burgherſhip on above a hundred natives, was annulled. In the midſt of theſe arrangements, the Great Council laid, with all due form, the foundation of a theatre: a troop of comedians was introduced; and the ariſtocratical party celebrated their triumph with balls, feaſts, and every ſpecies of public diverſion.

Mean while a committee appointed by the Great and Little Councils prepared, in concert with the three generals, an edict for new modelling the conſtitution; which being approved at the courts of Verſailles and Turin, and by the canton of Berne, was confirmed by the Great and Little Councils. But as it annulled many conſiderable rights hitherto enjoyed by the citizens, it was not probable, that it would be ratified by the General Council, in which the party of the Repreſentants had ſtill a great majority. In order, therefore, to obtain its final confirmation, it was enacted, that, when the edict was laid before the General Council, thoſe Repreſentants, who had taken up arms, ſhould for that time be excluded; under pretence that the inſurrection had rendered them unworthy of exerciſing their rights; and it was added, that they might eſteem themſelves extremely fortunate in not being expoſed to the utmoſt rigour of the laws.

Accordingly, on the 15th of November, 1782, the members of the General Council aſſembled to the number of five hundred; above a thouſand being excluded from giving their votes. And yet even this fantom of ſupreme power

power was ſurrounded with troops. Notwithſtanding, however, the excluſion of ſo many, and the general panic, above a hundred Repreſentants, and even ſeveral Negatives, had the courage to reject the edict; which appeared to many, even among the Negatives, as eſtabliſhing too rigorous an ariſtocracy.

The citizens of Geneva have incurred much ridicule and cenſure, for having ſo early and repeatedly expreſſed the moſt determined reſolution never to ſurrender the town, and to reſiſt until it was taken by aſſault. In a pamphlet, alſo, ſtyled, "*Lettre écrite des ramparts Geneve*," the author combats all the arguments which might be urged in favour of a capitulation; and vehemently aſſerts, that he, as well as his fellow citizens, are reſolved to defend the town to the laſt extremity, and rather to court death from the hands of the enemy than ſurvive the extinction of their liberties. Theſe aſſertions appeared mere oſtentatious vaunts, as the pamphlet was not printed and diſperſed until after the ſurrender; and led the public to attribute vain-boaſting and cowardice, which are uſually united, as eſſential characteriſtics of the people of Geneva.

On reviewing, however, the hiſtory of the revolution with impartiality, it cannot admit a doubt; that the people were unanimouſly againſt a ſurrender; that, till within a few hours before the confederate troops entered the gates, they expected, and were prepared for, an aſſault; that they had entruſted the command to the committee of ſafety; that the latter, alarmed at the near approach of danger, had ſuddenly changed their opinion; had betrayed them into a ſurrender

a ſurrender againſt their intentions, and without their knowledge; and had taken ſuch precautions as rendered all reſiſtance impracticable.

As the committee has been greatly cenſured for this ſudden change of opinion; it is but juſtice to add, that of eleven members and ſeveral adjuncts, who compoſed the committee, two thirds voted againſt the ſurrender. But in fact, of what avail was reſiſtance at this period? Upon a ſuppoſition that the ſiege could have been protracted for a few days; the kings of France and Sardinia, and the canton of Berne, had freſh troops ready to march; and in leſs than a week, ſo large a reinforcement would have been collected before the gates of Geneva, that any further oppoſition muſt have been madneſs. In a word, the popular leaders acted wrong in buoying up the hopes of the people, that reſiſtance could be effectual; and by the reparation of the ramparts only ſerved to inſpire the public with a dangerous confidence, which they were not afterwards able to diſſipate.

Such is the hiſtory of this extraordinary revolution; prepared for ſome time by the enmity of the two parties; occaſioned by the impolitic, though juſt, demand of a code of laws; haſtened by the two inſurrections; and completed by the intrigues and arms of France. It muſt be acknowledged, that the Repreſentants, or popular party, acted in a moſt imprudent as well as unconſtitutional manner; and particularly, that no excuſe can be admitted for the ſecond inſurrection, and the impriſonment of the magiſtrates. The Repreſentants, by the edict of 1768,

1768, poſſeſſed great privileges, which, in time, would have placed in their hands the whole adminiſtration of government. As the greateſt number in the General Aſſembly, they enjoyed the right of annually excluding four members from the Senate, and of filling half the vacancies in the Great Council; they muſt, therefore, in a few years, have inevitably obtained a decided majority. The moſt prudent among them ſaw this advantage, and were contented; but the greater part, and perhaps a few of their leaders, eager to graſp immediately that power, of which they had only a diſtant proſpect, precipitated meaſures; and acting, in a few inſtances, diametrically oppoſite to the firſt principles of their conſtitution, haſtened its deſtruction. It muſt, at the ſame time, be confeſſed, that however imprudently or unconſtitutionally the Repreſentants acted, yet that the Negatives, ſecure of ſupport from the Court of Verſailles, ſeemed to carry their confidence in their own ſtrength to ſuch a degree, as almoſt to court the troubles which enſued; and that they have availed themſelves of their victory to a degree only to be palliated by abſolute neceſſity. A new form of government introduced by force, muſt be ſupported by force; by calling in the aſſiſtance of France, they muſt be entirely ſubmiſſive to that power; and by annihilating the firſt principles of liberty, in diſarming the citizens, and forbidding all public meetings, they are in danger of extinguiſhing that ſpirit of emulation and energy for which the Genevans have long been diſtinguiſhed. Having eſtabliſhed a rigorous ariſtocracy, they muſt neceſſarily adopt that jealouſy and ſuſpicion which

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not unfrequently characterizes the magiſtrates under that ſpecies of government: and the only queſtion now remaining, is, Whether the above-mentioned ſpirit of emulation and energy will be diminiſhed by the change of conſtitution; and if ſo, whether that diminution will be counterbalanced by the introduction of a greater degree of tranquillity than is uſually to be found in democratical ſtates?

The changes in the form of government, introduced by this revolution, are principally comprized in the following articles:

1. The power granted, in 1768, to the General Council, of re-election, or of annually excluding four members from the Senate, is aboliſhed.

2. The privilege enjoyed by the ſame aſſembly, of nominating half the vacancies in the Great Council, is likewiſe annulled; and that body is now ſupplied by the Senate and Great Council, according to the following complicated mode of election:—In caſe of ſixteen vacancies, the Great Council ſelects eight members from ſixteen candidates propoſed by the Senate; and in like manner the Senate chooſes eight from the ſame number of candidates appointed by the Great Council.

3. The right of *repreſentation*, or remonſtrating, is taken from the citizens at large, and transferred to thirty-ſix adjuncts, who may be preſent in the Great Council, on the firſt Monday of each month: they enjoy the privilege of making repreſentations, and in that caſe have a de-

a deliberative voice. But, as they are removeable every year; and are drawn by lot from all the citizens in general, who may chuſe to preſent themſelves as candidates; they are conſidered as ſo extremely dependent on the will of the magiſtrates, and their repreſentations have ſuch little weight, that they are called in deriſion, *Les Images*, or, The Shadows.

4. The introduction of the *grabeau*, or annual confirmation of the members of the Senate, and of the Great Council, excluſively veſted in the laſt-mentioned body. This law, which may be conſidered as the baſis of the new conſtitution, has transferred to the Great Council part of the authority both of the Senate and of the General Council. By ſubjecting the Senate to this annual reviſion, it has rendered that body greatly dependent on the Great Council; which by the preſent conſtitution is become, what the Senate was according to the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1738 and 1768, the center of the ariſtocracy.

5. The circles, or clubs, in which the citizens uſed to be convened, and all public aſſemblies *, are prohibited; and they are only allowed

* One inſtance of the ill effects ariſing from this prohibition, fell under my obſervation: The Society of Arts in Geneva, many of whoſe members are perſons of great abilities and learning, has already given to the world ſeveral intereſting publications. But as all public aſſemblies are prohibited, government was ſuſpicious leſt this literary ſociety ſhould indulge itſelf in political queſtions; and accordingly no meeting has been held ſince the late revolution. Indeed, when I was at Geneva, it was then in agitation to ſuffer the ſociety to aſſemble; but it was very uncertain whether

ed to meet at coffee-houſes. This prohibition was at firſt carried to an extreme degree of jealouſy, highly derogatory from every principle of free government; but lately it has been ſomewhat modified; and aſſemblies are permitted to be held in the country, though not within the walls of Geneva.

6. The militia is aboliſhed; firing at marks, even with bows and arrows, prohibited; and the guard of the town, inſtead of being conſigned to the citizens, is entruſted to a garriſon of 1000 foreign ſoldiers, whoſe colonel and major are both foreigners: theſe troops take an oath of fidelity to the republic, and of obedience to the Great Council, and to the Committee of War; they are under the immediate command and inſpection of the latter, and ſubject to the ſuperior controul of the former. This garriſon may be augmented to 1200, and reduced to 800 men, at the will of the Great Council; but cannot be further enlarged or diminiſhed without the conſent of the General Council.

7. No citizen, native, or inhabitant, is permitted to have arms. It is not unworthy of re-

whether this permiſſon would be granted; and if granted, whether it would not be greatly fettered by the diminution of the number of its members, and by ſeveral other reſtrictions, incompatible with the freedom of literary diſquiſitions. It is a matter of little conſequence to Europe in general, whether the government of Geneva is more or leſs ariſtocratical or democratical; but it is an object of general importance, whether a literary ſociety ſhould be prevented, by political jealouſy, from holding thoſe aſſemblies, which will afford a means and opportunity of continuing to ſupply the world with learned and intereſting publications.

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mark on this article, that although by the antient conſtitution every citizen was obliged to provide himſelf with arms, under a certain penalty; yet, that when theſe were delivered up, government did not reimburſe the expence.

8. Several taxes were impoſed without the conſent of the General Council; but for the future, every change or augmentation of the revenue muſt be ſubmitted to that body.

9. Various privileges, reſpecting the equal rights to trade and commerce, formerly poſſeſſed by the citizens alone, have been conferred on the natives and inhabitants; a liberal conceſſion, to which both parties willingly acceded.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Genevans ſeemed ſo greatly to deplore the diminution of that liberty to which they had long been accuſtomed, and to which they aſcribed the late remarkable increaſe of their population and riches, that if we had judged from the diſcontents and conſternation of the citizens, we might have concluded the change of government would have been followed by an almoſt general emigration. The event, however, has not juſtified this concluſion. Excepting the principal leaders, thoſe of the po-

pular party who were baniſhed, and a few others who renounced their country in compliance with their political principles; the greateſt part of the emigrants returned, and again ſettled in the place of their nativity. And perhaps it may be affirmed with truth, that the late revolution has ſcarcely driven ſix hundred perſons from Geneva.

The emigrants have principally eſtabliſhed themſelves at Bruſſels and Conſtance *; where they have introduced manufactures of printed linens and watch-making.

I cannot quit this ſubject without recalling to your recollection, the plan for giving an aſylum to the Genevan emigrants in Ireland, which ſo long engaged the public attention.

Soon after the revolution, a memorial, ſigned by above a thouſand Genevans of both ſexes, who were either perſons of ſome property, or verſed in trade or manufactures, expreſſing a deſire of ſettling in Ireland, was preſented to Earl Temple, (now Marquis of Buckingham) then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His Excellency, conſcious of the advantage which muſt reſult to Ireland from the reception of ſo many induſtrious artiſts, many of whom poſſeſſed property in the Engliſh, Iriſh, and French funds, communicated, on the 27th of September, 1782, the propoſal to the Privy Council of Ireland, for giving an aſylum to the Genevan emigrants. This propoſal, patronized by the Lord Lieutenant, and unanimouſly conſented to by the Privy Council, was approved by the

* See Letter 3.

King. The nobility and gentry of Ireland, ſeemed to vie with each other in countenancing the ſettlement; the Iriſh parliament voted fifty thouſand pounds towards defraying the expences of their journey, and building a town for their reception; lands were purchaſed for eight thouſand pounds, in a convenient ſituation near Waterford; part of the New Geneva was actually completed, at the expence of ten thouſand pounds; a charter was granted with very conſiderable privileges; the ſtandard of gold was altered for the accommodation of the watch manufacturers; the foundation of an academy approved, upon an uſeful, extenſive, and œconomical plan *; in July, 1783, ſeveral Genevans landed in Ireland; and when the nation had expended near thirty thouſand pounds, the project was ſuddenly relinquiſhed, and the ſettlement finally abandoned.

The failure of this project may be principally attributed to the following cauſe:—If the ſettlement could have been immediately carried into execution, the Genevans would have emigrated in very conſiderable numbers; but

* The total expence of the academy would, at the higheſt calculation, have amounted to four thouſand five hundred and fifty-four pounds per annum, and at a more moderate valuation to only three thouſand nine hundred and twenty-four pounds. For this ſum forty-four profeſſors, aſſiſtants, and maſters would have been maintained; a public library eſtabliſhed; and the expences of a ſtudent, in the article of education, would not have exceeded one hundred and ſixty-four pounds eighteen ſhillings for thirteen years, or about twelve pounds per annum.

many neceſſary delays were occaſioned by the arrangement of ſo complicated a plan, by the high demands of the Genevan commiſſioners, who, in drawing up the charter, required many privileges which were contradictory to the laws of the land, and by the building of the New Geneva. Theſe delays naturally giving time for the reſentment of the Genevans to ſubſide, many returned and took the oaths of allegiance to the new government.

To this circumſtance muſt be added the departure of Earl Temple, in May, 1783, who was the great patron and promoter of the ſettlement; that the project, as it loſt its novelty, gradually became leſs popular; that the few Genevans, who had prematurely landed in Ireland, although maintained at the public expence, yet were diſcontented, at not finding the new town prepared for their immediate reception; and that particularly, as thoſe among the propoſed emigrants who had moſt property, had withdrawn their names; the remainder did not poſſeſs a ſufficient capital to ſettle in a foreign country, and to eſtabliſh an expenſive branch of manufacture without ſtill farther aſſiſtance.

In conſequence of this deficiency, the Genevan commiſſioners petitioned to appropriate ten thouſand pounds of the fifty thouſand, for the purpoſe of forming a capital. But, as that ſum had been voted by parliament for other purpoſes, this petition was neceſſarily rejected; and the Genevans, in an addreſs

addreſs to the Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, relinquiſhed the ſettlement; and ſoon afterwards quitted that country.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 66.

General Reflections.

HAVING, in the courſe of my former letters, communicated to you ſuch obſervations as occurred to me during my tour through Switzerland, concerning the laws, government, and ſituation of each canton in particular; I will now lay before you a few concluding remarks, in relation to the ſtate of that country in general.

No part of Europe contains, within the ſame compaſs, ſo many independent commonwealths, and ſuch a variety of different governments, as are collected together in this remarkable and delightful country; and yet, with ſuch wiſdom was the Helvetic union compoſed, and ſo little have the Swiſs, of late years, been actuated with the ſpirit of conqueſt, that ſince the firm and complete eſtabliſhment of their general confederacy, they have ſeldom found occaſion to employ

employ their arms againſt a foreign enemy; and have been troubled with no civil commotions that were not ſoon happily terminated. Perhaps there is not a ſimilar inſtance in antient or modern hiſtory, of a warlike people, divided into little independent republics, cloſely bordering upon each other, and occaſionally interfering in their reſpective intereſts, having continued, during ſo long a period, in an almoſt uninterrupted ſtate of tranquillity. And thus, while the ſeveral neighbouring kingdoms ſuffer, by turns, all the horrors of war, this favoured nation enjoys the felicity of looking down with ſecurity upon the various tempeſts that ſhake the world around them.

But the happineſs of a long peace, has neither broken the ſpirit, nor enervated the arm of the Swiſs. The youth are diligently trained to martial exerciſes, ſuch as running, wreſtling, and ſhooting both with the croſs-bow and the muſket; a conſiderable number of well-diſciplined troops are always employed in foreign ſervices; and the whole people are enrolled, and regularly exerciſed in their reſpective militia. By theſe means they are capable of collecting a very reſpectable body of forces, which would prove formidable to any enemy who ſhould invade their country, or attack their liberties. Thus, while moſt of the other ſtates upon the continent are tending towards a military government, Switzerland alone has no ſtanding armies; and yet, from the nature of its ſituation, from its particular alliances, and from the policy of its internal government, is more ſecure from invaſion than any other European power.

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The felicity of Switzerland, however, does not conſiſt merely in this peculiar exemption from the burdens and miſeries of war; as there is no country in which happineſs and content more univerſally prevail among the people. For, whether the government is ariſtocratical, democratical, or mixed; a general ſpirit of liberty pervades and actuates the ſeveral conſtitutions: ſo that even the oligarchical ſtates, which are uſually the moſt tyrannical, are here peculiarly mild; and the property of the ſubject is in general ſecurely guarded againſt every kind of violation.

But one general defect prevails in the criminal juriſprudence of the country. For, although the Caroline code, as it is ſtyled, or the code of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, forms in each of the republics the principal baſis of their penal laws, with particular modifications and additions in different diſtricts; yet much too great a latitude is allowed to the reſpective judges, who are leſs governed in their determinations by this code, or any other written law, than by the common principles of equity. How far long experience may have juſtified the prudence of truſting them with this extraordinary privilege, or how far the ſeverity of the Caroline code renders it neceſſary, I cannot ſay; but diſcretionary powers of this kind, are undoubtedly liable to the moſt alarming abuſe; and can never, without the greateſt hazard, be committed to the hands of the magiſtrate.

Upon this occaſion, I cannot forbear reflecting on the ſuperior wiſdom, in the preſent inſtance, as well as in many others, of our own moſt invaluable conſtitution; and, indeed, it is impoſſible

impoſſible for an Engliſhman to obſerve the governments of other countries, without becoming a warmer and more affectionate admirer of his own. In England, the life and liberty of the ſubject does not depend upon the arbitrary deciſion of his judge, but is ſecured by expreſs laws, from which no magiſtrate can depart with impunity. This guarded preciſion, it is true, may occaſionally, perhaps, be attended with ſome inconveniences; but they are overbalanced by advantages of ſo much greater weight, as to be ſcarcely perceptible in the ſcales of juſtice. I not mean, however, to throw any imputation upon the officers of criminal juriſdiction in Switzerland: as far as I could obſerve, they adminiſter diſtributive juſtice with an impartial and equitable hand.

I remarked, with peculiar ſatisfaction, the excellent ſtate of the priſons, and the humane precautions which the ſeveral legiſlatures have adopted in relation to felons: a circumſtance that ſtruck me the more forcibly, as the contrary is but too viſible in England. In Switzerland, the criminals are confined in wholeſome and ſeparate wards; and inſtead of languiſhing in priſon, to the great injury of their health, or total waſte of their little remnant of money, are almoſt immediately brought to trial. In England, an accuſed perſon may be confined ſix months, or more, before his fate is determined: and if he is proved innocent, and ſhould be in low circumſtances; the loſs of his time, together with the expences of the jail-fees, may probably occaſion his utter ruin; while his morals are in no leſs danger, by being compelled to aſſociate with a ſet of abandoned wretches, loſt

to

to all ſenſe of ſhame, and encouraging each other in their common profligacy. How much is it to be lamented, that, while our code of criminal juriſprudence is in general formed upon principles, which diſtinguiſh us with honour among the nations of Europe; that our courts of juſtice are thrown open to the view of all the world; and that we enjoy the ineſtimable and almoſt peculiar privilege of being tried by our equals; how much (I cannot forbear repeating) is it to be lamented, that the ſame equitable and humane ſpirit ſhould be found wanting in ſo important an article of our penal laws!

For a more particular account of the priſons in Switzerland, I would refer you to my friend Mr. Howard's publication * on the ſubject. In this work the benevolent author has given many melancholy inſtances, that the Engliſh jails are much inferior to foreign priſons in cleanlineſs and good government. He muſt, however, feel the moſt ſenſible ſatisfaction in finding, that his labours have already produced ſeveral advantageous regulations, particularly concerning the fees of priſoners who ſhall be acquitted, and the prevention of the gaol diſtemper. Yet much ſtill remains to be effected. But as Mr. H. continues his laudable reſearches, it may juſtly be hoped, that he will at length effectually fix the attention of the Britiſh Senate upon an object ſo highly deſerving the care of every wiſe and humane legiſlature.

* The State of the Priſons in England and Wales, &c. &c. Third Edition, 1784. And an account of ſome foreign priſons.

It

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment, as well as of concern, to find, that in a country where the true principles of civil government are ſo well underſtood and ſo generally adopted as in Switzerland, that the trial by torture is not yet aboliſhed: for, in ſome particular caſes, the ſuſpected criminal is put to the rack. The ineffi-cacy, no leſs than the inhumanity, of endeavouring to extort the truth by the ſeveral horrid inſtruments which too ingenious cruelty has deviſed for that purpoſe, has been ſo often expoſed by the ableſt writers, that it would be equally impertinent and ſuperfluous to trouble you with any farther reflections upon the ſubject: and indeed, the whole ſtrength of the ſeveral arguments urged upon this occaſion, is comprized in the very juſt and pointed obſervation of the admirable la Bruyere, that *la queſtion eſt une invention merveilleuſe & tout-à-fait ſûre, pour perdre un innocent qui a la complexion foible, & ſauver un coupable qui eſt né robuſte* *. I cannot, however, but add, in juſtice to the Swiſs, that zealous advocates have not been wanting among them for the total abolition of torture: but arguments of reaſon, and ſentiments of humanity, have been found, even in this civilized and enlightened country, to avail little againſt inveterate cuſtom and long-confirmed prejudices †.

During

* Caracteres, Vol. ii. p. 203.

† Criminal juſtice is here, as in the greateſt part of Europe, adminiſtered agreeably to the rules of the civil law. According to the maxims of that code, the criminal's confeſſion is abſolutely requiſite for the infliction of capital puniſhment; and conſequently, all thoſe nations, which have not eſtabliſhed a new code of criminal juriſprudence, retain the uſe of torture.

The

During my ſubſequent expeditions into Switzerland, in 1785 and 1786, I was extremely happy to find, that the abſurdity as well as inhumanity of torture was more generally admitted. It has long been ſuppreſſed in Geneva; in many of the ariſtocratical cantons it is virtually, though not formally abandoned; and, as I have before had occaſion to obſerve, its public abolition in Berne forms a diſtinguiſhed æra in the hiſtory of Swiſs juriſprudence; and, it is to be hoped, is the prelude to its total diſuſe throughout Switzerland.

Learning is leſs generally diffuſed among the catholic than the proteſtant ſtates: but in both, a man of letters will find abundant opportunities of gratifying his reſearches and improving his knowledge. To the natural philoſopher,

The preſent king of Pruſſia ſet the example, in Germany, of aboliſhing this inhuman practice; but few, perhaps, are apprized, that the firſt hint of this reformation was ſuggeſted to him by reading the Hiſtory of England. For, one of the principal arguments in ſupport of this method of extorting confeſſion, being, that it affords the beſt means of diſcovering plots againſt government; the ſagacious monarch remarked, that the Britiſh annals fully confute the fallacy of that reaſoning. Few kingdoms, he obſerved, had abounded more in conſpiracies and rebellions than England; and yet the leaders and abettors had been more ſucceſsfully traced and diſcovered, without the uſe of torture, than in any country where it was practiſed. "*From thence*," added this wiſe politician, "*I ſaw the abſurdity of torture, and* "*aboliſhed it accordingly.*"

This anecdote, which I received from very reſpectable authority, bears the moſt honourable teſtimony to the efficacy as well as the mildneſs of our penal laws, and to the ſuperior excellency of the proceſs obſerved in our courts of criminal juſtice.

Switzerland will afford an inexhauſtible ſource of entertainment and information, as well from the great variety of phyſical curioſities ſo plentifully ſpread over the country, as from the conſiderable number of perſons eminently ſkilled in that branch of ſcience. Indeed in every town, and almoſt in every village, the curious traveller will meet with collections worthy of his attention.

With reſpect to agriculture; there are, perhaps, few countries, wherein the advantageous effects of unwearied and perſevering induſtry are more remarkably conſpicuous. In travelling over the mountainous parts of Switzerland, I was ſtruck with admiration and aſtoniſhment, to obſerve rocks, that were formerly barren, now planted with vines, or abounding in rich paſture; and at marking the traces of the plough along the ſides of the ſteepeſt declivities. In a word, the inhabitants ſeem to have ſurmounted every obſtruction of ſoil, ſituation, and climate; and to have ſpread fertility over various ſpots, which nature ſeemed to have conſigned to everlaſting barrenneſs. In fine, a general ſimplicity of manners, an open and unaffected frankneſs, together with an invincible ſpirit of freedom, may juſtly be mentioned, in the number of thoſe peculiar qualities which dignify the public character of this people; and diſtinguiſh them with honour among the nations of Europe.

I have now laid before you the principal obſervations which occurred to me in my journey through Switzerland: happy! if they may in any reſpect have contributed to your information or amuſement. They were originally intended

tended merely as a private memorial of friendſhip; but I have an additional ſatisfaction in this opportunity of publicly teſtifying the ſincere eſteem and regard with which I am,

Dear Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER 67.

Como—Mendriſio—Lake of Como—Pliniana—Fort of Fuentes—Laghetto di Chiavenna—Entrance into the Country of the Griſons.

Chiavenna, July 21ſt, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

SINCE I travelled over part of Switzerland, I have been deſirous to make a tour through the remainder of that country, particularly to viſit the Griſons: and, as I am now returning to England, I ſhall take the opportunity of indulging my curioſity. In the mean time, I propoſe the ſatisfaction of continuing to ſend you, on this as on the former occaſion, all the information and intelligence I am able to procure.

I quitted Milan laſt week, and proceeded through a gently riſing country, well wooded and fertile in corn and vines, to Como. This town being the birth-place of Pliny the younger, the inhabitants have placed his ſtatue in a

niche on the outſide of the church, with a Latin inſcription, bearing the date of 1499.

I need not remind you, with how much rapture and enthuſiaſm Pliny mentions the delightful ſituation of his native town, and the romantic ſcenery of the environs, in thoſe letters, of which you have given to the public ſo accurate and elegant a tranſlation.

Como is indeed moſt pleaſantly ſituated, in a narrow vale, encloſed by fertile hills, upon the ſouthern extremity of the beautiful lake which bears the ſame name. The town is ſurrounded by a wall guarded with picturesque towers, and backed by a conical eminence, on which ſtand the ruins of an antient caſtle. The houſes are neatly built of ſtone; and the cathedral is a handſome edifice of white marble, hewn from the neighbouring quarries. The inhabitants have eſtabliſhed ſeveral manufactures of cotton and ſilk; and carry on ſome trade with the Griſons.

From Como I made an excurſion to Mendriſio, one of the Italian bailliages belonging to the * twelve cantons of Switzerland. Theſe bailliages formed part of the Milaneſe, and in 1512, were ceded to the cantons by Maximilian Sforza, who was raiſed to the ducal throne by the Swiſs, after they had expelled the troops of

* Appenzel is excluded from the co-regency, becauſe the ceſſion was made in 1512, the year before that republic was admitted into the Helvetic confederacy. Beſide Mendriſio and Balerna, the other Italian bailliages are Locarno, Lugano, and Val-Maggia. Uri, Schwetz, and Underwalden, poſſeſs three bailliages, Bellinzona, Riviera, and Val-Brenna, which were equally diſmembered from the Milaneſe.

Louis the Twelfth, and taken poſſeſſion of the duchy. Francis the Firſt, ſucceſſor of Louis, having recovered the Milaneſe, and ſecured his conqueſt by the victory of Marignano, purchaſed the friendſhip of the Swiſs by confirming their right to the ceded territory; a right which the ſubſequent dukes of Milan have been too prudent to diſpute.

Mendriſio and Balerna is one of the ſmalleſt of theſe tranſalpine bailliages: the bailif or governor is appointed alternately by each of the twelve cantons, and remains in office two years. He is ſupreme judge in † criminal affairs without appeal: a power too great to be entruſted to a ſtranger, commonly ignorant of the laws, and intereſted to increaſe his revenue. In civil cauſes an appeal lies to the ſyndicate of Switzerland. The inhabitants enjoy conſiderable privileges, civil, eccleſiaſtical, and commercial. The diſtrict is extremely fertile in vines, corn, and paſturage; and yields a great quantity of excellent ſilk.

Upon my return to Como, I embarked upon the lake. The banks near the town are richly wooded, and ſtudded with country houſes and ſmall villages, which lie upon the gentle acclivities near the margin of the water. At firſt the lake is ſcarcely a quarter of a mile broad, but it widened as we turned round a neck of land upon which is ſituated the ſmall village of Turnio.

† In caſe of capital puniſhment, he is obliged to conſult the ſecretary, notary, and the other officers of the diſtrict; but as they have no vote, his power is ſupreme.

The neighbourhood of Turnio, and the diſtricts bordering the lake of Como, ſupply, for the moſt part, thoſe Italian emigrants who wander through Europe vending barometers and thermometers; of whom numbers annually reſort to England for that purpoſe.

After about an hour's rowing, we came to Pliniana, remarkable for a ſingular fountain, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the ſame ſtate as deſcribed by Pliny. Pliniana, a villa belonging to a Milaneſe nobleman, is conſtructed upon the edge of the water, in a moſt romantic ſituation, backed by rocks covered with trees and paſture. The maſter of the houſe received me with much civility and politeneſs, and kindly accompanied me to the fountain. It is a ſpring, which burſts from the rock cloſe to the houſe, and falls in natural caſcades into the lake. I perſonally examined ſome of the circumſtances alluded to in the following deſcription; and received the others from the gentleman himſelf, who had repeatedly made them the ſubject of his obſervation. The ſpring ebbs and flows three times a day: this increaſe and decreaſe is regular, excepting in bad weather. In the late ſeaſon, which has been remarkably fair, its changes were more viſible than uſual. From being almoſt dry, it gradually riſes, until it forms a conſiderable ſtream; and then as gradually ſubſides, till the period of its ſwell returns. I ſaw it in its flow, and meaſured its increaſe by placing ſtones at different diſtances, all of which it reached and covered in a ſmall ſpace of time. The original paſſage, in which Pliny deſcribes the ebb and flow of this ſpring,

is written upon the wall of an adjoining apartment.

Fons oritur in monte, per ſaxa decurrit, excipitur cœnatiunculâ manu factâ; ibi paululùm retentus in Larium lacum decidit. Hujus mira natura: ter in die ſtatis auctibus ac diminutionibus creſcit, decreſcitque. Cernitur id palam, & cum ſummâ voluptate deprehenditur, juxtà recumbis, et veſcêris: atque etiam ex ipſo fonte (nam eſt frigidiſſimus) potas: interim ille certis dimenſiſque momentis vel ſubtrahitur vel adſurgit, annulum ſeu quid aliud ponis in ſicco, alluitur ſenſim, ac noviſſimè aperitur: detegitur rurſus paulatimque deſeritur: ſi diutiùs obſerves utrumque iterum ac tertiò videas *.

Having gratified my curioſity at Pliniana, I embarked, and continued to Clarice, where I paſſed the night. The weather, which has lately been uncommonly ſultry, is ſuddenly changed: and this morning a violent thunderſtorm overtook us upon the lake. The water

* *Plin. Epiſt.* lib. iv. Ep. xxx.—"There is a ſpring which "riſes in a neighbouring mountain, and running among the "rocks is received into a little banquetting-room, from "whence, after the force of its current is a little reſtrained, "it falls into the Larian lake. The nature of this ſpring "is extremely ſurprizing; it ebbs and flows regularly three "times a day. The increaſe and decreaſe is plainly viſible, "and very entertaining to obſerve. You ſit down by the "ſide of the fountain, and whilſt you are taking a repaſt "and drinking its water, which is extremely cool, you "ſee it gradually riſe, and fall. If you place a ring, or "any thing elſe at the bottom when it is dry, the ſtream "reaches it by degrees till it is entirely covered, and then "again gently retires from it; and if you wait, you may "ſee it thus advance and recede three times ſucceſſively." *Melmoth's Tranſlation.*

being ſo much agitated, that we could not proceed without danger, we landed at a ſmall village upon the weſtern ſide of the lake, in order to wait until the ſtorm ſhould ſubſide. The navigation of theſe lakes, which are encloſed between the mountains, is occaſionally dangerous, according to Virgil's deſcription of the Benacus, or Lago di Guarda.

Tu, Lari maxime, tuque
Fluctibus et fremitu aſſurgens, Benace, marino.

Travellers who have viſited theſe parts in calm weather, are apt to conſider ſuch expreſſions as exaggerated; but I am convinced, from the ſtorm to which I have juſt been witneſs, that ſuch a deſcription is conſonant to truth.

The lake of Como is about thirty-ſix miles in length; in general from two to three miles broad, and four at the wideſt part, where it is divided into two branches. The great branch leads directly to Como; and the ſmaller branch, called the Lake of Lecco, diſcharges the Adda, and communicates, by means of that river and the canals * of the Adda and the Canale Vecchio, with Milan.

The borders are high hills covered with vines, Spaniſh cheſnut, walnut, and almond trees, and dotted with numerous villages and ſmall towns. The hills which bound the lake, riſe gradually higher and higher, from thoſe which encircle Como to the crags which tower near its upper extremity.

* See Letter 87.

The

The ſtorm at length ſubſiding, I embarked, and proceeded to Bellano, whoſe ſtreets are ſo narrow as ſcarcely to admit the ſmalleſt cart. It is ſituated at the foot of a lofty precipice, rent from top to bottom by a chaſm, through which a furious torrent forces its way. A bridge is thrown acroſs the chaſm, from whence the ſpectator looks down with terror into a gulf ſcarcely inferior in depth to that at the Panton-bruck *, in the canton of Glarus; and an aqueduct is conducted along the precipitous ſides of the rock.

I again embarked, and proceeded to Domaſio, where I waited upon the governor, in order to obtain his permiſſion to viſit the Fort of Fuentes: my requeſt being readily complied with, I croſſed the lake, accompanied by a ſoldier from Domaſio, and landed at Collico.

A little above Domaſio, on both ſides of the lake, begins the *malaria*, or unwholeſome air. In thoſe parts, the borders of the lake are no longer abrupt hills riſing boldly from the edge of the water; but a flat ſwamp, which was formerly covered with water. The inhabitants are ſubject to intermitting fevers; on which account, during the heats of ſummer, when the malignity of the atmoſphere is at its height, the greateſt part of the inhabitants quit the plain, and retire to the neighbouring mountains. We found Collico and its neighbourhood almoſt entirely deſerted; the cottages were ſhut up; and, had it not been for the appearance of a ſtraggling man and woman, we ſhould have con-

* See Letter 6.

cluded

cluded this part of the country to have been quite uninhabited.

After walking about two miles from Collico, we came to the bottom of the rock, upon which ſtands the Fort of Fuentes. But before we aſcend, I ſhall detain you a moment with a ſhort hiſtory of this fort, which at the beginning of the laſt century, was ſo much celebrated in the annals of Europe.

One of the articles in a treaty between Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Griſons, expreſsly ſtipulating that no fort ſhould be conſtructed in the diſtrict of *Piantedio*, was confirmed by the Spaniſh branch of the Houſe of Auſtria, which ſucceeded Charles the Fifth in the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. Notwithſtanding, however, this agreement, when the religious diſputes, occaſioned by the introduction of the reformed religion into the Valteline, had created a jealouſy between the Houſe of Auſtria and the Griſons, and affairs ſeemed tending to a rupture; the count de Fuentes, governor of Milan, laid, in 1603, the foundation of the fort, which he called after his own name, and ſaw it completed in 1606. From this place, ſituated in the *Piantedio*, he introduced troops into the Valteline, and ſupported the inhabitants in their hoſtilities againſt the Griſons. Henry the Fourth of France, alluding to the conſtruction and ſituation of this fort upon the borders of Italy, and near the confines of the Griſons, uſed to ſay, *Il veut du méme nœud ſerrer la gorge de l' Italie et les pieds aux Griſons* *.

* With the ſame knot he binds the neck of Italy and the feet of the Griſons.

If

If you are not fatigued with this preliminary account, we will now mount to the fort, and take a view of its preſent ſtate. It is built upon an inſulated rock, about a mile and a half from the neareſt ridge of mountains, and two miles from the lake, ſo that it completely commands the only great opening which leads into the Valteline, either from the Milaneſe or the Griſons; a ſituation of great importance, when the poſſeſſion of the Valteline was an object of ſuch conſequence to the Houſe of Auſtria. The fortifications, which are only a quarter of a mile in circumference, are conſtructed with ſtone, and are very ſtrong. The only building are a few ruinous barracks for ſoldiers, and the governor's houſe, which is in a moſt wretched condition. The whole garriſon conſiſts of three ſoldiers, who, at the expiration of three days, return to Domaſio, and are relieved by an equal number from the ſame place. The only inhabitants are a peaſant and his wife, who have reſided there a year, and have been almoſt conſtantly afflicted with the ague.

The plain below the rock being entirely marſhy, and covered with ruſhes, exhales a peſtilential effluvia, which infects the atmoſphere, and occaſions the unwholeſomeneſs of the fort. The Spaniards were accuſtomed to ſtyle this place, from its peculiar ſituation, the *yoke* of the Griſons; while the latter, in alluſion to its bad air, termed it, with more propriety, the *grave* of the Spaniards.

The view from the fort is remarkably fine and pictureſque. On one ſide, the rich Valteline, watered by the turbulent Adda; on the other,

the

the lakes of Como and Chiavenna, beautifully encircled with numerous towns and villages. The hills which ſkirt the Valteline and the lake of Como, preſent a variegated landſcape of foreſts, corn-fields, and paſtures, finely contraſted, towards the Griſons, by the rugged Rhetian Alps covered with eternal ſnow.

Having taken leave of the three ſoldiers, and bid adieu to the peaſant and his wife, I deſcended into the plain: the ſoil of which is fertile, but being ſubject to frequent inundations, is not capable of conſtant cultivation. That part which lies between the fort and the lake, is ſo marſhy, that although the ſtrait line to the place, where the boat waited for me, ſcarcely exceeded two miles, yet I was obliged to make a circuit of five before I arrived. In my way, I paſſed a range of ſquare ſtones, which form the boundary between the Milaneſe and the country of the Griſons; on one ſide of each ſtone was inſcribed *Stato di Milano*, on the other *Grigioni*: they were put up, as the date informed me, in 1763, the year in which the treaty, or the *capitulation* of Milan, was concluded between the Empreſs of Germany, as ſovereign of Milan, and the Griſons. By this treaty, the limits of the two ſtates were finally ſettled; and ſeveral other ſubjects of diſpute were amicably adjuſted.

I came to the Adda, which, for a ſhort ſpace, makes the line of ſeparation between the Milaneſe and Griſons, and walked along its banks. Its ſtream is muddy, and navigable only by rafts. Moſt of the maps of the lake of Como are erroneous, in repreſenting that lake and the *Laghetto* di Chiavenna as one great piece of water,

water, and the Adda as flowing into the former; whereas the two lakes are diſtinct bodies, and the Adda joins a ſmall ſtream which iſſues from the *Laghetto*, and thus united, falls into the lake of Como.

I embarked near Dacio, which is the laſt village in the Milaneſe; at which place all boats laden with merchandize are obliged to land, and pay a ſmall duty. Soon afterwards I entered the lake of Chiavenna, which belongs to the Griſons. The views of this lake are extremely wild and magnificent; ſurrounded as it is with barren rocks, craggy, and riſing into ſpires ſprinkled with ſnow: the baſes of thoſe dreadful precipices are loſt in the dead and overſhadowed water, dangerous on account of its malignant vapours, and affording no aſylum, and ſcarcely a landing-place, to the crews of thoſe frail boats, which are caught unwarily in the violent ſtorms to which it is ſubject. I landed at Riva, which conſiſts of a few ſcattered cottages and warehouſes, the miſerable owners whereof are the only inhabitants.

Having procured ſome horſes, I proceeded to Chiavenna by moon-light. The villages were almoſt entirely deſerted, and the inhabitants withdrawn to the mountains: the people in general are ſo greatly alarmed at the unwholeſome ſtate of the air in this ſeaſon, that the watermen who rowed me from Como, although exceedingly fatigued, went back to Domaſio; and exerted all their eloquence to diſſuade me from my firſt intention of remaining in the plain: overcome by their repeated importunities, I purſued my journey to Chiavenna. Indeed no other proof of the tainted air is requiſite than a view

of the inhabitants; the few peaſants whom I met in the villages, as well near the Fort of Fuentes as in the valley of Chiavenna, were moſtly wan and livid. The narrow valley thro' which I paſſed from the lake to Chiavenna, is encloſed between the firſt and loweſt chain of the Rhetian Alps; it is watered by the torrent Maira, and produces Turkiſh wheat, paſturage, cheſnuts, and mulberry-trees, together with a great abundance of willows. Near Chiavenna the aſcent is rapid, and that town is built in a higher and more wholeſome ſituation.

LETTER

LETTER 68.

Plurs—Its Deſtruction in the laſt Century by a Fall of a Mountain—Valley of Pregalia.

July 25th.

MY laſt letter left me at Chiavenna, of which town I defer ſending you any deſcription, as I propoſe returning there in my way to Coire. The morning after my arrival, I rode about four miles, to the ſpot formerly occupied by the town of Piuro, or Plurs, which was totally overwhelmed by the fall of mount Conto, under which it was built. This terrible cataſtrophe happened Auguſt 25th, 1618.

Plurs was a large and flouriſhing town, ſubject, as well as Chiavenna, to the Griſons. Contemporary writers mention, that it contained three churches, many large houſes, and a ſtone bridge over the Maira; and that its population amounted to at leaſt 1500 inhabitants, who carried

carried on no inconſiderable commerce. The valley in which it was ſituated is very narrow, and the whole town was buried in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin. A contemporary account relates, that the cloud of duſt and rubbiſh was ſo great as to cover the heavens like ſmoke, and even to extend as far as Chiavenna: the inhabitants of Chiavenna, alarmed at this uncommon phenomenon, were ſtill more terrified at the diſappearance of the torrent Maira, which ſuddenly ceaſed to flow by that town for near an hour; its courſe being ſtopped by the fallen fragments of rock, until it forced its way over the ruins. This event ſpread ſuch an univerſal alarm among the inhabitants, from an apprehenſion that the torrent had undermined Chiavenna, and would burſt out with ſuch fury as to deluge the whole place, that great numbers precipitately fled into the mountains.

I walked over the ſpot where Plurs was built: parts of the antient walls, and the ruins of a country houſe, which belonged to the Franci, the richeſt family in the place, are the only remains of its former exiſtence; and theſe would not be noticed by a paſſenger. A peaſant, who has a cottage cloſe to the ruins, pointed out to me every place, as it had been explained to him by his grandfather. He ſhewed me where ſtood the churches and principal houſes, the channel through which the river then flowed, and where the bridge was conſtructed. He informed me, that in digging, ſeveral dead bodies had been found; and particularly the bones of a prieſt, covered with ſhreds of garments, which indicated that he was employed in divine ſervice when

when the rock overwhelmed the town. Houſhold utenſils are frequently dug up; the other day ſeveral corpſes were diſcovered, and on the finger bone of one were a ſilver and two gold rings. Vineyards, cheſnut-trees, and houſes, cover the ſpot where this unfortunate town was once ſituated.

The valley in this part has an oval appearance, and is ſkirted by a beautiful grove of cheſnut-trees; the ſurrounding mountains are ſteep and rugged, and from the top of mount Savonne, *l' acqua fragia*, a conſiderable torrent, precipitates itſelf, at firſt in a full unbroken ſtream, and afterwards divides into three ſeparate falls, highly ornamental to the beautiful ſcenery of the vale.

I next followed my guide to the houſe of a gentleman near Chiavenna, in order to ſee a drawing of Plurs before it was overwhelmed; the anceſtors of this perſon had large poſſeſſions, and were the richeſt family in the town. The maſter of the houſe ſhewed me the picture, and explained to me the ſituation of the different buildings. He then politely accompanied me through his grounds to a manufacture of ſtone pots, called *Lavezzi*, which are made near Chiavenna, and are much uſed for kitchen utenſils throughout theſe countries, and ſome parts of Italy. This manufacture is very antient: Pliny mentions the ſtone * under

* *Lapis Ollaris.*—Pliny's *Lapis Comenſis* is claſſed by Wallerius among the ſteatites, by Linnæus among the talcs. —It is opake, unctuous to the touch, and compoſed of mica and

der the denominations of *lapis Comenſis*, becauſe the pots were ſent to Como, and there exported.

Theſe utenſils are made by the following proceſs: the workmen hew from the quarry ſemicircular blocks of ſtone, from which, with an inſtrument reſembling that uſed by turners, they hollow a veſſel about a foot in diameter. From the maſs which remains, by a ſimilar mode of proceeding, they frame another utenſil of inferior dimenſions, and continue their operation till they have produced a ſeries of ſemicircular pots, gradually decreaſing to the ſize of a ſmall baſon.

From Plurs I continued along the valley of Santa Croce, and entered the country of the Griſons at the ſmall village of Caſta Segna, in Pregalia.

At Bondo, which is a ſmall village in the valley of Pregalia, Count de Salis, formerly Britiſh envoy to the Griſons, has conſtructed a large and commodious houſe, and entirely fitted up in the Engliſh taſte. It is ſituated at the extremity of a ſmall plain ſcarcely half a mile in length, and about four hundred paces broad, bounded on each ſide by a chain of the Rhetian Alps, whoſe ſides are covered with foreſts intermixed with luxuriant paſture. The plain is ſhut in by ſome rugged rocks, behind which others ſhoot to an enormous height, crowned

and ſteatites. When it is firſt taken from the quarry it is eaſily cut and turned; on being expoſed to the air it hardens, but will take no poliſh.

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with perpetual ſnow. The little plain produces excellent paſture, barley, rye, vegetables of all ſorts, and ſome fruit-trees. Through it daſhes the torrent Maira over broken fragments of rock.

I rambled about the valley of Pregalia and the neighbouring mountains; and obſerved the domeſtic œconomy of the peaſants. Their principal food is ſalt meat, rye bread, milk, cheeſe, polenta, and cheſnuts, which are ſo plentiful at this ſeaſon of the year, that they make a principal ingredient in all their meals: the moſt common methods of dreſſing them are to boil, and ſerve them up with crumbs of bread; or to grind them to a paſte, and then heat them with ſome milk.

The peaſants are well clothed. They manufacture linen and coarſe cloth at home, every family having a loom, which is worked in the winter ſeaſon. The finer cloth, which they wear only on Sundays and feſtivals, is procured from Germany.

The valley of Pregalia reaches from the Podeſteria of Plurs to the confines of Upper Engadina, and contains about one thouſand eight hundred inhabitants: it is a high juriſdiction in the league of God's Houſe, and is divided into the two independent communities of *Sopra* and *Sotto Porta*; ſo denominated from a wall with an opening called *Porta*, through which the road paſſes, and which ſeparates the valley into two equal parts. Theſe two communities enjoy a democratical form of government: a ſhort account of which will convey to you ſome

idea of the mode in which the adminiſtration of affairs is carried on in theſe little ſtates.

Each community has its general aſſembly, in which the ſovereign power is veſted; every male, at the age of eighteen, has a vote: in each of theſe aſſemblies, the magiſtrates and repreſentatives to the general diet, are choſen by the majority of voices; inſtructions are given to the repreſentatives; and all appeals from the diet decided in the laſt reſort. For civil cauſes, the two communities have ſeparate tribunals, compoſed of the *Landamman*, who is preſident, and twelve aſſiſtants; and an appeal lies from one to the other. For criminal affairs, there is one court of juſtice, compoſed of a *Podeſta*, and an equal number of judges from each community. The Podeſta is choſen in the following manner: each community appoints two perſons, who nominate nine others; and theſe nine chuſe two candidates, who draw lots for the office. The ſame perſon is not unfrequently nominated Podeſta by both parties; and then the lot is caſt, to aſcertain to which he belongs. This criminal court of juſtice is always held at Vico Soprano, in Sopra Porta. In all delinquencies the puniſhments are extraordinarily ſevere, and the remiſſion or alleviation is entirely left to the judges, who generally take a commutation in fines; ſo that if the criminal is poor, he undergoes the puniſhment, if rich, he redeems himſelf by money.

LETTER 69.

Deſcription of the Marmot.

THE Marmot is extremely common in the mountains of Switzerland, and particularly in this part of the Griſons; and, as many erroneous accounts of this ſagacious little animal have been given, I ſhall ſend you the following extract, ſelected from a deſcription written in the German tongue, by Dr. Girtaner*; which cannot fail being highly intereſting to all, who love to ſearch into the œconomy of nature.

Doctor Amſtein, of Zitzers, in the country of the Griſons, is the firſt naturaliſt who has narrowly inquired into the œconomy of the marmot. Since his deſcription of this animal in profeſſor Schreber's work, he has himſelf made ſeveral new obſervations, and obtained

* A French tranſlation of this account is given in Rozier's Journal for 1786.

additional information from Meſſrs. Aporta and Catani, two clergymen of the Griſons.

The marmot inhabits the higheſt and moſt inacceſſible mountains; prefers the ſmall narrow valleys, and particularly the weſtern or ſouthern aſpect, as the warmeſt, and avoids moiſt places. On the opening of ſpring, when he iſſues from his hole, where he has ſlept during winter, he deſcends to the lower regions, where vegetation is forward. In ſummer he again aſcends to the rocky heights, and into ſolitary caverns. He feeds upon herbs and roots, and particularly on the alpine plantain, mountain ſpignel, alpine ladies mantle, mountain ſorrel, alpine toad-flax, alpine trefoil, and alpine ſtarwort *. When tame, he eats almoſt every thing except fleſh. On drinking, he raiſes up his head like fowls at every ſip, looking on each ſide with a timorous watchfulneſs. He drinks but little, to which Dr. Amſtein attributes his fatneſs. He is extremely fond of butter and milk.

At break of day, the old marmots come out of their holes and feed; afterwards, they bring out their young ones; the latter ſcamper on all ſides, chaſe each other, ſit on their hind feet, and remain in that poſture, facing towards the ſun, with an air expreſſive of ſatisfaction. They are all particularly fond of warmth, and when they think themſelves ſecure, will baſk in the ſun for ſeveral hours. Before they collect the graſs, either for their food, or for their winter

* *Plantago alpina, Phellandrium mutellina, Alchemilla alpina, Rumex digynus, Antirrhinum alpinum, Trifolium alpinum, Aſter alpinus.*

habitations,

habitations, they form themſelves into a circle, ſitting on their hind legs, and reconnoitre on all ſides. On the leaſt alarm, the firſt gives inſtantly a ſhrill cry, which is communicated from one to the other, and they eſcape without repeating the noiſe. The chaſſeurs, by imitating theſe ſucceſſive whiſtlings, approach ſo near as to come within ſhot of them.

The marmot has a quick eye, and diſcovers the enemy at a conſiderable diſtance. He never does the leaſt injury to any other animal, and flies when he is purſued. In fact, when apprehenſive of being followed, whole families quit their dwellings, and wander from mountain to mountain, although they muſt again conſtruct their habitations; but when flight is impoſſible, they defend themſelves with ſpirit againſt men and dogs, and attack all who approach them with their teeth and claws.

They always live together in ſocieties. They have both ſummer and winter dwellings, which are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from each other. The former remain open during the whole year; whereas the latter are cloſed at the end of September. In the ſummer dwellings is found dung in great abundance, but no hay; on the contrary, the winter habitations never contain any dung, but much hay. Near the latter is perceived a more conſiderable quantity of earth, which annually increaſes according to the ſize of the dwelling, and the augmentation of the family.

In the formation of their dwellings they ſcoop out the earth with great dexterity and expedition: a ſmall part they throw away, and by beating the remainder cloſe, render the paſſage

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very compact and ſolid. The opening being ſcarcely more than ſix or ſeven inches in diameter, is juſt large enough to admit the animal. The interior is from eight to twenty feet in length; it conſiſts of a paſſage, which, at about five or ſix feet from the entrance, divides into two branches: the one leading to a ſmall cavity; the other to the chamber in which they repoſe. The paſſage, and the two branches, are always carried in a ſtraight line, unleſs the intervention of a rock, or any other impediment, obliges them to take another direction. The chamber is round or oval, arched at top, and in its form reſembles the ſhape of an oven. It is from three to ſeven feet in diameter, being larger or ſmaller according to the number of the family. It is ſtrewed with hay, in which the marmots lie in a dormant ſtate during the whole winter.

On retiring to this dwelling about the beginning of October, they carefully cloſe the entrance ſo as to exclude all air, with a cement of earth mixed with ſtones and hay. On opening this chamber, three weeks after it is cloſed, the marmots are diſcovered lying on the hay cloſe to each other, and rolled up like hedge-hogs, without the leaſt appearance of life. Uſually from five to ſixteen are found together; ſometimes, but rarely, two families occupy the ſame dwelling; and occaſionally, but very ſeldom, one has been diſcovered alone. If expoſed to warmth they awaken. The tame marmots do not ſleep during winter; but on the approach of that ſeaſon, excited by inſtinct, they collect materials towards conſtructing their dwellings. The wild marmots occupy their winter habitation in October, and quit it towards the latter end of March, or

or the beginning of April. In removing the cement which cloſes the opening, they do not puſh it outwards, but draw it inwards, and probably convey the materials, which would block up the principal paſſage, into the ſmall cavity.

They copulate ſoon after coming out: in June or July, young ones have been obſerved, about the ſize of rats.

It is probable that they do not eat during their torpid ſtate; for the ſame quantity of hay is obſerved both in ſpring and autumn, in their winter habitations, and thoſe which have been dug out in that ſeaſon are thin and perfectly empty.

The fleſh of the marmot is eatable, and its ſkin is uſed for furs.

LETTER 70.

Paſſage of the Malloggia—Lake of Siglio—Selva Piana and St. Morezzo—Expedition to the Julian Columns—Bevio.

St. Morezzo, July 31ſt.

THE road through Pregalia to Coire admits carriages, but is very indifferently paved. I paſſed through the village Promontogno, then through the Porta, to Stampa, Vico-Soprano, Burgo Nuovo, and Caſaucia. The houſes in this valley are of ſtone, plaſtered and white-waſhed; they are not ſcattered, as in the ſmall cantons of Switzerland; but every half mile a cluſter of habitations preſents itſelf.

Beyond Bondo, the country produces no more cheſnut-trees, but principally larch and firs; it yields graſs, barley, and rye. Near Caſaucia is the barren and lofty mountain of Set. I here quitted the high road, which turns towards Coire, and about a mile and a half further the valley terminates, and I began to mount

mount a very ſteep aſcent, by the ſide of the torrent Maira, which ruſhes amidſt a foreſt of firs; it deſcends from the Glacier of the Malin, a ridge of Alps ſeparating the Valteline from the country of the Griſons. A little further, I reached the top of the Malloggia, and obſerved the Orlenga, a gliſtening torrent, falling from the Lungin mountain, and forming the remoteſt ſource of the Inn. The Malloggia is the point of partition, dividing the waters which run towards the Black Sea, from thoſe which flow into the Adriatic. The tops of the circumjacent mountains are moſt rugged, and covered with ſnow: lower down they are enlivened with under-wood, firs, and paſture.

I ſtopped at a ſingle houſe, a kind of inn, where travellers are accommodated. The landlord and his family ſpeak an Italian jargon, ſimilar to the Milaneſe dialect, which is common in Pregalia. The next place is Siglio, in Upper Engadina, where Romanſh is the general tongue. On inquiring whether it was ſimilar to the Italian ſpoken in Pregalia, the landlord informed me, that the two languages are totally different; and the ſervant aſſured me, that ſhe could ſcarcely comprehend a word which was uttered by the inhabitants of Siglio. From Malloggia I deſcended, and croſſed the Orlenga, and continued along the banks of the lake of Siglio. The way was bad and craggy until I came to the confines of Engadina, where an excellent road commenced.

The ſmall lake of Siglio is about five miles in circumference, and is finely ſituated between high perpendicular rocks. It takes its name from Siglio, which we left at a little diſtance

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on our right. I croſſed the Inn ſoon after it iſſues from the lake, and purſued my courſe over the dry bed of the torrent Fait, which formerly flowed into the Inn; but has lately changed its courſe, and now falls into the lake of Selva Piana. Nothing is more common than for theſe torrents to ſhift their channels; and I could obſerve evident traces, that ſome of them had at former periods watered the ſmall plain between the lakes of Siglio and Selva Piana. The village of that name ſtands pleaſantly upon a ſmall riſing ground; and the lake of Selva Piana, though much ſmaller than that of Siglio, far ſurpaſſes it in the beauty of its banks, which are fringed with hanging groves of fir and larch. From this lake the Inn iſſues in a larger ſtream, falls again at a little diſtance into the lake of St. Morezzo; from whence it daſhes through a deep rocky channel into the plain of Celerina, where it runs in a more tranquil current. Theſe little plains, or vallies, are broader and longer than that of Bondo, and produce as much hay, which is now mowing.

At Selva Piana, I endeavoured to converſe with ſome of the inhabitants, but could ſcarcely comprehend them. I have been endeavouring alſo to talk with the inhabitants of this place. Many ſpeak Italian, as it is much frequented by ſtrangers for the ſake of the waters; but the greateſt part could talk nothing but Romanſh. This morning, being Sunday, I attended divine ſervice; the clergyman preached in the language of the country, and I could underſtand little more than that the text was in the twenty-ſecond chapter of St. Luke. The ſermon, which is the principal part of the ſervice, was about

about an hour long; the prayers being very ſhort: the girls ſung pſalms; ſome of them had delightful voices, and performed with great taſte and propriety: a proof of their neighbourhood to Italy.

St. Morezzo, or as it is moſt commonly called, St. Maurice, ſtands agreeably upon the ſide of an hill, and overlooks a ſmall lake, which lies in the boſom of the mountains, and is bounded by riſing banks, ſtudded with wood and paſture. It is a village in Upper Engadina, and is remarkable for a plentiful ſpring of mineral water, much eſteemed for its efficacy in curing ſeveral diſorders. It iſſues from the ground, about the diſtance of half a mile on the other ſide of the river Inn; is a very plentiful ſource, and ſtrongly impregnated with vitriol. Upon plunging Reaumur's thermometer into the ſource, it ſunk from 12 to 4½. I was informed that a gentleman had lately aſcertained, from repeated obſervations, that the thermometer varied according to the greater or leſs degree of rain; but that upon an average the mercury generally ſtood between 4 and 7.

I am lodged in one of the boarding-houſes, which abound in this place, for the accommodation of perſons who drink the waters. The company at table conſiſt, at preſent, of only two merchants of Appenzel, who are eſtabliſhed at Genoa, and a clergyman of Lower Engadina. As I ſoon diſcovered the latter to be an intelligent man, I held frequent converſation with him upon the Romanſh tongue; but defer enlarging upon that ſubject until I ſhall have gained further information. I alſo talked with him upon the ſtate of religion among the reformed part of

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the Griſons, and particularly in relation to the *Pietiſts*, a ſect which has lately made great progreſs in theſe parts. From the account given by the clergyman, who evidently leaned towards their opinions, theſe Pietiſts appear ſimilar to our Methodiſts; for inſtance, they exalt faith above good works; affect to be uncommonly rigid and pious; condemn all diverſions, card-playing, and aſſemblies, as criminal; frequently deſpair of their ſalvation; fancy viſions, enjoy ſupernatural inward illuminations, and employ ſo much time in prayer as to neglect their ordinary buſineſs. The clergymen of this ſect are for the moſt part ignorant and ſuperficial, are vehemently vociferous in the pulpit, thunder out reprobation, and expatiate upon juſtification, without explaining the methods of avoiding the former, and of obtaining the latter.

Theſe preachers, notwithſtanding their affectation of a total indifference to worldly matters, do not confine their views merely to theological ſpeculations, but pay a conſiderable degree of attention to political affairs: and as, by means of their authority in religious concerns, they poſſeſs a conſiderable influence over the votes of their pariſhioners, they are on that account much careſſed and countenanced by ſeveral leading perſons among the Griſons.

In theſe parts, the dreſs of the women is ſingular, and not unbecoming: it conſiſts of a black or blue jacket with red ſleeves, ſtriped blue and white petticoats, a ſmall black velvet cap trimmed with gold or ſilver lace, with a black or white lace border hanging over the forehead.

From

From St. Morezzo, I made an excurſion to the Julian Columns, of which Scheuzer has given a deſcription and an engraving in his *Itinera Alpina:* he ſuppoſes them to have been erected by Julius Cæſar, in order to mark the limits of his conqueſts in theſe parts; and aſſerts that, *Ne plus ultra*, and *Omitto Rhetos indomitos*, are inſcribed upon them.

From St. Morezzo, I went to Selva Piana, and then turned up a path which leads to the Julian Alps: after continuing about two hours over rugged rocks, I reached the Julian Columns, if they deſerve ſo dignified an appellation. They are of a circular ſhape, ſomewhat ſimilar to the Roman mile-ſtones, placed at the diſtance of about forty feet from each other. Their height above the ground is about four feet, and they ſeem to be buried about a foot, or ſcarcely ſo much: their circumference is about five feet. They have neither pedeſtals nor capitals, and are flattiſh at top, with a ſmall round hole in the middle about four inches diameter and ſix deep. They were formed by art, but in the rudeſt manner. I examined with great attention if I could obſerve the inſcriptions of *Ne plus ultra*, and *Omitto Rhetos indomitos*, but I could not diſcover the ſmalleſt traces of any letters. We have no reaſon therefore to conclude, that theſe pillars were erected by Julius Cæſar, in order to aſcertain the boundary of his conqueſts, or at leaſt we have no proofs upon which we can depend for the truth of this popular ſtory. I do not however regret, that I made the excurſion; for although my curioſity has been diſappointed in a view of the pillars, yet it

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has been gratified in viſiting theſe wild and romantic Alps

The Julian Alps produce much paſture, but no wood, which is a proof of their great elevation. Near the ſtones juſt now deſcribed is a piece of water called the Julian lake: it is ſupplied from a Glacier on a ſuperincumbent mountain, and ſends forth a torrent that deſcends to Selva Piana, and falls into the lake of that name: it may be conſidered as a ſource of the Inn.

I ſoon afterwards ſtopped at a cottage, the only houſe in the whole extent of theſe Alps: it is occupied only during ſummer; the tenants every night houſe the cattle that graze upon theſe mountains, and make large quantities of butter and cheeſe. Having taken a refreſhing bowl of thick cream, I began my deſcent, and obſerved numerous ſmall ſtreams; ſome iſſuing from the rocks, others falling from the Glaciers, and forming the firſt ſources of the Little Rhine. The path was ſo ſteep and craggy, that I gave my horſe to the guide, and preferred walking; about five miles from the pillars, I arrived at Bevio, a ſmall village upon the Little Rhine, in the high road which leads to Coire. Every one being employed in hay-making, I could not gain admittance into the inn: ſome friars, however, offered me their houſe and dinner, and prevented me from returning, as I had propoſed, to the cottage upon the Julian Alps.

On queſtioning theſe friars concerning the conſtitution of the republic of Bevio; they informed me, that Bevio and Valmorara form one community, governed by eleven magiſtrates, though the number of voters who appoint theſe magiſtrates,

magiſtrates, ſcarcely exceeds forty: the chief is called *Miniſtrale*, and is confirmed every year; for which act of politeneſs, each voter annually receives a florin. About one-third of the merchandize from Como to Coire paſſes by Bevio, but the greateſt part is ſent by Splugen. After dinner I returned over the Julian Alps to St. Morezzo.

LETTER

LETTER 71.

Upper Engadina—Bever—Zutz—Scampf.

Zutz, Auguſt 2d.

THE ride from St. Morezzo to Zuts, through Celerina, Samada, Ponto, and Madulein, is extremely pleaſant. Theſe villages lie chiefly upon the ſides of the mountains, gently riſing above a plain, which in ſome parts is a mile broad, in others ſo narrow as to be entirely occupied by the river Inn. The valley is encloſed on both ſides by a chain of Alps, covered for a conſiderable height with wood interſperſed with paſture, and their tops capped with ſnow. The river, which in this part is free from cataracts, is joined by innumerable torrents, that ruſh down the ſides of the rocks, or burſt from the ground.

The Inn, during its progreſs in this part, is very unlike moſt of the rivers which I traced in my former tour. The Rhone, the Reuſs, and the

the Aar, for inſtance, fall, near their ſources, in a continual cataract, over fragments of rock, and through the moſt wild and uninhabited tracts of country; while this river directs its courſe through a cultivated and populous diſtrict, in an equable unbroken ſtream. The country is pictureſque, and its beauties are of a milder caſt than are uſual in theſe Alpine regions. The burghs, or villages, are pleaſantly dotted about the plain, at the diſtance of about a mile from each other. Each village contains about fifty or a hundred houſes, ſtanding contiguous; theſe habitations are of ſtone, plaſtered and whitewaſhed; and are in ſuch excellent repair, that they appear as if they had been newly conſtructed. The ſpirit of neatneſs indeed is ſo general in Upper Engadina, that I ſcarcely obſerved one bad houſe through the whole diſtrict; and even the barns are as good as the cottages in many countries.

As I was riding through Bever, the clergyman of that place, who was ſmoking his pipe at his door, ſtopped me with a compliment, and upon my entering into converſation with him, invited me to ſee his library. I alighted accordingly, and looked over his collection. He ſhewed me ſome Engliſh books, and many in the Romanſh language, particularly the * Bible printed at Coire, which is dedicated to George the Second, when Prince of Wales. He was alſo ſo obliging as to accompany me a little way. About half a mile from Bever, he pointed out to me a ſingle houſe called Alles Angnes, where

* This Bible is the dialect of the Grey League.

the deputies of the two communities of Upper Engadina aſſemble for the purpoſe of deciding, in the laſt reſort, appeals in civil cauſes. A little further, he deſired me to obſerve a ſmall ſpring, which falls into the Inn a few paces from its ſource. It is called Fontana Merla, and would not, he added, be worthy of notice, if it did not ſeparate the two communities of Upper Engadina. Soon afterwards I took leave of the clergyman, mounted my horſe, and proceeded to Zutz. I paſſed the Inn ſeveral times, over bridges of ſingle arches, which have a very ſtriking appearance. They are conſtructed by ſcholars of the famous Grubenman †. The roads over them are quite flat, the ſide railing is very high, and they are uncovered at top.

Zutz, although not the largeſt, is eſteemed the principal place of Upper Engadina, becauſe it contains the criminal court of juſtice. The Landamman of Sotto Fontana Merla, who always preſides in this court, is choſen every other turn from the family of Planta, eſtabliſhed at Zutz: this peculiar privilege, which gives to that family no inconſiderable influence in the political affairs of this country, was formerly granted by a biſhop of Coire, who was uncle to one of the Plantas. Upon my arrival at Zutz, I waited upon Mr. Planta, formerly Envoy from the Republic of the Griſons to that of Venice; he was appointed to that embaſſy in order to renew the antient league which formerly ſubſiſted between the two ſtates, but which had

* See Vol. I. Lett. 2.

been

been interrupted by the laſt treaty of 1763; between the Empreſs of Germany and the Griſons; on which occaſion the Venetians were ſo much enraged, that they expelled the Griſons from their territories. This negociation, however, though conducted with great ability, was ineffectual. Mr. Planta received me with great politeneſs and cordiality, and invited me to ſupper; and as the evening was not ſet in, he accompanied me to what is called the camp of Druſus, which I was deſirous of examining.

You recollect the campaign which Druſus, the adopted ſon of Auguſtus, and brother of Tiberius, carried on againſt the fierce inhabitants of theſe mountainous countries; and which Horace, in compliment to his patron, has alluded to in the following paſſages:

Videre Rhæti bella ſub Alpibus
Druſum gerentem et Vindelici;

and afterwards,

———————*arces*
Alpibus impoſitas tremendas
Dejecit acer plus vice ſimplici.

This campaign of Druſus againſt the Rhetians was attended with great ſucceſs, and he defeated the barbarous inhabitants, before deemed unconquerable, (*indomitoſque Rhætos*) with great ſlaughter. The ſuppoſed remains of his camp conſiſt of ſeveral deep pits, and a mound of earth about thirty feet high and ſixty paces in circumference. Theſe works did not appear to

me

me to be of Roman conſtruction; probably they are nothing more than a rude fortification thrown up during the turbulent times, when the barons of the country were engaged in perpetual acts of hoſtility: a deſire to render them venerable by the remoteneſs of their origin, and the ſplendour of the Roman name, ſeems the only cauſe of their being attributed to Druſus. Having ſatisfied my curioſity, I returned to Zutz, and paſſed an agreeable evening with Mr. Planta.

Scampf, Auguſt 3d.

The little burghs in theſe parts are ſituated at ſuch a ſmall diſtance from each other, that my daily journies are ſcarcely ſo much as a morning's walk; and I am ſo delighted with the country and its inhabitants, that I could willingly take up my abode here for ſome time longer. Upon my arrival at Scampf, I carried a letter of recommendation to Mr. Perini; who introduced me to Mr. Aporta, the clergyman of the place. He is a native of Lower Engadina, of the antient and illuſtrious family of Aporta. He ſtudied * ſome time at Deprezin, in Hungary; but returning to his native country, was ſoon afterwards appointed paſtor of Scampf. His income is ſmall, ſcarcely amounting to

* He received his education, I believe, in the Univerſity of Baſle.

twenty

twenty pounds † per annum, and yet his living is eſteemed one of the beſt in Engadina. With this moderate revenue he is able to maintain a wife and large family. His chief work, which is a ſufficient proof of his extenſive knowledge, and indefatigable induſtry, is the Hiſtory of the Reformation among the Griſons, in two volumes quarto. It is written in Latin, and compiled with great impartiality and exactneſs. The ſtyle is claſſical and perſpicuous. This excellent publication is not merely confined to eccleſiaſtical tranſactions; for, as the affairs of religion are intimately blended with political events, the latter make no inconſiderable figure in every Hiſtory of the Reformation. The reader will find in Mr. Aporta's performance a minute and faithful account of the animoſities between France and Spain, in relation to the Griſons; of the rebellion in the Valteline; of the maſſacre of the Proteſtants; and of the ſubſequent war carried on under the ſemblance of religion. This intereſting narrative comprehends almoſt all the important events in the hiſtory of the Griſons, from the beginning of the reformation to the peace of the Valteline.

I look up with reverence to this learned author, for his unwearied induſtry in completing ſo laborious a work with little encouragement, and under all the diſadvantages which ariſe from a difficulty of procuring books, and ſtraitened circumſtances. All that he ever obtained, be-

† Conſidering the different modes of living, and different value of money, this ſum is perhaps equivalent to about £.60 in England.

ſide

ſide ſame, was a preſent of twenty-five guineas, which enabled him to bear his expences to Zurich, for the purpoſe of collecting materials from the manuſcripts in the public library. The work, printed at Coire, at the expence of the typographical ſociety, has never produced any emolument to the author. This reſpectable divine, beſide a critical knowledge of the learned languages, underſtands and ſpeaks Italian and German, is able to read French, and has ſome acquaintance with the Hungarian and Wallachian tongues. During the little time I paſſed in his company, I had frequent occaſion to be ſurprized at his profound erudition and comprehenſive abilities; and I am particularly indebted to him for much exact information concerning the Romanſh tongue, the general purport of which I ſhall tranſmit to you in a future letter.

Upper Engadina is divided into two communities, called Sotto and Sopra Fontana Merla, from their ſituation above or below that ſpring. They have both the ſame court of criminal juſtice, which is held at Zutz, and conſiſts of the Landamman of Sotto, who is preſident, and ſixteen jurymen, called Trouadors, taken equally from each diſtrict. Juſtice is more equitably adminiſtered in this court than in any other throughout the Griſons, excepting at Coire; a circumſtance which ariſes from the following cauſes. The code of criminal laws was compoſed in 1563, by one Juvalta, who had been Envoy from the Republic of the Griſons to Venice, and had there imbibed more enlarged conceptions of juriſprudence, than at that time prevailed

prevailed among his rude countrymen. This excellent code was drawn up in Latin, and in 1644, was tranſlated into Romanſh. The fines enjoined for criminal offences do not belong to the judges, but to the community. The expences of the proceſs are defrayed, and a ſalary is allowed to the judges from the public fund: the judges, by theſe means, being not ſo much intereſted to convict the priſoner, are not ſo ready to employ the horrid expedient of torture, for the purpoſe of enforcing confeſſion.

Another cauſe of the equity obſervable in this court, is the mode of electing the judges: they are not, as in many of the other communities, choſen by the people collectively aſſembled, but by ſixteen deputies who repreſent the ſeveral diſtricts. By theſe means the election is carried on with more prudence, and with a greater attention to the qualifications of the judges, than can be expected amidſt the confuſion of a popular meeting.

The ſame deputies chuſe all the civil magiſtrates by a majority of voices; and finally decide all legiſlative and political queſtions, which have before been ſeparately propoſed to the ſeveral diſtricts which they repreſent. Their conſtituents have the power (which they frequently exerciſe) of peremptorily directing their vote. It is, however, no inconſiderable alleviation of the miſchiefs frequently attendant on governments purely democratical, that the whole body of the populace on no occaſion aſſemble upon one ſpot, but diſcuſs matters in detached parties, and ſend the reſult of their deliberation by their repreſentatives.

Upper

Upper Engadina is a very beautiful valley, yet, on account of its elevation, produces nothing but paſture and a ſmall quantity of rye and barley. The winter ſets in early and ends late, during which time ſledges are the ordinary vehicles. The air, even at the preſent ſeaſon, is cold and piercing, and the corn in the midſt of ſummer is occaſionally much damaged by the hoar-froſts. Hence the Italian proverb,

* *Engadina Terra Fina, ſe non foſſe la pruina.*

As the diſtrict does not yield ſufficient productions for the maintenance of the inhabitants, many of them migrate into foreign countries; the gentry in the military line, as is common through Switzerland; others in the capacity of mechanics, tradeſmen, and merchants: their favourite occupation is to keep coffee-houſes or paſtry-cook ſhops in different parts of Italy and France. Generally two perſons enter into partnerſhip to carry on the ſame trade: one ſtays in his own country, and the other attends the buſineſs for a year, when he is relieved by his partner, and returns to his family for the ſame term. Theſe partners are commonly as faithful as they are induſtrious; they annually bring conſiderable ſums of money into this diſtrict, which is eſteemed the richeſt among the Griſons.

Many of the inhabitants feed numerous herds of cattle in the ſummer months upon the Upper

* Engadina would be a fine country if there was no froſt.

Alps,

Alps, and export large quantities of cheeſe and butter. In the autumn, when paſture begins to be ſcarce, they ſend great part of the cattle for ſale into the Tyrol. The inhabitants live very much upon ſalted meat, particularly in winter, on account of the dearneſs of fodder. The bread of the country is moſtly browniſh; it is baked in little round cakes, only two or three times in the year, and becomes ſo hard, that it is ſometimes broken with a hatchet; it is not an unpleaſant food with cheeſe or butter, which are very common. The greateſt part of the butter is made on the Alps; it is afterwards melted, put into bottles, and frequently continues good during the whole year. The wine of the Valteline is much eſteemed, and is by no means ſcarce in this country: it bears keeping to a very conſiderable age. I have taſted ſome wine from the caſk, of a very fine flavour, above fifty years old, although it grows ſour in the ſpace of three years in the warm climate of the Valteline.

The people are, for the moſt part, remarkably polite and well-bred; they bow to me as I paſs, with great civility, and will perform any kind offices in the readieſt and moſt obliging manner. I am, indeed, no leſs delighted with the manners of the inhabitants, their politeneſs and hoſpitality, than with the romantic ſcenery of the country. Although many of the natives ſpend a great portion of their time in foreign parts, they ſeldom loſe their attachment to Engadina; and return with great eagerneſs to their family and friends, after their occaſional abſence.

The

The inhabitants of Upper Engadina are computed at about four thouſand, and out of theſe, four or five hundred, upon an average, earn their livelihood in foreign countries.

LETTER

LETTER 72.

Lower Engadina—Cernetz—Huldric—Campel—Traſp—Remus—Entrance into the Tyrol—Santa Maria.

Cernetz, Auguſt 4th.

THE valley of Upper Engadina, from Celerina to a few miles beyond Scampf, is nearly level; it is encloſed between two ridges of mountains, which are higheſt at Celerina, and gradually diminiſh in height and ruggedneſs. About Zutz and Scampf is the fineſt part of the valley: it there produces ſome rye and barley, and the mountains are clothed with verdure to their very ſummits. Beyond Scampf, the plain ends; and the river Inn, which had hitherto winded in a gentle courſe, is contracted into a narrow channel, and falls in continual cataracts. The road aſcends and deſcends along the ſides of the mountains; and the country is thickly overſpread with woods of fir and pines.

I paſſed

I paſſed through ſeveral villages, ſimilar to thoſe I have deſcribed in the preceding letter; and near Brail, I croſſed a ſmall bridge thrown over a precipice, and overlooking a foaming cataract. This bridge is called in the language of the country, *Pont Alta*, or High Bridge, and forms the ſeparation between Upper and Lower Engadina. Even if the limits of the two diſtricts had not been thus marked out, the ſudden alteration of the road, for the worſe, would have led me to ſuſpect that I had quitted Upper Engadina. The road from the lake of Siglio to Pont Alta is like our turnpikes in England, and ſufficiently broad to contain two or three carriages abreaſt; no common circumſtance in theſe mountainous regions. It has been lately made, in conſequence of a propoſal from the Houſe of Auſtria, at the late treaty of Milan, to improve the roads leading through the Pregalia and the two Engadinas, in order that the merchandize to and from Pregalia, might be tranſported this way through the Tyrol, inſtead of being carried, as it is at preſent, thro' Coire.

The Houſe of Auſtria offered to defray the whole expence of this undertaking. The inhabitants of Upper Engadina, although they declined, with a ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs rarely to be found in democratical ſtates, the offer of indemnification, immediately carried the plan into execution within their own territories; but the intrigues of the citizens of Coire, whoſe intereſt would have greatly ſuffered by the new arrangement, together with an inveterate perſuaſion, that good roads would render the country too acceſſible to the neighbouring powers,

ers, prevented the people of Pregalia and Lower Engadina from co-operating in this uſeful project; accordingly that part of this road, which runs through their diſtricts, remains in its original ſtate.

After croſſing Pont Alta, I paſſed along a wild and almoſt uninhabited tract of foreſt until I reached Cernetz, where I am now comfortably lodged in the houſe of Mr. Planta. That gentleman is at his government of Morbegno, in the Valteline; but having accidentally met me at Chiavenna, kindly gave me a letter of recommendation to his uncle, who would not permit me to continue at the inn.

Cernetz is ſituated in a ſmall rich plain, bounded by two ridges of mountains converging at both extremities. This plain produces wheat, barley, rye, flax, and abundance of rich paſture. I feel an eſſential difference between the climate of this little plain and that of Upper Engadina; it is much warmer, and has all its natural productions much farther advanced towards maturity. Large quantities of wood are felled upon theſe mountains, and floated down the Inn as far as Inſpruck. In this plain the Inn is joined by the large torrent Spælg, that deſcends from the mountains of Bormio. By the ſide of this torrent, and at the extremity of a narrow paſs leading to Bormio and Munſter, I obſerved a ſquare tower, which, in 1624, the Marquis de Cæuvres garriſoned with a body of French and Griſon troops, in order to check the motions of the Auſtrian army poſted at Munſter. The paſs is ſtill further fortified by a ſtone wall, carried from the foot of an inacceſſible rock to the tower, and from thence to the torrent.

The

The Marquis de Cæuvres, to whom the guard of this important paſs was committed, was ſon of the Marquis d'Etrées; he was bred up to the church, and created biſhop of Noyon; but upon the death of his elder brother, renounced the eccleſiaſtical line, and embraced the profeſſion of arms. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral campaigns under Henry the Fourth, and was afterwards employed in the reign of Louis the Thirteenth, as embaſſador to Turin and Rome. In 1624, he was appointed embaſſador extraordinary to the Republic of the Griſons, and commander in chief of an army, compoſed of French and Swiſs troops, ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Griſons during the war of the Valteline. He penetrated through Coire into Lower Engadina, and ſeized, without delay, the important paſs juſt now deſcribed; by this manœuvre, he ſecured the only avenue by which he could open a paſſage to Bormio, the reduction of which place was followed by an almoſt immediate ſubmiſſion of the Valteline. For theſe important ſervices, the Marquis, on his return to France, was created Duc d'Etrées, and raiſed to the higheſt honours. He died in 1670, in the 102d year of his age.

I employed myſelf the greateſt part of this morning, in making extracts from Campel's account of the Griſons, eſteemed the beſt topographical and political hiſtory of this country yet extant. It conſiſts of three large folio volumes, and is written in Latin. It has never been printed, and is very rarely met with. I had the good fortune to find a copy in the library of Count Firmian, at Milan, who with that readineſs to oblige, which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes his character,

character, permitted me to conſult it. My ſtay at Milan being very ſhort, and employed in other reſearches, I had not made ſo good an uſe of this indulgence as I could have wiſhed; and as I have now found the ſame work in Mr. Planta's library, I embrace this opportunity of peruſing the moſt intereſting parts: it has given me a great inſight into the geography, hiſtory, and governments of this country, which are treated with the moſt circumſtantial accuracy.

Huldric Campel, the author of this valuable work, was born, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, at Suſs, in Lower Engadina, and made a moſt uncommon proficiency in every ſpecies of literature. He was one of the earlieſt reformers in this country, and became, by his active zeal, as well as by his extenſive erudition, a great inſtrument in ſpreading the reformation through this diſtrict. An event of ſmall conſequence which happened in his family, gave riſe to the ſudden and wide diſſemination of the new doctrines, and ended in the abolition of the Roman Catholic religion.

While he was abſent, in 1537, upon the proſecution of his ſtudies, his wife was delivered of a daughter, which was ſo ſickly and weak, that it ſeemed upon the point of expiring. Gaſpar Campel, father of Huldric, a man ſtrongly addicted to the reformed doctrines, refuſed to have the child chriſtened by the Popiſh prieſt of the pariſh, nor would ſuffer even the midwives to ſprinkle it, according to the cuſtom of the Romiſh church, with holy water; and, as there was no reformed miniſter at hand, he performed the ceremony of baptiſm himſelf. This act was looked upon in ſo abominable a light by the Roman

man Catholics of Sufs, that they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and attacked Gaſpar with ſuch fury, that he narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination. His enemies then brought an accuſation againſt him before the diet, which at firſt referred the cauſe to arbitration; but no ſatisfactory deciſion being obtained from this mode of proceeding, a public conference was ordered to be held in the church of Sufs, before deputies from the ſeveral communities, upon the following queſtion, "Whether, if a child is born and likely to die before a prieſt can be ſent for, the baptiſm performed by a layman was preferable to that by midwives?"

This ridiculous inquiry led to diſcuſſions of great moment. The reformed miniſters refuſed to acknowledge any authority but that of the Holy Scriptures, while the Catholics conſidered the writings of the fathers and decrees of the church as infallible: each party, thus regarding every point through a medium, could never be prevailed on to adopt the arguments of its antagoniſt; and the diſpute laſted ſeven days with little proſpect of any ſatisfactory concluſion. Fortunately, however, a ſyſtem of accommodation, which this endleſs mode of reaſoning could never even diſtantly promiſe, was ſummarily attained by the moderation of the deputies. They decided, that in caſes of extreme neceſſity, where no prieſt was preſent, either a layman or the midwives might baptize, and that the former was preferable to the latter: but what was of the greateſt conſequence, they inculcated this rational poſition, that in regard to the other controverted points of faith debated in the courſe of the argument, every perſon might ſafely

ſafely hold that doctrine, which from full conviction he was perſuaded to be the word of God.

This conference was productive of the moſt beneficial effects; for the people, who flocked thither in great numbers, were taught to conſider the Holy Scriptures as the only authority in controverted queſtions. The tendency of this maxim is obvious: in fact, it produced ſuch immediate and rapid effects, that within the ſpace of twenty years the Reformation was completely eſtabliſhed throughout * Engadina.

To return to Huldric Campel: he not only approved his father's conduct in the affair of his daughter's baptiſm, but became a zealous proſelyte to the new doctrines. Having entered into holy orders, he undertook the care of a reformed church in the valley of Pretigau, where he was indefatigable in the performance of his duty, and the propagation of the Proteſtant religion. In 1550, he was drawn to Sufs by the friends of the Reformation, as a perſon the moſt qualified to combat the Roman Catholic church. His labours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that, a ſhort time after his appearance in his native place, maſs was aboliſhed, and the Reformation publicly adopted. Nor was Sufs the ſole theatre of his exertions; at Cernitz, and ſeveral other places, the perſuaſion of his eloquence, and the force of his arguments, gained a numerous train of converts.

He paſſed the decline of his life at Schlins, where he was paſtor, and perſevered to the laſt

* Excepting the ſmall village of Samun.

period of his exiſtence in diſſeminating and defending the doctrine of the reformed churches, as ably with his eloquence, as he recommended them by his example. Amidſt the occupation of religious duties, he found leiſure to continue his hiſtory of the Griſons to 1580. He died the following * year, at Schlins, in an extreme old age, leaving a name highly reſpectable in the religious and literary annals of this country.

The hiſtory of Campel conſiſts, as I have before obſerved, of three volumes. The firſt dwells chiefly on the topography of the Griſons, and deſcribes the different diſtricts and towns: it likewiſe delineates the nature of the ſeveral governments, and the various forms of civil and criminal juriſprudence in the petty republics into which this country is ſubdivided. The ſecond volume comprizes the hiſtory of Rhætia, from the earlieſt period to the Suabian war, in 1499, under the emperor Maximilian I. The materials are chiefly drawn from Tſchudi, Stumpf, and other Swiſs hiſtorians. The third volume, in which the hiſtory is brought down to his own times, is the moſt intereſting and authentic. Campel having ſubmitted his work to the examination and correction of Bullinger and Simler, preſented, in 1577, a copy to the diet of the three leagues, and received public thanks. But as his own fortune was inadequate to the expences of publication, and as no bookſeller would undertake to print ſo voluminous a work, it has never been publiſhed.

* Some authors place his death in 1582.

Remus,

Remus, Auguſt 4th.

The road from Cernetz to Scuol is a continual aſcent and deſcent, and ſo rocky and bad, that I employed above eight hours in riding only twenty miles. The ſmall plain of Cernetz ſoon ends, and is ſucceeded by a rude aſſemblage of rocks and foreſts.

Suſs is ſituated in a narrow paſs, between the river Inn and a contiguous ridge of rocks a little beneath the ruins of an old caſtle: cloſe to it is a ſmall fertile plain, which agreeably diverſified the wildneſs of the rocks and foreſts.

The road to Ardetz follows the courſe of the Inn, which murmurs below in a deep narrow channel, heard but not ſeen. From Ardetz (over which hangs, upon a lofty rock, a ruined caſtle called Steinberg) I deſcended along a very ſteep craggy path to the river Inn, which I croſſed, and mounted a rapid aſcent, leaving on my right hand the valley of Scharla, in which there are ſilver mines belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria: they were formerly very rich, and yielded a conſiderable advantage, but are now exhauſted. I paſſed through the ſtraggling village of Traſp, and cloſe to a caſtle of the ſame name, ſituated upon the higheſt point of a perpendicular rock. Count Dietrichſtein, as lord of the caſtle, is a prince of the German empire: it was given to his family by the emperor Leopold, on condition that its poſſeſſor ſhould always vote in the diet of the empire for the Houſe of Auſtria. The formality of a garriſon is maintained in this caſtle by a ſingle Auſtrian ſoldier.

From Traſp, I again deſcended to the river, croſſed it, and aſcended to Scuol. I arrived there very late, and ſet off early this morning.

From Scuol to Remus, the mountains on the left ſlope gradually, and are richly cultivated: they produce great quantities of wheat, rye, barley, flax, and hemp: the trees are chiefly pines, firs, and ſmall birch, intermixed with underwood of nut-trees and wild roſes. The cornfields are raiſed in gradations (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) along the ſides of the hill, like the vineyards in the Pays de Vaud. The ridges of mountains on the right beyond the Inn are ſteep, and in many places perpendicular, with few appearances of vegetation.

It is now harveſt time: I have obſerved ſeveral clergymen employed in reaping the corn. The clergy are very poor in Lower Engadina, and are more numerous than in any other part of the Griſons. The income of the richeſt benefices amounts to about twenty pounds per annum; that of the inferior cures to little more than eight pounds; and this ſcanty pittance is ſometimes ſubdivided among two or three clergymen, or as many as happen to be unprovided for in the ſame pariſh.

I ſtopped at Remus to bait my horſes. Near it is a ruined caſtle which formerly belonged to the biſhop of Coire, and was given by one of the former biſhops to the Plantas of Zutz; in right of which donation, they claim the privilege of adminiſtering the oath to the Landamman of Sotto Taſna. The only remains of this caſtle are two ſquare towers, in one of which is a miſerable apartment, where Mr. Planta gives an annual dinner to the Landamman.

The

The form of government in Lower Engadina is more complicated than that of Upper Engadina, and it has coſt me no ſmall degree of pains to comprehend and unfold it. I ſhall not, however, trouble you with a circumſtantial account of every particular which ſtruck me in the courſe of this inveſtigation, but ſhall comprize my account in as ſhort a compaſs as poſſible.

Lower Engadina is divided into three communities, which ſend three deputies to the general diet. The firſt community is compoſed of the pariſhes of Cernetz, Suſs, Lavin, Guarda, and Ardetz. The ſecond comprizes Vettan, Scuol, and Sent: and the third contains Remus, Schlins, and Samun. The two former communities make one High Juriſdiction; and the third forms, with Bevio, Valmorara, and Avers, another High Juriſdiction.

In civil cauſes there are two ſeparate courts of juſtice, one for that part of the country which lies to the north, the other for the diſtrict to the ſouth of the torrent Taſna; from which torrent the two parts are called Sopra and Sotto Taſna: from each of theſe courts there lies an appeal, in the laſt reſort, to the civil tribunal of Sotto Fontana Merla, in Upper Engadina, or to the neighbouring community of the valley of Munſter.

In criminal cauſes there are likewiſe two diſtinct courts, but without appeal, one for the tract to the north of the mountain Falon, another for the region to the ſouth: according to this diviſion the two parts are denominated Sopra and Sotto Montfalon.

By

By this complicated arrangement Vettan is connected with Scuol and Sent, in political concerns; in civil affairs with Scuol, Sent, Remus, Schlins, and Samun; in criminal cauſes with Cernetz, and the other towns of the firſt community. This intermixture of various intereſts creates ſuch an intricacy in the election of deputies, magiſtrates, judges, both civil and criminal, as would be unintereſting for me to detail, or for you to read.

One circumſtance, however, cannot fail to ſtrike the moſt inattentive inquirer; that although the mode of electing the judges is nearly the ſame with that of Upper Engadina, yet that juſtice is by no means ſo impartially adminiſtered as in the latter diſtrict. I cannot forbear aſcribing this material difference in an affair of ſuch importance to the different condition of the two people; the inhabitants of Upper Engadina, being more enlightened and affluent than their neighbours, are leſs open to the influence of illiberal prejudices and petty corruption.

Party runs very high both in Upper and Lower Engadina: there are ſome conſiderable families in theſe diſtricts, of which the principal are thoſe of Deſalis and Planta, both ſubdivided into numerous collateral branches. The hiſtory of this country is full of the diſputes and ſtruggles between theſe rival houſes, and preſents in many periods little more than an uniform picture of domeſtic feuds. The two parties are diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of *Scarbonada*, black; and *Alba*, white; the former devoted to the Plantas, the latter to the Deſaliſes. At the time of elections for deputies and magiſtrates,

magiſtrates, the inhabitants of Lower Engadina ſeldom abſtain from blows, which not unfrequently terminate in bloodſhed.

I have more than once had occaſion to mention the ſuperiority of politeneſs, which diſtinguiſhes the inhabitants of Upper Engadina from thoſe of the lower diſtrict. This pre-eminence probably ariſes from the conſtant emigration of the former into other countries, and their intercourſe with foreigners. I find alſo a great difference in the comforts of life in the two diſtricts. Although Lower Engadina produces neceſſaries abundantly ſufficient for interior conſumption, yet the inhabitants are leſs induſtrious, and conſequently poorer. In Upper Engadina, I was always able to procure at the commoneſt inns freſh meat, good oil, and excellent wine, none of which I could obtain in the lower diſtrict. The villages are leſs commodious, and the houſes of the peaſants are alſo far inferior in cleanlineſs, neatneſs, and convenience. This difference probably proceeds, in a certain degree, from the nature of the country: Upper Engadina yielding but few productions, the inhabitants are obliged to ſeek from without ſome means of ſubſiſtence; and induſtry once excited, brings with it its uſual companion opulence. On the contrary, the ſoil of Lower Engadina, fertile in all the fruits of the earth, lays the inhabitants under no neceſſity of extraordinary exertion, nor obliges them to have recourſe to foreign trade.

Santa

Santa Maria, Auguſt 5th.

In my way from Remus to St. Martin's-bridge, being overtaken by a violent ſtorm of rain, I took ſhelter in a cottage; and was cheerfully received by a well-looking old woman; my horſe was put under a ſhed, and myſelf houſed from the pelting of the ſhower. I found the houſe perfectly neat and clean, with much better furniture and accommodations than I expected from the external appearance. The old woman talked, I found, (beſide the Romanſh) German and Italian, and the latter remarkably well. The ſtorm continuing two hours without intermiſſion, I held a long converſation with her, and was greatly pleaſed with the polite and ready manner with which ſhe expreſſed herſelf upon different topics. Upon taking leave, I made ſeveral apologies for having dirtied her houſe, thanked her for her kind reception, and endeavouring to ſlip a piece of money into her hand, was ſurprized at her declining to accept it.

All theſe circumſtances inciting my curioſity to obtain ſome intelligence concerning this old woman, I collected the following account. She is a native of Lower Engadina, of a good family, and formerly poſſeſſed a tolerable fortune: ſhe married, when very young, a nobleman of the firſt family at Milan, who came into Engadina, renounced the Roman Catholic religion, and embraced the Proteſtant doctrines. They lived for many years in the greateſt harmony, till having diſſipated almoſt all her fortune, he one day took leave of her, with a promiſe of returning

returning in a ſhort time. From that moment ſhe never ſaw him, nor heard from him, and ſhe was afterwards informed that he was gone to Italy, and, having re-embraced the Roman Catholic religion, had turned monk: upon receiving this information, his wife collected the ſcanty remains of her fortune, and retired to the ſpot where I found her.

Towards the extremity of Lower Engadina, I croſſed the Inn over St. Martin's-bridge, at a little village of the ſame name: on the other ſide I came into Tyrol, where that river ſtruggles through a very narrow channel, between two ridges of high and rugged rocks. I now took a farewel of the Inn, which I had accompanied from its ſource. At St. Martin's-bridge it forms the ſeparation of Engadina and the Tyrol; on receiving the torrent Schargenbach, it quits the territory of the Griſons, and paſſing through the Tyrol and the Electorate of Bavaria, joins the Danube at Paſſau with ſo large a body of water, as to equal, if not ſurpaſs, the celebrated river in which it loſes its name. Hence Scheutzer has laboured to prove, that the Danube may be ſaid to riſe in the Rhetian Alps with more juſtneſs than in the mountains of Suabia, becauſe the proportion of waters, which deſcend from the former, is greater than what is ſupplied from the latter.

In the village of St. Martin, Romanſh is ſpoken; on the other ſide of the bridge juſt mentioned, German is the language of the country. From the ſteep banks of the Inn, I aſcended a high mountain, along an excellent road, lately formed at the expence of the emperor, in order to facilitate the communication between

between Milan and the Tyrol. From the top, I had a fine view of the Inn and Lower Engadina, and then deſcended to Nauders, where I dined upon a cold fowl, which Mr. Planta had ordered my ſervant to put up for me, without which precaution I ſhould have made but an uncomfortable meal.

From Nauders, I went along a ſmall pleaſant valley, bounded on the left by a ridge of mountains which ſeparate the Tyrol from Engadina. The valley is about a quarter of a mile broad, and almoſt level: it is covered with rich paſture, and watered by a lively torrent that falls into the Inn: at the end of this valley I came to a gentle aſcent, on the other ſide of which I found a lake, which is one of the firſt ſources of the Adige; beyond this is another lake, and further on a third: the banks of theſe lakes are prettily ſkirted with villages, at one of which, called Hotat, I paſſed the night.

Having a long day's journey from thence to Bormio, I ſet out at five this morning, and proceeded by the ſide of the torrent which flows from the lakes and forms the Adige. The country is agreeable, and in high cultivation, eſpecially where it opens into a rich and extenſive view beyond Mals, which town I paſſed at a little diſtance on my left hand, and turned ſhort into the road that leads to the valley of Munſter. At the bottom of the firſt aſcent I went through Laitch, which is ſubject in ſpiritual affairs to the biſhop of Coire, in temporal to the Houſe of Auſtria. From thence I mounted through a rich riſing valley to Santa Maria. Tauven is the laſt village in the Tyrol, where the inhabitants ſpeak German. A little beyond that

that place I paſſed the barrier, and again entered the territory of the Griſons, where the Romanſh is the common tongue.

I ſtopped at Munſter, in order to ſee a monaſtery for women, from * which the name of the town and valley is derived. It is very antient, and ſaid to have been founded by Charlemagne: I was not, however, permitted to examine it, as it is againſt the rules of all nunneries to admit a male viſitant within the walls. I proceeded to Santa Maria, from whence I am now writing.

This valley of Munſter contains Santa Maria, Munſter, Valdera, Cierfs, and ſeveral other villages, which form a community in the league of God's Houſe. Formerly the biſhop of Coire had conſiderable influence and power in the government of the valley. Juſtice was adminiſtered in his name, and he received the amerceements for criminal offences; but having violent diſputes with the inhabitants, he ſold theſe rights in 1727, to the emperor Charles the Sixth: the republic of the Griſons, however, objecting to this transfer of immunities, which they conſidered as unalienable, the biſhop was obliged to re-purchaſe, and diſpoſe of them to the inhabitants, who are now perfectly independent. The people are divided into Catholics and Proteſtants, the former inhabiting the town of Munſter, with its immediate dependencies, the others the remainder of the valley: the magiſtrates and judges are choſen equally from both parties, who live together in tolerable har-

* Monaſterium.

mony.

mony. The common language is the Romanſh, the ſame as is ſpoken in Lower Engadina, though not quite ſo pure, as, on account of its proximity and connection with the Tyrol, it is blended with a greater number of German words.

LETTER

LETTER 73.

Paſſage of Mount Bralio—County and Town of Bormio.

Bormio, Auguſt 7th.

THE paſſage from Santa Maria to this place was very tedious, and would have been attended with ſome danger, if I had been detained a day later; as the great quantity of rain, which has poured down without intermiſſion, would have rendered the Alpine paths extremely ſlippery. I continued to aſcend two hours from Santa Maria to the top of Mount Bralio, which ſeparates the valley of Munſter from the county of Bormio. This body of Alps is ſuppoſed to be the ſame which Tacitus mentions under the name of *Juga Rhætica* *. I aſcended the whole way by the ſide of the torrent Ramo, the ſame

* Hiſt. lib. i.

which

which flows by Laitch, and falls into the Adige* below Mals. I traced it to its ſource, where it ruſhes from a Glacier, amidſt an encloſure of ſurrounding rocks. A few paces further, having reached the ſummit of the Bralio, I obſerved another torrent fall from the ſame Glacier in a contrary direction, which forms the firſt ſource of the Adda.

From this point a deſcent commences, and continues, with little interruption, to Bormio. The tops of theſe mountains produce no wood, but yield excellent paſture; they were covered with cattle. The moſt elevated parts are of granite, but not near ſo fine grained as that which I obſerved upon the St. Gothard, and ſome of the other Swiſs Alps. I then went down a very narrow rugged path, and in an hour entered the county of Bormio, and a ſmall plain about a mile in length, in the midſt of which is a ſingle houſe, that is termed an inn; and which is the firſt habitation I met with ſince I quitted the valley of Munſter. I found no one within but a woman and two children, who ſpake a corrupt Italian: the woman was greatly affronted on my inquiring if ſhe talked Romanſh; being a Roman Catholic, ſhe ſeemed to conſider it as a kind of hereſy to underſtand that language.

I followed the courſe of the Adda, which flows through the plain; it is at firſt a ſmall torrent, but gradually increaſes, by a continued acceſſion of water from the neighbouring mountains. At the end of this ſmall plain, the de-

* Or rather two torrents form by their junction the Adige.

ſcent

ſcent recommences, and the track from thence to Bormio, is as craggy as the higheſt parts of Switzerland. Since I have travelled in the country of the Griſons, I have not yet met with ſuch aſtoniſhing ſcenes of wildneſs, horror, and majeſty, as occurred in this day's journey. Deſcription generally fails in repreſenting the moſt ordinary exhibitions of nature; how inadequate then muſt it be to the ſingular combination of ſublime objects, which I ſhall now attempt to delineate?

I had no ſooner quitted the ſmall plain abovementioned, than I entered ſuddenly into a moſt barren and deſolate region; on my right hand, huge piles of miſhapen Alps; on my left, a large maſs of ice and ſnow. Cloſe to the path the Adda foams from precipice to precipice in broken cataracts; lower down it ſhoots over a ſucceſſion of natural ſteps, which ſeem as if they had been hewn in the rock by art; at the diſtance of about a mile, it is contracted into a narrow channel, through which it labours with inceſſant furp. Over this tremendous gulf is a ſlight wooden bridge, which is partly ſupported upon a detached fragment of rock, and partly ſuſpended upon the ſides of the oppoſite mountains: as we paſſed over, it tottered with our weight. I then continued upon the edge of a deep abyſs, the Adda roaring beneath, though no where viſible, ſuggeſting to my imagination cataracts more ſtupendous than any I had hitherto ſeen. Its channel is cut perpendicularly in the rock, which has evidently been hollowed to the depth of ſome hundred feet by the attrition of the waters.

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We now arrived at a barren ſpot, where the vale was entirely cloſed by an impaſſable mountain: a ſtream burſts from a ſmall opening in the rock, and then expanding as it falls, forms a conſiderable torrent, foaming amidſt vaſt fragments of ſtone. We turned ſuddenly to the left, by an opening through which the Adda ſeems to have forced a paſſage, and diſcovered ſome fertile fields lying upon the ſide of a diſtant mountain, which beautifully contraſted with the wild and uncultivated ſcenes we had juſt quitted: a few paces further, we came upon the proſpect of a fertile plain extending to Bormio, the Adda flowing in a milder ſtream, which a moment before roared underneath our feet, over broken precipices. In about half an hour I reached the baths of St. Martin, in the valley of Premaglia; they are formed by ſeveral hot ſprings which riſe near Molina, and are much frequented at this ſeaſon of the year. They are of the ſame nature with thoſe of Bath, but they did not appear ſo hot.

From thence I deſcended into the plain, which produces ſome corn, and yields excellent paſture, and in a ſhort time arrived at Bormio. Every thing now wears an Italian look: the villages are very inferior to thoſe in the Griſons. The houſes are plaſtered, and have a dirty appearance; and it was no bad remark of my ſervant, that the villages looked as if the inhabitants were moſtly dead, and the place deſerted.

This road over the Bralio, although ſo indifferent, was formerly the principal paſſage for the merchandize ſent from the Tyrol, through

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the Valteline, into the Milaneſe: at preſent it is much leſs frequented.

The county of Bormio, ſubject to the Griſons, lies at the foot and in the midſt of the Rhetian Alps, and borders upon Engadina, the valley of Munſter, the Valteline, Tyrol, Trent, and the Venetian territories. It is entirely encloſed within the mountains, except a narrow opening, which connects it with the Valteline: the other acceſſes to it lie acroſs the rugged Alps, and are ſimilar to the paſſage over the Bralio: in winter they are frequently impaſſable.

This county, once a part of the Milaneſe, became ſubject to the Griſons in 1512: the concurrence of extraordinary circumſtances, which occaſioned this revolution, will be related in the following letter, upon the hiſtory of the Valteline; for, as the latter came under the dominion of the Griſons at the ſame period, and from the ſame cauſes, the two hiſtories are ſo intimately blended, that they cannot be ſeparated.

The county is divided into five diſtricts, 1. Bormio, which comprizes the capital, and ſeveral dependent villages. 2. The valley of Furba. 3. The valley of Pedinoſa. 4. The valley of Cepina. 5. The valley of Luvino. The inhabitants of the Luvino poſſeſs ſeveral privileges, particularly the power of judging civil cauſes within a certain value. They do not, however, appoint any of the magiſtrates, who are all choſen from the four other diſtricts.

The county of Bormio enjoys very ample immunities, ſome of which are not extended to the Valteline, or Chiavenna; in virtue of which,

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the inhabitants are exempted from the oppreſſions ſo wantonly exerciſed by the Griſon governors in the other ſubject countries.

1. The inhabitants pay a fixed contribution to the Griſons, which is very moderate, and cannot be increaſed. 2. They collect and enjoy their own duties upon exports and imports, which ſecures them from injudicious and oppreſſive taxes. 3. The fines for criminal offences belong to the community; a circumſtance very friendly to the adminiſtration of juſtice: for no part of them being aſſigned to the governor, as is the caſe in the other ſubject provinces, he is not intereſted to convict criminals. 4. But the principal privilege which diſtinguiſhes this country from the Valteline, is the freedom of its government, and the limitation of the podeſta's authority.

Bormio, like all the other ſubject countries, is governed by a ſupreme magiſtrate called *Podeſtà*, who is ſent from the Griſons, and continues two years in office: his authority is ſo exceedingly circumſcribed, that he enjoys ſcarcely any power, but with the concurrence of the councils. He preſides in theſe councils without giving a vote, except in caſe of equality; he has neither the power of arreſting a criminal, nor of pardoning or leſſening the puniſhment: and he receives a yearly ſtipend from the country of about eighty pounds, ariſing partly from a payment in money, partly from an allowance of rye, and partly from the coſts of ſuit in civil and criminal cauſes: but the reſtrictions laid on his authority will beſt appear from the following ſhort ſketch of the eſtabliſhed government.

The ſupreme authority reſides in the podeſta and councils, which conſiſt in a civil and criminal tribunal, whoſe members are annually choſen by the people.

The criminal court, or the council of Sixteen, who are changed every four months, is compoſed of two regents, the treaſurer, the notary, and ſixteen counſellors, ten of whom are taken from the town, and two from each of the vallies of Furba, Pedinoſa, and Cepino: of theſe members only the ſixteen counſellors have any vote. At the requeſt of the two regents, this council is convened by the podeſta. In order to arreſt a criminal, the whole council ought to aſſemble, or at leaſt ſeven of the members; but in any caſe of importance, the podeſta and two regents may give an order of arreſt; this, however, being contrary to law, muſt be referred to the firſt meeting of the council, which, if ſatisfied, decrees in the words of their code, *Male captus; bene detentus;* the arreſt was illegal, but expedient. The proceſs is formed, and the priſoner examined by the podeſta and two regents, who lay the proceedings before the council. If the criminal is convicted, and will not confeſs his crime, the majority of the council decide whether the proofs are ſtrong enough to juſtify torture: if that horrid expedient is deemed requiſite, it muſt be applied in the preſence of the podeſta, the two regents, the treaſurer, and notary.

The fines are paid to the community, which (if the priſoner is inſolvent) defrays the expence of the proceſs. If the proofs againſt the priſoner appear inſufficient for his conviction, the podeſta and counſellors receive nothing for

their attendance: this regulation, which was deſigned to prevent frivolous proſecutions, is productive of this ill effect, that it induces the judges to ſtrain the ſlighteſt circumſtances into proofs of guilt, and not unfrequently occaſions the infliction of torture *.

The civil tribunal conſiſts of twelve members, taken from the town of Bormio, who determine all civil cauſes in the firſt inſtance: from their deciſion there lies an appeal to the ſyndicate of the Griſons.

The members of theſe councils are choſen annually in the following manner, by the aſſembly of the people, conſiſting of, 1. All thoſe who have been magiſtrates; 2. Of ſixty perſons from the town, nominated by the two chiefs of the people; 3. Of ſixty perſons choſen equally by the three vallies; 4. Of three deputies from the valley of Luvino. All theſe repreſentatives aſſemble on the 15th of June, in the town-hall of Bormio: the election is carried on in the moſt democratical manner, upon a plan calculated to prevent all influence; which, however, can never be entirely excluded by the moſt complicated mode of election ever invented. Without enlarging upon the form of voting by ballot uſed at Bormio, I ſhall, on account of its ſingularity, only briefly deſcribe the ceremony of chooſing the two regents. After the nomination of the counſellors, the regent laſt in office points to ſome perſon in the aſſembly. At the ſame

* Little more is wanting to the reformation of criminal juriſprudence in Bormio, than to render the examinations public; to pay the judges for their attendance, whether the priſoner is innocent or guilty; and to aboliſh torture.

inſtant

inſtant the treaſurer mentions ſome number, as for inſtance, ten, fifteen, &c. This number is immediately counted by the regent, beginning from the perſon to whom he is pointing: the laſt ſix of the perſons counted retire into a ſeparate room, and chuſe ſix members of the aſſembly, namely, three from the diſtrict of Bormio, and three from the vallies, who appoint ſix candidates. The names of the latter are thrown into ſix bags, and balloted for; and the two, who have the greateſt number of ballots, are regents. They remain in office only four months, in order to prevent their abuſing their power, which is very great.

The expences of government are regulated with a democratical jealouſy; and the accounts are annually ſubmitted to the inſpection of each diſtrict, in the following manner: When the regents retire from office, the treaſurer delivers in a ſummary of the expences and receipts incurred during their adminiſtration, which is read to the council of Sixteen, and cannot paſs without their approbation. In October, the council elects three examiners, two of whom are always taken from the inhabitants of the town, and one reciprocally from each of the three vallies. Theſe examiners make a report, which is laid before a deputation from the town and the vallies, on the third of May, and five copies are diſtributed to the ſeveral deputies, for the inſpection of their reſpective conſtituents: laſtly, the report is read before the aſſembly of repreſentatives, who meet for the election of the magiſtrates, when it is either finally approved or rejected.

The

The revenue of the country of Bormio, however trifling, is nearly adequate to the current expences. It ariſes in the following manner:

	£.	s.	d.
Duty upon merchandize, which this year amounted to - - - -	29	5	0
Letting of the paſture upon the Alps of Frederiga, Gallo, and Bralio, - -	50	13	4
For liberty of cutting wood, - -	6	13	4
Profits ariſing from the ſale of the corn granted by the government of Milan, - -	25	4	0
Rent of the baths, - - -	13	6	8
Fines, upon an average, - -	14	0	0
Tithes of corn produced, - -	103	12	0
	222	14	4

The following is a Table of the average Expences:

	£.	s.	d.
For making and repairing roads and bridges,	83	6	8
Salary of the magiſtrates, - -	71	8	0
Salary of the podeſta and ſyndicate, - -	57	7	6
	212	2	2

In this calculation a few occaſional expences are omitted, which render the general outgoings greater than the receipts: the overplus is ſupplied by equal aſſeſſments. For the purpoſe of aſſeſſing, there is a perpetual committee, conſiſting of twelve members choſen from the town, and two from each valley, which is convoked by the regents. The ſum required being laid before

before them, they fix a quota according to a calculation of property.

The mountainous parts of this country produce only paſturage and wood: the lower diſtrict about Bormio yields corn, but not ſufficient for domeſtic conſumption. The inhabitants export cattle, a ſmall quantity of cheeſe, and iron: the latter is obtained from the mine of Freli, in the valley of Pedinoſo, worked at the expence, and for the profit, of a private perſon, who pays to the community a ſmall annual rent. Wine is imported from the Valteline, corn from the Tyrol, corn and rice from Milan, linen from Bergamo and Appenzel, and cloth from Germany.

Popery is the eſtabliſhed religion of this country, and the exerciſe of every other worſhip is prohibited: even the podeſta himſelf, if a Proteſtant, is not entitled to any indulgence in this particular *. Spiritual affairs are under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Coire, who has a vicar's court at Bormio, in which all eccleſiaſtical cauſes are tried.

The prieſts have peculiar privileges, which are even extended to thoſe who wear a clerical dreſs. Although many abuſes reſult from thoſe exorbitant immunities, yet, from the nature of the government, they are more reſtrained here than in the Valteline.

* For the cauſes of this prohibition, which takes place in all the provinces ſubject to the Griſons, ſee the next letter.

Moſt

Moſt of the peaſants poſſeſs a ſmall portion of land, and, in conſequence of the freedom of the government, are much happier than the people of the Valteline and Chiavenna.

The town of Bormio is not unpleaſantly ſituated, at the foot of the mountains, cloſe to the torrent Fredolfo, which falls at a ſmall diſtance into the Adda. It contains about a thouſand inhabitants, but has a deſolate appearance. The houſes are of ſtone plaſtered: a few make a tolerable figure amidſt many with paper windows; ſeveral, like the Italian cottages, have only wooden window ſhutters. This faſhion may not be uncomfortable in the mild climate of Italy, but cannot be very agreeable in this country, ſubject to ſudden changes of weather, and occaſionally cold even in the midſt of ſummer, when the bleak winds blow keenly from the Alps.

The landlord of the inn, in which I am lodged, is one of the regents, and is, I find, a man of great conſequence. I ſit down to table with him, the podeſta, and his wife. The podeſta has been lately appointed to this government, and I can collect, from the converſation which has paſſed, that he is perfectly ignorant of the laws and conſtitution of this country; in all my queſtions he refers me to my landlord, who is thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of the courts of juſtice, and well verſed in the moſt minute circumſtances, relative to the adminiſtration of affairs.

It

It has rained all day without intermiſſion, and the ſhowers in theſe Alpine countries pour down with ſuch uncommon violence, that I eſteem myſelf very fortunate in being well ſheltered. The bad weather, however, did not prevent me from ſeeing every thing which is worthy of attention in Bormio, and in paying ſeveral viſits to the principal families of the town, who conſider an Engliſhman in this country, as a kind of phænomenon, and ſhewed me every attention and civility in their power.

The Palazzo, or town-houſe, contains a ſuite of wretched apartments for the reſidence of the podeſta, a chamber for the courts of judicature, and an apartment where the repreſentatives of the people aſſemble. In one of the rooms is an engine of torture, which, in defiance of common ſenſe, as well as humanity, is ſtill uſed in theſe countries to force confeſſion.

Being deſirous of ſeeing the archives, I found it occaſioned more trouble than I at firſt apprehended. The door of the apartment, in which they are depoſited, has ſeveral locks; and it was neceſſary for all the magiſtrates, who are entruſted with the different keys, to be preſent at the ſame time: no objection, however, was made to my admiſſion, and all parties aſſembled upon this occaſion. The archives, which are in the greateſt diſorder, contain many records relative to the hiſtory and conſtitution of Bormio, the criminal and civil ſtatutes, and ſeveral charters

charters from the ſovereigns of Milan, confirming original privileges, and adding others. The earlieſt of theſe acts is dated 1378, and ſigned by John Galeazzo Viſconti.

The moſt important of the papers is the charter, by which the Griſons confirm, in the moſt ample manner, the immunities granted to this country by the dukes of Milan: it was paſſed in the diet of Ilantz, under Paul, biſhop of Coire, in 1513, the year ſubſequent to that in which the Griſons annexed Bormio to their dominions. Many circumſtances have concurred to deter the Griſons from infringing this charter: the two principal cauſes are, the ſituation of Bormio, and the ſpirit of freedom which diſtinguiſhes the inhabitants. By its ſituation upon the confines of the Tyrol, the people, in caſe of the leaſt diſcontent, would receive encouragement and aſſiſtance from the Houſe of Auſtria. This local advantage procured them, while under the government of Milan, much better treatment than was experienced by their neighbours in the Valteline; and a ſimilar reaſon ſtill continues to operate upon the conduct of the Griſons.

The ſpirit of freedom alſo, which pervades the conſtitution, has no leſs materially contributed to the ſecurity of their privileges: theſe people have always watched with a jealous eye, the ſlighteſt advances of encroachment; and have never failed to remonſtrate with great unanimity and reſolution, whenever the podeſta has diſcovered the leaſt inclination to exceed the bounds of his authority. Hence

Hence the Griſons have uniformly acted towards them with great moderation; and have ever paid the readieſt attention to their repreſentations and remonſtrances.

LETTER

LETTER 74.

Tirano—Sketch of the Hiſtory of the Valteline.

Tirano.

I QUITTED Bormio this morning about ten. The torrents are conſiderably ſwelled with the late rains; and the ſides of the neighbouring mountains are ſprinkled with yeſterday's ſnow. From Bormio, I paſſed along the narrow valley of Cepino, through ſeveral wretched villages, among which not the leaſt wretched is Cepino itſelf, conſiſting of a few ſtraggling cottages, many of which are in a ruinous ſtate. Having croſſed the Adda, and continued on the left ſhore of that torrent, which daſhes with great violence through a rocky country, in three hours I came to a paſs called La Serra, where almoſt the whole ſpace between the impending rocks, excepting a ſmall path, is occupied by the Adda.

The path runs under the gateway of an ancient tower, and leads from the county of Bormio

mio into the Valteline. At Sondalo, which ſtands on the banks of the river upon an eminence, under a richly cultivated mountain, the valley widens, and becomes more and more fertile: in ſome places it is about a mile, in others ſcarcely a hundred yards in breadth. Near Tirano the valley exhibits an appearance of extraordinary fertility. The left ridge of mountains is chiefly overſpread with hanging groves of cheſnut trees, intermixed with a few vines; above them are meadows and foreſts of fir. The ridge fronting the ſouthern ſun, is richly covered with vines, which reach almoſt to the ſummit, ſtudded occaſionally with cluſters of large trees: on both ſides churches and houſes half concealed by the foliage enliven the proſpect. Below runs the Adda. The plain on each ſide of its banks produces abundance of corn and paſture, mulberries, walnuts, and other fruit-trees, and vines carried over the corn and paſture in beautiful feſtoons from tree to tree.

Tirano is the capital of the Upper Terzero, and the reſidence of the podeſta. Although the town contains ſeveral handſome buildings, yet, on account of the narrowneſs of the ſtreets, and number of ruinous houſes, its general appearance is deſolate. The Adda divides it into two parts, which are joined by a ſtone bridge of a ſingle arch. I obſerved remains of ſtone walls, with which this place was formerly ſurrounded. Theſe walls, together with an adjoining fortreſs, were built by Ludovico Sforza, againſt the incurſions of the Griſons; but were diſmantled by the latter, when they acquired poſſeſſion of the Valteline.

Tirano

Tirano carries on but little trade, except during the time of the fair. The ſtaple commerce of the town conſiſts in the exportation of wine and ſilk; the former article, which is the moſt conſiderable, is ſent in large quantities into the country of the Griſons, to Bormio, and into the territories of Venice. The ſilk, which is drawn from this diſtrict of the Valteline, is not of the beſt quality, nor very abundant: part is ſent to Venice, and the remainder, through Chiavenna, to Germany.

About half a mile from the town, on the other ſide of the Adda, is the church of the Madonna, or the Virgin Mary, much viſited by the Catholic pilgrims. It is a large handſome building, conſtructed with marble, and ſtone ſtuccoed. Part of the church is ancient, for I obſerved a date of 1206: the carved ornaments in this part are groteſque, but by no means badly finiſhed. The modern building is in an elegant ſtyle of architecture. The principal entrance is formed by two Corinthian pillars ornamented with foliage and feſtoons of flowers, while the pilaſters are neatly adorned with *baſſo relievos*, in the ſtyle of the antique. The æra of the workmanſhip, as I collected from an inſcription over the door, was 1533.

In the large area, before the church, is held, in the month of October, the fair of Tirano, remarkable for the number of cattle which are brought for ſale: they are fed upon the higheſt Alps, where they continue until the ſnow begins to fall, and are chiefly ſent from hence into Italy. The fair continues three days, during which time the authority of the podeſta is ſuſpended;

pended; and the governor of the Valteline has abſolute juriſdiction over the town and diſtrict.

I cannot deſcribe to you how much I am perplexed with a variety of languages. I ſpeak Italian or French with the principal gentry, and ſometimes am obliged to hold a converſation in Latin. I talk a ſmattering of German with my ſervant, who underſtands no other language, and, with my guide and the common people, a kind of corrupt Italian, like the Milaneſe. I write my notes in Engliſh, and during my progreſs through Engadina, was employed in collecting a vocabulary of the Romanſh. I muſt, therefore, warn you not to be ſurprized, ſhould you find a confuſion of tongues in my Letters.

The Valteline, called by the inhabitants *Valle-Telina*, extends from the confines of Bormio to the lake of Chiavenna, about the length of fifty miles. It is entirely encloſed between two chains of high mountains; the northern chain ſeparates it from the Griſons, the ſouthern from the Venetian territories: on the eaſt it borders on the county of Bormio, and on the weſt on the duchy of Milan.

The Valteline, together with the counties of Chiavenna and Bormio (which had long been the conſtant ſource of hoſtility between the biſhops of Como and Coire) came in 1336, under the dominion of Azzo Viſconti, ſovereign of Milan, who quietly tranſmitted them to his ſucceſſors. Upon the death of John Viſconti, one of Azzo's ſucceſſors, his extenſive territories were divided between his nephews Galeazzo and Barnabas *. Upon the demiſe of Galeazzo, his

* I do not mention Matthias, the eldeſt brother, becauſe he died ſoon afterwards.

ſon

ſon John Galeazzo ſecured the perſon of his uncle Barnabas by a ſtratagem, and having confined him in the caſtle of Trevio until his death, which happened in 1395, annexed his dominions to his own, and became by this union the greateſt and moſt powerful prince in Italy. Maſtino, ſon of Barnabas, took ſhelter, upon his father's impriſonment, with Hartman, biſhop of Coire, and died in exile, without recovering any ſhare of his inheritance. Previous to his death he formally ceded all his right and title over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the biſhop of Coire, as a mark of gratitude for his protection.

To this ceſſion, at that time of no avail, the Griſons owe the poſſeſſion of theſe provinces. The claim lay dormant for above half a century, until ſome diſcontents ariſing in the Valteline in 1487, the Griſons made an irruption into that country, in ſupport of the biſhop's right; but their arms not being at that time attended with ſucceſs, they purchaſed a peace, by renouncing all pretenſions to the Valteline. They renewed, however, their claim in 1512, when Ludovico, called the Moor, Duke of Milan, was taken priſoner by Louis the Twelfth, and the whole Milaneſe, comprizing the Valteline, occupied by that monarch.

Upon this revolution, the Griſons, in conjunction with the biſhop of Coire, entered the Valteline, and, having expelled the French troops, took poſſeſſion of the country: they were received with joy by the inhabitants, who did homage to their new ſovereigns, and in return obtained from them the confirmation of all their privileges. A compromiſe was immediately entered

tered into between the biſhop of Coire and the three leagues, to ſhare between them the ſovereignty of this country. In the following year Maximilian Sforza, raiſed to the ducal throne of Milan upon the expulſion of the French, ceded in perpetuity the poſſeſſion of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the biſhop of Coire, and the Griſons: and this ceſſion was ratified by Francis the Firſt, in the treaty of peace which he concluded with the Swiſs and their allies the Griſons in 1516, when he obtained poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe.

In 1530, the Republic of the Griſons acquired the whole dominion of the Valteline, to the excluſion of the biſhop of Coire; under pretence, that the latter had not furniſhed his quota of men and money in the war with James of Medici, in defence of theſe ceded countries: accordingly they compelled the biſhop to ſell his ſhare of the ſovereignty over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, for a yearly income of 573 florins to be paid to the biſhop and his ſucceſſors out of the cuſtoms of the Chiavenna. From that period, theſe provinces were poſſeſſed by the Griſons without moleſtation, until the rival intereſts of France and Spain, the intrigues of the pope, religious enthuſiaſm, the zeal of party, and the exactions of the Griſon governors, kindled an inſurrection, which commenced with a general maſſacre of the Proteſtants, and raged for a ſeries of years with the moſt ſavage and unremitting fury.

In no country has the ſpirit of diſcord been more prevalent, or religious diſputes been carried to ſo great an height. The zeal of contending factions has communicated itſelf to the

hiſtorians of theſe tranſactions; each of whom is evidently enliſted in a party, and gives different repreſentations of the ſame facts, according to the intereſts he has eſpouſed. Under theſe diſadvantages, I found no other method of arriving at the truth, than by comparing contradictory accounts, and rendering them mutually ſubſervient to the detection of each other's impoſition; and I am concerned to find, that on both ſides religion has been pleaded as a ſanction to the moſt atrocious actions, and been alledged by one party as an excuſe for tyranny, and for rebellion by the other.

As the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, originally belonged to the Milaneſe, the ſovereigns of that dutchy always looked upon the Griſons with a jealous eye, and ſecretly embraced every opportunity to foment the inteſtine diſturbances with which they, in common with all democratical ſtates, are occaſionally convulſed.

Upon the extinction of the family of Sforza, in the perſon of Francis the Second, the emperor Charles the Fifth ſeized the Milaneſe as a fief reverting to the empire, and diſregarding the claims of the French king, gave the inveſtiture to his own ſon Philip. With the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, Philip ſucceeded to his pretenſions upon the Valteline; and although both he and his ſucceſſor, Philip the Third, entered into treaties of alliance with the three leagues, by which they reſigned all claims to this country, yet their renunciation was never ſincere. They never finally relinquiſhed all intention of recovering a province which had been once diſmembered from the Milaneſe, and which the conteſts between

between France and Spain rendered more valuable to them, than to their predeceſſors in the dutchy of Milan.

During the conſtant wars, which from the acceſſion of Philip the Second the reſtleſs ambition of the Spaniſh court entailed upon Europe, the German and Spaniſh branches of the Houſe of Auſtria were inſeparably united; and the councils of Vienna were directed by the cabinet of Madrid. Under theſe circumſtances the Valteline, which, by connecting the Tyrol and the Milaneſe, afforded the only ſecure paſſage for the junction of the Auſtrian and Spaniſh troops, became of ſignal importance. Hence the Spaniſh governors of Milan, highly ſolicitous to acquire influence among the people, ſecretly fomented the ſpirit of diſſatisfaction, which the conduct of the Griſon governors had too juſtly provoked; promiſed their aſſiſtance to the aggrieved inhabitants, and gained by theſe means a powerful party in favour of their court. The minds of the inhabitants being thus gradually won over to the Spaniſh intereſt, the Count of Fuentes, governor of Milan, ventured, in defiance of the Griſons, to conſtruct the fort * which bears his name, for the purpoſe of commanding the paſſage of the Valteline.

The ſame reaſons which rendered the Spaniſh deſirous to ſecure the Valteline, induced the French to obſtruct their deſigns. Henry the Fourth, with his uſual vigour, zealouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Griſons, and was preparing to ſend effectual aſſiſtance againſt the at-

* See Letter 67.

tempts of Fuentes, when he was cut off by ſudden aſſaſſination; and the inteſtine troubles, which took place upon his death, for a time totally withdrew the attention of France from this quarter. The Spaniards, thus freed from their moſt formidable rival, purſued their projects upon the Valteline without oppoſition, and availed themſelves of the domeſtic diſſentions between the Griſons and the inhabitants.

The Griſons had long attempted to introduce the Reformation into the Valteline with the moſt injudicious zeal, and without paying ſufficient attention to the prejudices of a ſuperſtitious people. Churches for the worſhip of the Reformed religion were conſtructed, and miniſters regularly ſettled with a permanent ſalary. Schools for Proteſtant children were eſtabliſhed at Sondrio, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Romiſh prieſts, and the oppoſition of the people. Many privileges of the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics were taken from them; privileges *, which, though exorbitant, and repugnant to every principle of ſound government, were ſanctified by uſage, and could not at once be aboliſhed without exciting general diſcontent.

To theſe religious grounds of diſſatisfaction were added others, ariſing from the tyrannical proceedings of the Griſon governors, whom the advocates for rebellion painted, and it is to be feared with too much juſtice, in the moſt odious colours. "A ſyſtem," they cried, "of avarice and extortion is eſtabliſhed by law; the magiſtrates

* They were (as they are at preſent) independent of the civil authority for all delinquencies, and amenable only to the biſhop of Coire.

ſtrates purchaſe their offices, and indemnify themſelves by the plunder of the country. All things are venal; life, honour, and even conſcience itſelf has a price. It is not poſſible for the governors to be more iniquitous, nor for the people to ſuffer a greater complication of calamity."

Theſe well-grounded complaints were aggravated, and the criſis of rebellion accelerated by an act of flagrant injuſtice. Many inhabitants of the Valteline, ſuſpected of favouring the Spaniſh court, and particularly thoſe, who had oppoſed with the greateſt zeal the introduction of the Reformed doctrines, were arreſted, and conveyed into the country of the Griſons. Mock courts of juſtice were eſtabliſhed in ſeveral places, by which the priſoners were fined to a large amount; and ſome were even wantonly ſentenced to the torture.

Among the ſufferers was Nicholas Ruſca, a prieſt of Sondrio, who had gained the univerſal eſteem of the Catholics, by his unremitted reſiſtance to the Proteſtant doctrines, and who, for the rigid auſterity of his manners, was revered by the multitude as a ſaint. The death * of this perſon ſo much reſpected, amidſt the moſt excruciating torments, raiſed a ſpirit of fury among the people too violent to be appeaſed. The emiſſaries of Spain did not fail to increaſe the general ferment, and to ſuggeſt the moſt plauſible motives for immediate inſurrection. They repreſented, that, as the Griſons were convulſed by factions, and France diſturbed by

* See Letter 79.

inteſtine commotions, a moſt favourable opportunity preſented itſelf to ſhake off the yoke under which they groaned: animated by theſe ſuggeſtions, the inhabitants determined to commence hoſtilities by a general maſſacre of the Proteſtants.

The 20th of July, 1620, was the day appointed for the perpetration of this horrid deſign. At dead of night Robuſtelli, the leader of the conſpiracy, accompanied by about a hundred followers, arrived at Tirano, and having aſſembled the chief Catholics of the place, laid before them the intention of extirpating the Proteſtants: the dreadful propoſal was embraced with all the zéal of reſentment, inflamed by fanaticiſm. At break of day the ſignal for the maſſacre being given by ringing the bells; great part of the inhabitants iſſued from their houſes, and repaired to the market-place with terror and anxiety. In this moment of perplexity the conſpirators fell upon the Proteſtants, and encouraged the people to follow their example, by deſtroying the enemies of the Catholic faith. Few words being neceſſary to exaſperate an incenſed and ſuperſtitious multitude; every perſon ſeizing the firſt arms which preſented themſelves, ſcoured the ſtreets, ſtormed the houſes, and aſſaſſinated the Proteſtants.

During this dreadful ſcene, the podeſta, his family, and ſome of the principal Proteſtants took refuge in the town-houſe, and barricadoed the doors: the Catholics, however, ſoon forced a paſſage, and burſt into the apartments where the fugitives were collected. Their fury was for a moment ſuſpended, at the affecting ſight of the podeſta and his wife upon their knees, preſenting their

their infant children with uplifted arms. But ſuch was the implacable barbarity of the enraged multitude, who demanded with repeated inſtances the death of the podeſta and his family, that this ſhort reſpite was of no avail, and only ſerved to embitter their fate: they were firſt impriſoned, and then put to death, without diſtinction of ſex or age.

The next ſcene of the maſſacre was exhibited at Teglio, whither ſome of the conſpirators were diſpatched from Tirano: they were dreſſed in red, as a ſignal to the inhabitants that the riſing at Tirano had ſucceeded. The Catholics ſoon collected themſelves into a body, and repaired to the church, where the Proteſtants were aſſembled for the celebration of divine ſervice. One of them levelled his piece againſt the miniſter, who was preaching; but miſſing his aim, the Proteſtants roſe up, drove out the Catholics, and barricadoed the doors. The aſſaſſins then climbed up to the windows, and ſhot from the outſide upon the crowded audience; the doors at length being burſt open, all the Proteſtants were put to the ſword, excepting thoſe who renounced their religion.

Another party of Catholics made their way towards Sondrio, where the governor of the Valteline reſided. That magiſtrate, being apprized of their deſign, ordered the inhabitants to take arms, and ſummoned the people of the neighbouring diſtrict to his aſſiſtance: in obedience to this injunction, both Proteſtants and Catholics began to aſſemble, but the former were intercepted, and deſtroyed. Some attempting to eſcape towards Engadina and Pregalia, were overtaken in their flight, and involved in the

the common ruin. Even the women laid aſide the natural ſoftneſs of their ſex, and, hardened by ſuperſtition, practiſed every ſpecies of outrage upon the bodies of the deceaſed. Mean while the Catholic troops entered Sondrio, and exciting their partiſans with the cry of "*down with the enemies of the Catholic faith*," made a general ſlaughter of the unhappy Proteſtants. Mercy, however, was extended to the governor and his family, in a manner which does honour to the chiefs of the revolt who conducted the attack of Sondrio. He was firſt impriſoned, but afterwards, in conſideration that he had always treated the Catholics with mildneſs, was diſmiſſed with his family, and eſcorted in ſafety to the confines of the Valteline.

It would be ſhocking to humanity to enumerate any further particulars of this ſavage maſſacre, or to trace its devaſtation in the ſeveral towns of the Valteline. It continued, without intermiſſion, for three ſucceſſive days; nor were its horrid effects confined merely to thoſe who were aſſaſſinated upon the ſpot. Many who had eſcaped into the country were hunted down like wild beaſts; others, after eluding the fury of their purſuers, were conſumed by hunger and fatigue; and numerous dead bodies were diſcovered in the woods, caverns, and torrents. Several Catholics, who were allied to the Proteſtants, ſhared in the general diſaſter; even women and infants were ſlain in the moſt deliberate manner. Some Proteſtants ſaved their lives by abjuring their religion, and many, who refuſed to purchaſe their ſafety by this conceſſion, were burnt alive.

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In the midſt of this dreadful carnage, one inſtance of ſingular humanity deſerves to be recorded. Bartholemeo Peretti, the principal Catholic at Berbeno, being exhorted to put all the Proteſtants of that town to death, apprized them of their danger, and aſſiſted them in effecting an eſcape. But this act of clemency was the occaſion of his own deſtruction, and he was executed as an enemy to religion.

All the Proteſtants being either deſtroyed or driven out of the country, the remaining inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the Griſons, and framing a new form of government, threw themſelves under the protection of the king of Spain, who ſent an army to their ſupport.

The people of Bormio followed the example of the Valteline, with this difference, that they did not maſſacre, but only expelled the Proteſtants. Having entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the inhabitants of this valley, they alſo erected themſelves into an independent commonwealth.

The Griſons, divided among themſelves, were totally unequal to the chaſtiſement of their revolted ſubjects. The Catholics were deſirous of employing the mediation of Spain, for the purpoſe of recovering the Valteline; the Proteſtants, inclined to vigorous meaſures, propoſed an application to the Swiſs cantons, Venice, and France. After violent diſſentions, which were not terminated without bloodſhed, the Proteſtant intereſt prevailed, and a deputation was ſent to the powers above-mentioned.

Zuric and Berne inſtantly diſpatched a body of troops, while the Catholic cantons refuſed to

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act againſt thoſe of the ſame perſuaſion with themſelves. Venice, alarmed at the growing power of the Houſe of Auſtria, and deſirous of a paſſage through the Valteline, gave a flattering anſwer to the requeſt of the Griſons, but, with a ſpirit of delay natural to a republic, deferred ſending any actual ſuccour. France too, having juſt emerged from a civil war, was more diſpoſed to negociate than to act with deciſion. Baſſompiere was diſpatched to Madrid to ſolicit the reſtitution of the Valteline; and although a league was concluded between the king of France, the duke of Savoy, and the Republic of Venice, to aſſiſt the Griſons unleſs the Valteline was reſtored; yet all that could be obtained from the Spaniards was, that the forts of the valley ſhould be placed in the hands of the pope: but as the pope was a ſecret partiſan of the Houſe of Auſtria, and inclined to favour the rebellion of the Valteline, it was evident that he would reſtore the forts to the Spaniards upon the firſt opportunity. In this interval the united troops of the Griſons, Zuric, and Berne, being defeated with great ſlaughter; the Valteline ſeemed upon the point of being for ever diſmembered from the Griſons, when the French court ſuddenly changing its plan of operation, entered into the war with a zeal as ſincere as it was politic, and vigorouſly interpoſed in behalf of the Griſons.

This revolution in the French politics was owing to the aſcendancy of cardinal Richelieu, who no ſooner began to preſide in the cabinet, than the kingdom ſeemed to awake from that deep lethargy, into which it had ſunk during the feeble adminiſtrations of Ancres and Luynes. That

That great miniſter inſtantly perceived the importance of the Valteline; without waſting a moment in deliberation, he demanded an immediate reſtitution of that country, and enforced this demand by ſending a detachment of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Griſons, under the command of the marquis de Couvres.

The general, animated with the ſpirit of the new miniſter, penetrated into theſe parts; joined his army to the Swiſs and Griſons, and in two campaigns drove the Spaniards from the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio. The two latter provinces were immediately reſtored; but when the Griſon deputies repaired to the French general at Sondrio, to demand the ceſſion of the Valteline, Couvres propoſed, that the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion ſhould be aboliſhed throughout the valley; that the inhabitants ſhould appoint their own magiſtrates, and pay a yearly tribute of 20,000 crowns; and he ſhewed himſelf ſo ſtrongly inclined to circumſcribe the authority of the Griſons over the inhabitants of the Valteline, that he was ſuſpected of being bribed by the latter. But it ſoon appeared, that this conduct was occaſioned by directions from his court, and proceeded from a reconciliation, which, unknown to the Griſons, had taken place between the kings of France and Spain.

Richelieu, the ſoul of the French monarchy, having now brought to maturity his project for ſubjugating the Hugonots, was too great a politician to be embarraſſed with a foreign war at the eve of a civil commotion; and well aware that he could not maintain poſſeſſion of the Valteline without an expence of troops, which he could ill ſpare, temporized for the moment, and made

made overtures to Philip the Fourth. The latter, harraſſed by the long continuance of hoſtilities, ſeemed equally deſirous of an accommodation: accordingly preliminaries of a new treaty were immediately adjuſted by the contracting powers, at Moſſon in Arragon. It was agreed, that the Valteline ſhould again be reſtored to the Griſons under the following conditions: that no other religion but the Roman Catholic ſhould be tolerated; that the inhabitants ſhould elect their own governors and magiſtrates either from themſelves or from the Griſons, but always from perſons of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion: that the governors ſhould be confirmed by the Griſons. In return for theſe privileges, it was ſtipulated that the inhabitants ſhould pay an annual tribute, the amount of which was to be ſettled by mediation. In conſequence of this treaty, concluded on the 5th of March, 1626, the French reſigned the forts of the Valteline into the hands of the pope, and evacuated the country.

In conformity to this alliance, the inhabitants having elected Robuſtelli, who began the maſſacre, for their governor, and appointed twelve magiſtrates, ſent a deputation to Coire to demand the confirmation of the Griſons. The latter, however, were by no means diſpoſed to accede to a treaty ſo deſtructive to the rights of ſovereignty, which they poſſeſſed over the Valteline. Openly excited by the Republic of Venice, and ſecretly encouraged by the French miniſter, they refuſed to acknowledge the treaty of Moſſon. But as they were not in a ſtate to ſupport their claims upon the Valteline by force of arms,

arms, they could only remonſtrate and negociate, without producing any immediate effect.

Affairs continued in this ſtate for three years; until Richelieu, having completed the reduction of the Hugonots by the taking of Rochelle, found himſelf in a ſituation to turn the whole force of France againſt the Houſe of Auſtria; the diminution of whoſe power he had long meditated. He now threw off the maſk: the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria were invaded on all ſides, and every part of Europe became the theatre of his vaſt deſigns. Among other enterprizes, the Valteline engaged no inconſiderable ſhare of his attention. The duke of Rohan was diſpatched to the Griſons with a formidable army, and having worſted the Spaniſh troops in various encounters, diſpoſſeſſed them of the Valteline.

Upon this deciſive ſucceſs, the French abated much of their ſolicitude for the intereſts of the Griſons; and although they began the war with a poſitive demand of an unconditional reſtitution of the Valteline, yet they were no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the country, than they again profeſſed, as on the former conqueſt, a great tenderneſs for the privileges of the inhabitants. They refuſed to ſurrender their acquiſition to the Griſons, unleſs upon terms more favourable to the people than had been offered even by the treaty of Moſſon.

The Griſons, having no proſpect of aſſiſtance from any other quarter, found themſelves under a neceſſity of acceding to theſe humiliating ſtipulations. The French, with a view probably of retaining the Valteline in their own hands, continued to delay its reſtitution, and clogged every ſubſequent

ſubſequent negociation for that purpoſe, with conditions ſtill more unfavourable.

The Spaniards, artfully availing themſelves of theſe circumſtances, held out to the Griſons the moſt flattering overtures of accommodation. The latter, encouraged by theſe well-timed offers, and incenſed at the repeated inſtances of duplicity they had lately experienced, roſe up in arms, and drove the French from the Valteline. The treaty of Milan was the conſequence of this revolution; a cloſe alliance was concluded between the Spaniards and the Griſons; and the Valteline was reſtored to the latter under the guarantee of that very power, which had originally excited the inhabitants to revolt.

This treaty, contracted in the year 1635, ſecured to the Spaniards the paſſage of the valley, which had been the great object of the war, and reſtored the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Griſons, under the following articles: An act of oblivion; the immunities of the ſubject countries to be confirmed as they exiſted before the revolution of 1620; no other religion but the Catholic to be tolerated therein; no perſon of any other perſuaſion to be permitted to reſide, excepting the governors, during the two years they ſhould continue in office, and the Proteſtants poſſeſſed of lands, who ſhould not be allowed to remain in the country above three months in the year; the privileges of the eccleſiaſtics to be reſtored in their full latitude.

A few alterations were made in the government of the Valley, and ſome regulations introduced, for the purpoſe of ſtemming the torrent of injuſtice and corruption, that prevailed in the courts of juſtice before the revolution: they conſiſted

ſiſted chiefly in a new method of nominating the governors, and in the creation of the office of aſſeſſor. The articles are guarantied by Spain, and inſerted in the capitulation, or treaty, ratified in 1639, at Milan, in the preſence of the deputies from the Valteline.

The deputies reproached the Spaniards, for having ſummoned them to Milan, in order to be preſent, in ſilence and with tears, at the ſubverſion of their liberty; and when the treaty was announced to the inhabitants of the Valteline, a general deſpair ſpread itſelf through all ranks. The people univerſally lamented that they had been deluded into a revolt under a promiſe of protection; that they had expended, during this fatal war, above twenty-five millions of florins*, for no other purpoſe than to procure an alliance between Spain and the Griſons, and to be reſtored to their original maſters, exaſperated by their revolt, and preparing to renew the former acts of injuſtice and tyranny which had driven them to rebellion. Nor were theſe murmurs ill-grounded; for, except the total excluſion of the Proteſtant religion, no material alteration was made in the fate of this valley.

Since this treaty the laws have been no leſs perverted than before, the exactions of the governors have continued as exorbitant, and the courts of juſtice as iniquitous and corrupt. The change in the adminiſtration of juſtice has proved no alleviation; the creation of the aſſeſſor's office ſerved only to give the ſanction of law to the moſt iniquitous proceedings, or to vary the mode of oppreſſion. This innovation has been more-

* Near £ 2,000,000 ſterling.

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over attended with this bad effect to the bulk of the inhabitants, that whereas, before the rebellion, the nobles were principally ſubject to the rapacity of the Griſon judges; ſince the pacification, the people have become more expoſed to exactions.

I have thus brought down the hiſtory of the Valteline to the pacification of 1637. Since that period no material change has taken place in the ſituation of affairs. The ſovereigns of Milan have always cultivated the friendſhip of the Griſons; and the inhabitants of this valley, having no power to reſort to for protection, have endured a regular courſe of oppreſſion under the government of a free ſtate.

LETTER

LETTER 75.

Government of the Valteline.

THE geographical diviſion of the Valteline is into three principal diſtricts, and the political into five governments.

The three diſtricts are, 1. *Terzero di Sora*, or the Upper Diſtrict. 2. *Terzero di Mezzo*, or the Middle Diſtrict. 3. *Terzero di Sotto*, or the Lower Diſtrict.

The five governments are, 1. of the Upper Diſtrict. 2. Of the Middle Diſtrict, called alſo the Government of Sondrio. 3. Of Teglio. 4. Of Morbegno. 5. Of Traona.

Each of theſe five governments is ſubject to a magiſtrate appointed by the Griſons, who is changed every two years. The magiſtrate over the Middle Diſtrict is called *governor* of the Valteline, and poſſeſſes in ſome reſpect a ſuperior degree of authority to the others, who are ſtyled *podeſtas*. He is alſo captain general of the Valteline.

But before I proceed to explain the form of government, it may be neceſſary to lay before you the method of electing the governor and podeſtas, to whom the Griſons delegate their authority over the Valteline.

In the year 1602, the venality and injuſtice of theſe magiſtrates had ariſen to ſuch an exceſſive height, that ſome remedy ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary. The cauſe of this injuſtice was evidently derived from the public ſale of the governments, and the ſhare of the fines for criminal offences, which were partly appropriated to the Griſons, and partly to the governors *. In order to prevent corruption in the diſtribution of the offices, and exaction in the governors, two important changes were made. Inſtead of one perſon being appointed to fill the vacant office, four candidates were nominated by the community, to whom the turn of election belonged, and theſe four drew lots for the charge. But this alteration would have been attended with few beneficial effects, if it had not been followed by another, namely, that the ſtipend of the governors ſhould be tripled, and that they ſhould have no ſhare in the fines: yet theſe ſalutary regulations, as they prevented the Griſons from ſelling the governments at ſo high a price, were a few years afterwards aboliſhed by the diet. In order, however, to preſerve ſome appearances of impartiality in the choice of the magiſtrates; it

* It is neceſſary to appriſe the reader, that when I uſe the word *governor* ſimply, I apply it indiſcriminately to the governor of the Valteline and the four podeſtas.

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was ſtipulated in the treaty of Milan, that three candidates ſhould be nominated by the community to whom the election belongs, and that one of theſe ſhould be appointed by the diet. Yet this mode is a mere formality: three are always preſented; but the diet never fails to nominate the perſon recommended by the community. Theſe magiſtracies are allowed to be openly purchaſed: in general, part of the money is aſſigned to the public fund of the community, and the remainder is diſtributed among the body of the people, in whom the right of election is veſted, and whoſe votes are ſeldom obtained without additional bribes. It will eaſily be imagined what a dreadful ſcene of * corruption is opened by this mode of proceeding; and how

* All authors, both natives and foreigners, who have written upon the Griſons, have not failed to enumerate the ill effects reſulting from this ſale of governments, which is authoriſed by law; but none have expreſſed their diſapprobation in ſtronger terms than Fortunatus Juvalta, in the following paſſage, from a manuſcript account of the Griſons:

Qui ad honores et præſertim ad quæſtuoſas illas præfecturas aſpirabant, non aliter quam ambitu et largitionibus voti compotes fierent. Omnia enim venalia proſtabant, non ſecus ac alia merces.

Neque vero privati tantum homines mercimonia illa exercebant, ſed communitates integræ etiam cauponabantur, neque erubeſcant præfecturam communitatis cum legationibus ad dietas ſeu conventus publicos, quarum in ipſorum manu erat electio, cum officiis ad ſubditos et aliis emolumentis communitati provenientibus, conſilio publico, ſolenniter, conſtituto pretio in multos annos vendere, et ne quid ambigi poſſet, publicis tabulis perſcriptis conſignare. Indignæ prorſus aureâ libertate, utpote quæ illam tam turpiter et ſcelerate profanarent ac proſtituerent. Emtores iſti emebant, ut carius venderent, ideoque ubi ſpes aliqua lucri affulgebat, mercès ſuas venales exponebant, et plus offerentibus addicebant.

frequently perſons are appointed to the governments, who are totally inadequate to the diſcharge of their truſt.

Theſe magiſtrates, as repreſentatives of the ſovereign ſtate, enjoy the ſupreme authority, and are entruſted with the power of life and death; and if they are apparently controlled by the laws, they deviſe means to evade them. But their authority will be beſt underſtood from a detail of the civil and criminal courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed in this country.

The criminal tribunal is compoſed of the governor, vicar, and aſſeſſor.

The governor arreſts, impriſons, and examines the delinquent: though, according to the letter of the law, no examination ought to be made but in the preſence of the vicar and aſſeſſor. The criminal being convicted, and the ſentence paſſed, the governor enjoys the power of remitting or diminiſhing the puniſhment, excepting in caſes of high treaſon, premeditated murder, or ſuch enormous crimes. He has a ſmall annual ſtipend paid by the Valteline, but the chief part of his income is derived from the fines for criminal offences, of which he receives two-thirds. In all trials he is bound to follow the penal ſtatutes, which are drawn up with great preciſion and clearneſs.

The vicar is always a Griſon: he is choſen by rotation from the ſeveral communities, in the following manner: Three candidates are preſented to the inhabitants of the Valteline, who appoint one of them to the vacant office. This mode was adopted in the treaty of 1639, in order to check corruption, but it has not been attended with the deſired effect. The community, in whoſe turn it is to elect the three candidates, leaves

leaves to the perſon who has purchaſed the office the power of nominating his two aſſociates; and the diet in delivering in the three names, recommends the perſon who had been previouſly deſigned by the community, and this recommendation is always accepted by the Valteline. The vicar ought to attend in perſon all trials when the governor examines the priſoners; but this cuſtom is now fallen into diſuſe, and in lieu of his attendance, he receives an annual ſum of 1127 Griſon florins, about 83*l.* from the governor of the Valteline and each of the four podeſtas: a ſhameful eluſion, as the vicar was deſigned to be a kind of counſel in favour of the priſoner, and to prevent injuſtice in the mode of examination. When the priſoner is convicted, an account of the proceſs is laid before the vicar, who muſt confirm the ſentence. Torture, for the purpoſe of forcing confeſſion, cannot be inflicted without his conſent, and in his preſence, which is never diſpenſed with. Beſides a ſmall ſalary, and the above-mentioned annual ſum of 1127 florins, as a premium for not attending at the trials, he has a ſtated allowance, as well for every conſultation, as for every time that he is is preſent at the infliction of torture.

The aſſeſſor muſt be an inhabitant of the Valteline: he is nominated by the vicar from three candidates, choſen reciprocally from each of the three Terzeros. His vote is neceſſary to concur with the vicar in ordering torture: he muſt alſo attend when it is applied, and muſt confirm the ſentence paſſed againſt the convicted perſons. He has no regular ſalary, but his profits depend upon the number of proceſſes in which he is conſulted. This is the only office which gives to

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the inhabitants of the Valteline any ſhare in the criminal juriſprudence.

The aſſeſſor, according to the original intention of the ſtatutes, ought to be a perſon well verſed in the laws of the country, and ſhould be conſidered as an advocate for the accuſed; but as he is obliged to the vicar for his nomination *, he is commonly his creature, and ſeldom gives his vote in oppoſition to him. Nor indeed is it yet a decided point, whether the concurrence of the aſſeſſor is abſolutely neceſſary for paſſing a definitive ſentence. The caſe is without precedent, but was once very near being broght to a deciſion. The aſſeſſor differed from the opinion of the governor and vicar, and refuſed to give his concurrence for the conviction and puniſhment of a criminal. In this dilemma the affair was referred ſucceſſively to the two other candidates for the aſſeſſorſhip, who had been preſented to the vicar for his nomination. Notwithſtanding they agreed with the aſſeſſor, it was ſtill diſputed whether the aſſeſſor, as a ſervant of the vicar, could act in direct oppoſition to his opinion, and prevail againſt him. The caſe was ſo extraordinary, that it was propoſed to appeal to the diet; but ſome of the chief nobles of the Valteline, concluding, that the Griſons would decide in favour of their own repreſentatives, induced the vicar to drop the appeal; and the affair was compromiſed without coming to a deciſion.

* Uſually the aſſeſſor either pays the vicar for his appointment, or elſe delivers him all his regular fees of office.

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Such is the general theory of the criminal juriſprudence in this country, by which it appears that the power of the governor is limited as well by the ſtrict letter of the law, as by the interference of the vicar and aſſeſſor, whoſe concurrence is neceſſary for paſſing a final ſentence. But this limitation exiſts only in theory; for the laws are eaſily eluded, and even made ſubſervient to the conviction of the innocent as well as the guilty. The vicar and aſſeſſor, be they ever ſo upright, can hardly prevent the oppreſſion of the judges; and if they are themſelves rapacious, they receive their ſhare of the plunder, by conniving at the governor's injuſtice.

As I have gained ſome inſight into the practice of the courts of juſtice, I ſhall lay before you the general mode of proceeding, from arreſting the criminal to his final ſentence, interſperſing the account with occaſional remarks, which will ſerve to ſhew the abuſes introduced into the adminiſtration of juſtice.

The governor ſends out the order of arreſt, and commits the criminal to priſon. He detains him in confinement as long as he pleaſes, delaying or haſtening the inquiry as he thinks fit. The examination is ſecret, no one being preſent but the governor, or his ſubſtitute, and the notary, who writes down the proceſs. It muſt be evident to all, with how much eaſe perſons verſed in the arts of chicanery can brow-beat the ignorant, and perplex the priſoners, who are allowed no counſel. If the criminal is found guilty, whatever is his crime, he may make a compoſition with the governor, before the caſe is referred to the vicar; or, in other words, as the examination is ſecret, the governor can dreſs out the

proceſs

proceſs in the moſt favourable manner, and may give what explanation to the affair he pleaſes.

If no compoſition is made, the caſe is laid before the vicar and the aſſeſſor, who are obliged to give their vote according to the letter of the law; and as the ſtatutes are very ſevere, the penalties are either heavy fines or corporal puniſhment. In the former circumſtance, the governor receives two-thirds of the fine; and, as in the latter, he has the power of remitting the puniſhment, excepting for the moſt atrocious crimes, he generally accepts a commutation in money, if the priſoner is able to pay it. By theſe means moſt offences may be eaſily compounded for; a circumſtance which empowers the rich to commit crimes with impunity. It is, however, a matter of little conſequence to the governor whether the priſoner is rich or poor: in the firſt inſtance he may receive a compoſition from the priſoner himſelf, in the latter from the pariſh. For, in caſe the puniſhment for the crime is corporal, the expences attending it are conſiderable, as the executioner of Coire muſt inflict it; for which reaſon the governor generally remits the penalty, and receives from the pariſh a compoſition in money ſomewhat leſs than the expences of inflicting corporal puniſhment would have been attended with.

We may add to the liſt of grievances abovementioned, the power poſſeſſed by the magiſtrates of delegating their authority without reſiding in the government. If the delegate is a Griſon, he is called *Aſſiſtente*, if an inhabitant of the Valteline, *Tenente*. He either purchaſes the fines and

and perquiſites upon a calculation of their average value, or is reſponſible for them to the governor. In ſome places the delegation is almoſt always bought by the ſame perſon, who reſides upon the ſpot, and becomes as it were a perpetual judge. In others a ſociety of perſons join to purchaſe the profits of the magiſtracy; they appoint the nominal delegate, and ſecretly direct the proceſſes. Such a delegation may be called a ſettled tyranny, and according to the expreſſion of an elegant author *, "*eſtabliſhes a wholeſale traffic between criminals and courts of juſtice.*"

From this general view of the criminal juriſprudence of the Valteline, we may readily infer the wretched ſituation of the inhabitants; where the ſupreme magiſtrate purchaſes a temporary office at an exorbitant price, and has an inadequate ſalary; where the principal profits of his charge ariſe from the fines for criminal offences, and where it is his intereſt to arraign and to convict; and where he is himſelf the interpreter of the laws, of which he is commonly ignorant, the accuſer of the party and the judge.

I have already mentioned the power which the governor enjoys of pardoning all offences except the moſt atrocious crimes. A pardon of this ſort is called *liberatione*; and there are printed papers that contain its form, in which blank ſpaces are left for the name of the perſon, for the crime committed, for the date, and for the ſignature of the judge. I encloſe a copy

* Eden's Principles of Penal Law, p. 61.

of

of a liberation *: it brings to my recollection thoſe acts of indulgence, which the Catholics obtain from Rome for the abſolution of their ſins; with this difference, that the latter refers to a future ſtate, the former to this life.

The price of theſe pardons varies according to the magnitude of the crime, the condition of the perſon who committed it, and more particularly the time in which it is granted; for the

* The following is the form of a liberation:

Podeſtà Regente della Giuriſdizione di Tirano, e ſue Pertinenze, &c. Giudice dé Malefici con Mero, e Miſto Impero, e con autorità di Spada, &c.

Per tenor della preſente, ed in ogni altro miglior modo, &c. abbiamo liberato ed aſſolto, ſiccome liberiamo ed aſſolviamo, libero ed aſſolto eſſere vogliamo, e dichiariamo, che ſia.

Here the name of the perſon is inſerted.

da ogni, e qualſifia pena pecuniaria, arbitraria, o afflittiva del Corpo, nella quale ſia incorſo, o abbia potuto incorrere per avere.

Here the crime is mentioned.

Item. Da ogni altra coſa anneſſa, commeſſa; incidente; riſultante; emergente, e dipendente dalle premeſſe, &c. Però caſſando, &c. annullando, &c commandando, &c. imponendo, &c. reſtituendo, &c. ſupplendo, &c. Eſſendo Noi alla ſuddetta Liberazione divenuti atteſa l'Autorità, con cui, &c. ed atteſa una tenue compoſizione con Noi, in nome ancora dell' E. C. D. fatta, e pagataci.

Dat. in Tirano dal Pretorio queſto giorno anno

ſum

ſum is greater when a governor firſt enters upon his office, than when he is retiring from it.

Sometimes, during the laſt two or three hours previous to the expiration of the office, pardons may be procured at the loweſt rate; and I was aſſured from very good authority, that a liberation for homicide has not unfrequently been obtained for about four pence.

Do not ſuppoſe that this account of the venality which reigns throughout the Valteline is heightened, for I have taken great pains to aſcertain the truth, and it has been confirmed to me by perſons of all ranks, both in the Griſon and ſubject countries.

Nor will you be led to imagine that all the governors are equally rapacious and unjuſt. Like the Roman proconſuls, ſome carry their rapine to the height, others are leſs exacting, and a few are free even from the moſt diſtant imputation of injuſtice.

The civil courts of juſtice remain to be conſidered.

Although the governor preſides in theſe courts and paſſes ſentence, yet by a ſingular privilege the cauſe is not always left to his abſolute deciſion. He examines the witneſſes, and makes out the proceſs; but, at the requeſt of either party, the cauſe may be referred to an arbitrator, who is called *Savio*. He is either nominated by the plaintiff and defendant; or, if they cannot agree, is choſen by lot in the following manner. The plaintiff and defendant appoint each ſix perſons; from the ſix appointed by the defendant the plaintiff ſelects one; the defendant nominates one of the ſix choſen by the plaintiff; and theſe

two

two perſons draw lots who ſhall be arbitrator. He then examines the acts of the proceſs, gives his opinion, which is called in the ſtatutes of the country *Il Conſiglio del Savio*, and the governor is bound to ſubmit to his deciſion. The obligation of the governor to follow the opinion of the arbitrator is ſo ſtrong, that according to the ſtatutes, if he refuſes to paſs ſentence, the opinion of the Savio is *ipſo facto* a deciſion.

From this deciſion there lies an appeal to two arbitrators called *Probi*, who are appointed by the parties in the manner abovementioned: ſhould they diſagree, then the two parties amicably nominate a counſellor, who accedes to one of the Probi; and this ſentence is final, if it concurs with that of the Savio; but otherwiſe, there lies a farther appeal either to the ſyndicate or diet, and ultimately to the ſeveral communities of the three leagues. When the governor decides in the firſt inſtance he receives three *per cent.* of the conteſted property, but only one *per cent.* when recourſe is had to arbitration, the other two *per cent.* being paid to the Savio.

By this ſingular privilege of referring to arbitration in all cauſes of property, the civil courts of juſtice are not open to ſuch corruption as the criminal tribunals; and yet venality has taken ſo deep a root in the affairs of this unhappy country, that bribery finds its way even into the civil tribunals.

When the civil cauſes are brought in the governor's court, and decided by him without the intervention of the Savio and Probi, there lies an appeal to the ſyndicate, a body whoſe office I ſhall now explain.

At

At the end of every two years, when the magiſtracies expire, ſyndicates are appointed by the Republic of the Griſons, for the purpoſe of inquiring into the adminiſtration of the ſeveral governors, and of hearing appeals from their deciſions. This court is compoſed of nine members, including the preſident; they are choſen reciprocally by the communities, three from each league. They make a circuit into each of the ſubject provinces; ſend out proclamations, that they are ready to receive all accuſations againſt the governors, examine witneſſes, decide all appeals, and can mitigate all fines impoſed, without the concurrence of the vicar and aſſeſſor. They do not, however, finally determine in civil cauſes, in the laſt reſort, which may be referred from their deciſion to the diet. The ſyndicate, which was intended to oppoſe corruption and injuſtice, is nevertheleſs the great ſupport of both. Nor can it be otherwiſe; for the ſyndics purchaſe their office from the ſeveral communities; and as their ſalary is very ſmall, they can only reimburſe themſelves by receiving bribes from the judges or from the appellants. Their office is bought for a greater or ſmaller ſum, as there are more or leſs appeals of conſequence to be ſubmitted to their arbitration. And what is pregnant with ſtill greater abuſes, when a cauſe of great importance is to be referred to the ſyndicate, the governors frequently purchaſe from the ſeveral communities, in whoſe right the election is for that time veſted, the power of nominating the ſyndics, and of courſe appoint their own creatures. Hence this court is become ſo corrupt as to give riſe to a proverb, "*as venal as the ſyndicate.*"

Having

Having thus endeavoured to draw a general ſketch of the civil and criminal juriſprudence in this country, I ſhall now mention the domeſtic adminiſtration of affairs.

All public concerns, which do not fall under the juriſdiction of the Griſons, are diſcuſſed and determined by a council compoſed of five repreſentatives, one from each diſtrict, which meets as occaſion requires at Sondrio. Previous to its ſitting, the public notary writes to the ſeveral pariſhes of the five governments, informing them of the buſineſs to be tranſacted: each pariſh has its meeting, in which every houſeholder poſſeſſes a vote; and each diſtrict has its aſſembly compoſed of deputies from the ſeveral pariſhes, who chooſe the repreſentatives. In all affairs of importance, the repreſentatives are bound to vote in conformity to inſtructions received from their conſtituents, and all tranſactions are decided by a majority of voices. The council is empowered to demand a redreſs of grievances from the Griſons, and to remonſtrate againſt infractions of the privileges granted to the inhabitants by the Capitulation of Milan. The governor of the Valteline is preſent, but has no vote.

The tribute which the Valteline pays to the Griſons is ſo ſmall, the ſalaries of the governors ſo inconſiderable, and all duties ſo trifling, that moſt writers, who have had occaſion to mention this valley, have deſcribed it as the moſt happy and the leaſt oppreſſed of all ſubject provinces; without reflecting, that notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the country is annually drained of a ſum very diſproportionate to the ability of the inhabitants.

It

It is difficult to aſcertain the exact amount of this ſum, as it ariſes chiefly from the ſecret as well as public profits of the courts of juſtice. But when we conſider that the greateſt part is procured by extortion; that ſcarcely any diſtinction is made between innocence and guilt; that great crimes are committed with impunity, and petty offences are ſeverely puniſhed; we may add, that the mode of exaction is more detrimental to the country than the loſs of the ſpecie itſelf; inaſmuch as a corrupt adminiſtration of juſtice is the worſt of all oppreſſions.

The clergy of the Valteline are not reſponſible to the ordinary courts of juſtice, their immunities being ſo exorbitant as to render them almoſt independent of the civil authority. They are only amenable to the court of the biſhop of Como. If a prieſt is guilty of any miſdemeanor, his perſon cannot be ſecured without the concurrence of the biſhop, and governor of the diſtrict in which the crime was committed. It is therefore extremely difficult to bring an eccleſiaſtic to juſtice, as impunity is eaſily purchaſed, either by ſecuring the favour of the biſhop's vicar or of the magiſtrate. Nor are theſe pernicious privileges confined merely to the clergy, but extend to all perſons wearing an eccleſiaſtical dreſs, by the permiſſion of the biſhop of Como.

The Griſons have frequently endeavoured to annihilate theſe immunities, but always without effect. The nobles of the Valteline are intereſted to ſupport the privileges of the clergy, becauſe they can eaſily procure the permiſſion of wearing the eccleſiaſtical dreſs, and becauſe they can ſecure their property, by leaving their eſtates to the clergy at the extinction of all the heirs

named

named in the ſucceſſion. Such eſtates, called *beneficia gentilitia*, are very common in the Valteline, and cannot be ſeized for debt, or confiſcated.

All civil cauſes of the clergy, below the value of two hundred livres *, are decided by the vicar of the biſhop of Como: above that ſum they are brought before the biſhop. An appeal from his deciſion lies to the pope's nuncio at Lucern, from him to the eccleſiaſtical tribunal at Aquilea, and from thence to Rome.

* Sixty-four Valteline livres = a pound ſterling.

LETTER

LETTER 76.

Teglio—Sondrio—Anecdotes of the Painter Ligario —Morbegno—Delebio.

INSTEAD of proceeding by the neareſt road from Tirano to Sondrio, I made a circuit by Teglio. I paſſed over the plain of Tirano, rich in all the productions of nature, and continued for ſome way at the foot of the northern ridge of mountains, which are highly cultivated to their very ſummits. Lower towards the South-eaſt, and further towards the north-eaſt, the tops of the rugged Alps make their appearance, gliſtening with ſnow. I paſſed through a continued vineyard, and the ſoil is ſo fertile, that corn, millet, flax, and hemp, are ſown among the vines, which hang over them in beautiful feſtoons. Every village is adorned with a thick grove of cheſnut trees, whoſe rich and dark foliage produces a pleaſing effect.

Teglio, the capital of the government of the ſame name, is ſituated upon the top of a mountain, about nine miles from Tirano, and twelve

from Sondrio. It is a long ſtraggling place, and contains about three hundred houſes. Cloſe to the town are the ruins of a fortreſs ſtanding upon an inſulated rock, and formerly eſteemed of great ſtrength. This elevated ſpot commands a very rich and extenſive proſpect from Tirano to the lower part of the valley beyond Sondrio, as far as Morbegno. The government of Teglio is ſaid to comprize the twelfth part of the Valteline: it is the moſt populous diſtrict, and contains about eight thouſand ſouls. It produces in a good ſeaſon much more corn than is ſufficient for the conſumption of its inhabitants, and rivals Sondrio and Tirano in the goodneſs of its wine.

Finding little at Teglio but the face of the country to excite my curioſity, I proceeded in my journey to Sondrio, through a tract equally cultivated with that which I had already paſſed. I deſcended by a gentle ſlope until I came to the Adda, which I followed, as it roars through the plain, ſometimes confined in a narrow channel, ſometimes expanding itſelf in a wider bed, and threatening the country with continual inundations.

Sondrio is the capital of the valley, the reſidence of the governor of the Valteline and of the vicar; but, like all the towns I have hitherto ſeen in this valley, it has a deſerted appearance: there is little appearance of trade, and no animation. The town, partly built in a plain, and partly upon the ſides of a rock, is placed in a very romantic ſituation, at the extremity of a narrow valley, and occupies both ſides of the Malenco, a furious torrent which frequently overflows its banks. Many of the houſes are very

very antient; for I obſerved the arms of the Viſconti, formerly the ſovereigns of this country, painted upon their walls; theſe arms, repreſenting an enormous ſerpent cruſhing a man between his teeth, are too remarkable to eſcape obſervation.

The Valteline, from its neighbourhood to Italy, has imbibed a taſte for the fine arts, and there are many collections of pictures which are not unworthy of notice. This country, however, has produced few artiſts of any eminence. Pietro Ligario is almoſt the only painter who deſerves to be mentioned, and his name is ſcarcely known beyond the limits of the Valteline.

Ligario was born at Sondrio, in 1686, of the ancient family of Ligario, which took its name from a neighbouring village of that appellation. Having diſcovered a lively genius, and a taſte for the elegant arts, he was ſent when very young to Rome, under the care of Lazaro Baldi, from whom he learnt that exactneſs of deſign which characterizes the Roman ſchool. From thence he repaired to Venice, where he paſſed ſome time in ſtudying that exquiſite colouring, for which the Venetian maſters are ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed. He made himſelf firſt known at Milan, where he met with ſome encouragement; and in 1727, he returned to the Valteline. He found, however, but little employment, until he was honoured with the patronage of Count Deſalis, Envoy from Great Britain to the Republic of the Griſons. As he roſe in reputation, his buſineſs increaſed; but, being always very poor, he was frequently compelled to finiſh his productions with ſuch haſte, as rendered it impoſſible to give all of them that perfection, which he

was capable of beſtowing. Hence ariſes that inequality which is ſo remarkable in his paintings.

There is ſcarcely a church in the Valteline which does not poſſeſs one of his pictures: the moſt capital of his pieces are the martyrdom of St. Gregory, in one of the churches at Sondrio, and St. Benedict, in the chapel of a nunnery near the town. Theſe were his lateſt performances; and as they were, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, finiſhed with great labour and exactneſs, may be conſidered as the teſt, from which we ought to eſtimate his abilities as a painter. The figures are well grouped, the principal characters diſtinctly marked, and the expreſſion of the heads is admirable: the ſtyle of colouring is lively without being gaudy, and chaſte without being dull. A few days after he had painted St. Benedict, he was ſeized with a violent fever, and expired in 1752, in the 67th year of his age.

Ligario is deſcribed by the connoiſſeurs as a painter who united correctneſs of deſign to beauty of colouring. He is remarkable for grouping his figures to the beſt advantage, and his heads are drawn with a noble ſimplicity. He is, however, repreſented as too much inclined to an imitation of the antique: his figures often reſemble ſtatues; and the folds of his drapery fall with too much preciſion, like the wet drapery in the ſculpture of the antients. The character of his faces is chiefly Grecian; but it is remarked, that they are too ſimilar to each other, and look like the portraits of perſons who are of the ſame family; a circumſtance not unuſual to thoſe, who too ſervilely copy the antique.

Beſide

Beſide painting, Ligario was ſkilled in muſic, mechanics, and agriculture, and has left behind him ſpecimens of no ordinary acquaintance with each of thoſe arts. He made, for his own amuſement, an organ of very large dimenſions, and conſtructed a clock with a cylindrical pendulum, remarkable for the accuracy of its movements. He was fond of rearing plants and ſimples, and was ſo much addicted to the ſtudy of agriculture, that he wrote inſtructions to his family, upon the cheapeſt and beſt method of cultivation. He endeavoured to infuſe into his ſon and daugher, Cæſar and Victoria, a fondneſs for the polite arts. They both followed their father's profeſſion, but although not without ſome degree of merit, they failed of equalling his reputation. Victoria was chiefly diſtinguiſhed for her ſkill in vocal and inſtrumental muſic.

I rode this morning to ſee the painting of St. Benedict, at the nunnery about a mile and an half from Sondrio. After I had examined the painting, the abbeſs ſent a meſſage, deſiring the favour of my company, which I accepted with pleaſure. Upon entering the parlour, I made my obeiſance to the abbeſs, who, in company with two nuns, was ſeated on the other ſide of the grate. After the uſual compliments, and inquiries if I was pleaſed with the picture, wine and cakes were brought in. The wine was the produce of their own vineyards, and was excellent. The cakes were ſhaped like ſkulls and bones.

The abbeſs and her friends behaved with great eaſe and politeneſs; they aſked many queſtions relating to England, natural to perſons ſequeſtered from ſociety; and one of them apologized

for

for their curioſity, by remarking, that women were not leſs inquiſitive or leſs fond of talking, becauſe they were ſhut up in a nunnery. The perſon who made this remark was pale, but not unhealthy; her figure was remarkably fine, and ſhe had been very handſome; a diſappointment in love, as I am informed, firſt induced her to take the veil, and to bury ſo much beauty and elegance in a convent. I was ſo much ſtruck with her manner and addreſs, that I could not help wiſhing ſhe may never live to regret ſuch a ſtep, and that ſhe may feel all that eaſe and tranquillity of mind, which are expected, but not always found by thoſe who take the veil.

I am juſt returned to Sondrio, from a ſmall excurſion I made to Morbegno and towards the extremity of the Valteline as far as Delebio. Near Sondrio the valley is about two miles in breadth, and remarkably fertile in vines and all kinds of grain. The right-hand chain of mountains is clothed almoſt from the bottom to its ſummit with a continued vineyard, which is eſteemed to yield the beſt wine in the Valteline. I rode along the plain which ſtretches, without interruption, from Sondrio to the lake of Como. The middle part of this plain is occupied, and frequently overflowed by the unruly Adda, and being marſhy, yields nothing but coarſe paſturage. The ſides riſe gradually into gentle acclivities, and diſplay a rich variety of natural productions.

Morbegno lies on the left ſide of the Adda, at the foot of the ſouthernmoſt chain. It is the handſomeſt town in the Valteline, and appears to have more ſhops, and to carry on more trade, than all the others united. Mr. Planta, the preſent

preſent podeſta of Morbegno, no ſooner heard of my arrival, than he politely waited upon me at the inn, and invited me to his houſe. Finding that I was deſirous of proceeding to Delebio, he inſiſted upon accompanying me; and having ordered his carriage without delay, propoſed an immediate departure, that we might return to his houſe by ſupper. This gentleman is the ſame perſon to whom I was obliged for ſo hoſpitable a reception at his houſe at Cernetz; and I am happy to find from all quarters, that he may be reckoned among the few who act with honour and integrity in this land of extortion. When vicar of the Valteline, he diſcharged the duties of that important office with great credit, and has entered upon his government with the ſame ſpirit of integrity. There is a pleaſure in receiving acts of politeneſs in a foreign country; but it is a double ſatisfaction to be obliged to perſons whoſe characters are deſerving of the higheſt eſteem.

The road from Morbegno to Delebio ran along the foot of the chain of mountains, which ſeparate the Valteline from the Venetian territories. This chain having a northern aſpect yields few vines, but is richly clad with hanging groves of cheſnut-trees, checkered with meadows and fields of corn. The Valteline expands gradually as we advanced towards the lake of Como: in this part the whole plain is chiefly a moraſs, expoſed to the inundations of the Adda, which flows through it in a wide channel. The ſilk, which begins to be of great importance in the trade of this valley, is chiefly exported from Delebio, through Chiavenna, into Germany. Upon my return to Morbegno, I ſupped with

Mr.

Mr. Planta, and after the repaſt was entertained with an excellent concert.

In my return to Sondrio, I croſſed the Adda oppoſite Morbegno, over a handſome ſtone bridge, and proceeded along a road carried at the foot, and along the ſides of the northern chain of mountains. It was almoſt a continued vineyard, with millet, Turkiſh corn, flax, and hemp, growing between the ranges of vines.

The romantic beauties of the Valteline are greatly heightened by the numerous remains of ancient fortreſſes and caſtles ſcattered throughout the country. They were all diſmantled ſoon after the capitulation of Milan *, from a recent experience, that the inability of the Griſons to provide them with ſufficient garriſons, expoſed them to the enemy, and rendered them for the moſt part a ſource of annoyance rather than of protection. It might be imagined, that ſome of theſe fortreſſes ought to have been retained for the purpoſe of awing the inhabitants: ſuch an abſolute confidence, however, is repoſed by the Griſons in the guaranty of the country by the houſe of Auſtria, that they do not maintain a ſingle ſoldier throughout the whole Valteline.

* See Letter 88.

LETTER

LETTER 77.

Commerce—Productions—Population—of the Valteline.

THE chief commerce of the Valteline is carried on with Milan and the Griſons. The principal exports of the country are wine and ſilk, which turn the balance of trade in its favour: they enable the inhabitants to exiſt without any manufactures, and help to ſupply the money which is exacted by the governors.

The wine is ſent into the Griſons, Germany, the Venetian ſtates, Bormio, and occaſionally to Milan. Upon a rough calculation 73,000 ſoma, or horſe-loads, are annually exported: this year the ſoma ſold for a pound ſterling, which may be conſidered its average value.

The ſilk is ſent to England, Zuric, and Baſle. The diſtrict of Delebio and Talomara produces the fineſt ſilk, the neighbourhood of Sondrio the next in quality, and the diſtrict of Tirano

ſupplies

ſupplies an inferior ſort. Three thouſand pounds of the fineſt ſort, which is eſteemed as good as the ſilk procured from Piedmont, are ſent annually to England by way of Oſtend.

The greateſt part of the ſilk is wound in the Valteline, for which purpoſe there are ſilk mills in the principal diſtricts.

Beſides theſe commodities, the Valteline exports planks, cheeſe, butter, and cattle. The inhabitants receive from Milan corn, rice, ſalt, ſilken ſtuffs; from Germany and Switzerland cloth and linen; from Genoa ſpices, coffee, and ſugar.

There are no manufactures in the Valteline, and almoſt all the menial trades are exerciſed by foreigners.

The population of the Valteline may be eſtimated from the following ſketch:

Upper Diſtrict contains	—	20,000 ſouls.
Government of Teglio	—	8,000
Middle Diſtrict —	—	18,000
Lower Diſtrict —	—	16,000
Total of the population	—	62,000

The cottages of the peaſants, which are built of ſtone, are large, but gloomy, generally without glaſs windows: I entered ſeveral, and was every where diſguſted with an uniform appearance of dirt and poverty. The peaſants are moſtly covered with rags, and the children have uſually an unhealthy look, which ariſes from their wretched manner of living. Such a ſcarcity of proviſions has been occaſioned by laſt year's drought, that the poor inhabitants have been reduced to the moſt extreme neceſſity. The

The price of bread was unavoidably raiſed ſo high, that in many parts the peaſants could not purchaſe it; and their only food was for ſome time a kind of paſte, made by pounding the hulls and ſtones of grapes which had been preſſed for wine, and mixing it with a little meal. Famine, added to their oppreſſed ſituation, reduced the inhabitants to the loweſt condition of human miſery, and numbers periſhed from abſolute want. But it is a pleaſure to reflect that they are in ſome meaſure relieved by the plentiful harveſt of the preſent year.

Perhaps no part of Europe is more fruitful than the Valteline, and yet there is no country in which the peaſants are more wretched.

Many reaſons are to be aſſigned for the miſery to which they are reduced. The firſt and principal cauſe is the form of government. The governors, as I have ſhewn in a former letter, generally abuſe the exorbitant authority entruſted to them by the laws, the peaſants are impriſoned upon the ſlighteſt information; and as all tranſgreſſions are puniſhed by fines, an accuſed perſon is ſeldom found innocent; ſo that a conſiderable number of peaſants are annually ruined in the courts of juſtice.

Beſides the individuals who are ſuppoſed to ſuffer for their own guilt, the pariſhes are ſubject to continual aſſeſſments, towards defraying the expences for the trial and impriſonment of the poor pariſhioners: if the latter are unable to pay the ſum required, it is demanded from the pariſh to which the criminal belongs. In this caſe it frequently happens, that the aſſeſſments, inſtead of being laid upon the landholders, are

impoſed

impoſed upon each hearth, by which means the chief burden falls upon the poor.

Another cauſe of their wretchedneſs proceeds from the preſent ſtate of property. Few of the peaſants are landholders; as from the continual oppreſſion under which the people have groaned for above theſe two laſt centuries, the freeholds have gradually fallen into the hands of the nobles and Griſons, the latter of whom are ſuppoſed to poſſeſs half the eſtates in the Valteline. The tenants who take farms do not pay their rent in money, but in kind; a ſtrong proof of general poverty. The peaſant is at all the coſts of cultivation, and delivers near half the produce to the landholder. The remaining portion would ill compenſate his labour and expence, if he was not in ſome meaſure befriended by the fertility of the ſoil. The ground ſeldom lies fallow, and the richeſt parts of the valley produce two crops. The firſt crop is wheat, rye, or ſpelt, half of which is delivered to the proprietor; the ſecond crop is generally millet, buck-wheat, maaze, or Turkey corn, which is the principal nouriſhment of the common people: the chief part of this crop belongs to the peaſant, and enables him in a plentiful year to ſupport his family with ſome degree of comfort. The peaſants who inhabit the diſtricts which yield wine are the moſt wretched: for the trouble and charge of rearing the vines, of gathering and preſſing the grapes, is very conſiderable; and they are ſo very apt to conſume the ſhare of liquor allotted to them in intoxication, that, were it not for the grain intermixed with the vines, they and their families would be left almoſt entirely deſtitute of ſubſiſtence.

Beſides

Beſides the buſineſs of agriculture, ſome of the peaſants attend to the cultivation of ſilk. For this purpoſe they receive the eggs from the landholder, rear the ſilk-worms, and are entitled to half the ſilk. This employment is not unprofitable; for although the rearing of the ſilk-worms is attended with much trouble, and requires great caution, yet as the occupation is generally entruſted to the women, it does not take the men from their work.

With all the advantages, however, derived from the fertility of the ſoil, and the variety of its productions, the peaſants cannot, without the utmoſt difficulty, and a conſtant exertion, maintain their families; and they are always reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, whenever the ſeaſon is unfavourable to agriculture.

To the cauſes of penury among the lower claſſes above enumerated, may be added the natural indolence of the people, and their tendency to ſuperſtition, which takes them from their labour. Upon the whole, I have not, in the courſe of my travels, ſeen any peaſantry, except in Poland, ſo comfortleſs as the inferior inhabitants of this valley. They enjoy indeed one great advantage over the Poles, in not being the abſolute property of the landholder, and tranſferable, like cattle. They are therefore at liberty to live where they chuſe, to quit their country, and ſeek a better condition in other regions; a relief to which diſtreſs often compels them to have recourſe.

Chiavenna,

Chiavenna, Auguſt 15.

I quitted Sondrio yeſterday after dinner, and went up the valley of Malenco; yielding vines, cheſnut-trees, rye, oats, and paſturage. As I aſcended, the ſides of the mountains were clothed with birch and firs; and their ſummits produced nothing but a ſcanty herbage. The inhabitants of this valley appear healthier, better clothed, and more induſtrious, than the other peaſants of the Valteline. In conſequence of their diſtance from the ſeat of government, or of being in general too poor to excite the rapaciouſneſs of the Griſon governors, they are, perhaps, leſs oppreſſed, and for the moſt part poſſeſs a ſmall portion of land. The valley is narrow, and watered by a torrent, which forms a continued cataract. The road is a faint path, by the ſide of a precipice, and carried over huge fragments of rocks. I paſſed the night in a ſolitary hut at the bottom of the Muret; the next morning mounted a rugged aſcent in the channel of a ſmall ſtream; obſerved nothing but bare rocks, without the leaſt appearance of vegetation; came to the top of the Muret, and paſſed over a large maſs of ſnow and ice.

In theſe Alpine ſituations the traveller ſees, within the ſpace of a few hours, nature in all her ſhapes. In the Valteline ſhe is rich and fertile; here ſhe is barren and ſtupendous. Theſe regions are ſo dreary and deſolate, that if it were not for an occaſional traveller, the flights of a few ſtrange birds, the goats browzing on the rugged Alps, and the ſhepherds who tend them, nature would appear quite inanimate. In theſe elevated ſpots, while I was

" *Placed above the ſtorm's career,*"

I noticed

I noticed the pleaſing effect produced by the vapours and miſts floating in mid air beneath me; circumſtances finely felt and deſcribed by the author of the Minſtrel:

" *And oft the craggy cliff he low'd to climb,*
" *When all in miſt the world below was loſt:*
" *What dreadful pleaſure there to ſtand ſublime,*
" *Like ſhipwreck'd mariner on deſert coaſt,*
" *And view the enormous ſea of vapour, toſt*
" *In billows lengthening to the horizon round,*
" *Now ſcoop'd in gulfs, with mountains now emboſs'd!*"

From the top of the Muret I deſcended about three hours a craggy, deſolate, and uninhabited country; and noticed the gradual increaſe of vegetation as I approached the road leading to Chiavenna, a little above Caſazza. This paſſage over the Muret, which ſerves for the tranſportation of wine and other merchandize from the Valteline to the Griſons, is only open about five months in the year.

LETTER

LETTER 78.

Chiavenna——Valley of St. Giacomo.——Chapel of St. Gulielmo.

Chiavenna, Sept. 16.

MY correſpondence with you has been for ſome time interrupted by a diſorder which has detained me in theſe parts above ſix weeks. The day after my arrival from the Valteline, I was ſeized with a laſſitude, which I attributed to the fatigue of the journey; it ended in a violent pain and ſwelling of my right-hand, the effects of a rheumatiſm, which probably ſeized me the night I paſſed at the bottom of the Muret: not being able to procure a bed, I ſlept in the hay-loft, and ſuffered much from the piercing north wind, which blew from the glacier. I likewiſe imprudently walked the next morning, without intermiſſion or refreſhment, for the ſpace of ſeven hours, from the top of the Muret to Bondo, ſo that the cold and fatigue brought on the rheumatic complaint which has detained me here ſix weeks. During great part of the time I wore my arm in a ſling, which rendered me

me incapable of writing a line. What I moſt regret in this delay is, that I have been prevented from being preſent at the general diet of the Griſons, which was held at Davos the latter end of laſt month.

The county of Chiavenna came under the ſovereignty of the Griſons in the ſame manner and at the ſame time with the Valteline. During the war of the Valteline it frequently changed its maſters, but at the peace of Milan was finally reſtored to the Griſons. It is ruled, like the other ſubject provinces, by a Griſon governor, who is called Commiſſary, and who in a few inſtances is even leſs limited in his power than the judges of the Valteline.

The criminal court of juſtice is formed by the commiſſary and the aſſeſſor. The latter is appointed by the commiſſary, from three candidates nominated by the county. He muſt attend all examinations, concur in ordering torture for the conviction of a criminal, be preſent when it is inflicted, and ratify the final ſentence: but as the aſſeſſor owes his place to the commiſſary, and ſhares in his exactions, he is a mere cypher, and never ventures to exert his right of interpoſing a negative. This circumſtance renders the courts of juſtice in Chiavenna more uniformly iniquitous than even thoſe of the Valteline: for the cloſe union between the commiſſary and aſſeſſor almoſt precludes a chance of redreſs, and gives unbounded ſcope to oppreſſion. It would be unneceſſary to deſcribe the mode of proceeding eſtabliſhed in this court of juſtice, as it is ſimilar to that of the Valteline. In civil cauſes the commiſſary receives five *per cent.* of the con-

teſted property; and an appeal from his deciſion may be ſubmitted to the ſyndicate.

Chiavenna, the capital of the county, is ſituated at the foot and upon the ſide of a mountain, and contains about 3000 ſouls. The inhabitants carry on but little commerce. The principal article of exportation (excepting the ſtone pots mentioned in a former letter *) is raw ſilk. The whole country produces about 3,600 pounds of that commodity. A manufacture of ſilk ſtockings, the only one in the town, has been lately eſtabliſhed. The neighbouring country is covered with vineyards; but the wine is of a meagre ſort, and only a ſmall quantity is exported. The great ſupport of Chiavenna is the tranſport of merchandiſe, this town being the principal communication between the Milaneſe and Germany. From hence the goods are ſent either by Coire into Germany, or through Pregalia and the Engadinas into the Tyrol. There is a duty laid by the Griſons upon all the merchandiſe which paſſes through Chiavenna; but this duty is ſo ſmall, that the whole cuſtoms, including thoſe in the Valteline, are farmed for 17,000 florins, or about £. 1260 per annum.

The principal object of curioſity in the environs of Chiavenna is the fortreſs in ruins, ſeated upon the ſummit of a rock, which overlooks the town, and celebrated in the hiſtory of the Griſons for its almoſt impregnable ſtrength. The only road which leads up to it is ſteep and craggy. The walls occupy a large ſpace of ground, and are now partly covered with vines. The ſtrongeſt

* See Letter 67.

part

part of the fortreſs was conſtructed upon an inſulated rock, rent, as ſome perſons conjecture, from the contiguous mountain, by a violent convulſion of nature. It is on all ſides abſolutely perpendicular, and its only communication with the caſtle was formed by a draw-bridge thrown acroſs the intervening chaſm. Others again * ſuppoſe the ſeparation of this rock from the remaining part of the fortreſs to have been the work of art, and affirm, that it was excavated in 1313, by order of Galeazzo Viſconti. Its length is above 250 feet, its height about 200, and its greateſt diſtance from the adjoining rock about 20 feet.

This fortification, though always deemed impregnable, was taken at different periods, ſometimes by aſſault, but more frequently by famine or ſtratagem. It was finally demoliſhed by the Griſons themſelves.

Cloſe to Chiavenna is a rock of aſbeſtos, a kind of mineral ſubſtance, of a greyiſh ſilver colour, which can be drawn out into longitudinal fibres as fine as thread, and is ſuppoſed to be indeſtructible by fire; the ancients manufactured it into a ſpecies of cloth reſembling linen. This ſpecies of cloth is frequently mentioned by Pliny. It was principally uſed for ſhrouds, in which the bodies of the great were enveloped before they were placed upon the funeral pile; and which, not being liable to be conſumed by fire, preſerved the aſhes of the body ſeparate from thoſe of the wood. The art of weaving

* We may perhaps, reconcile theſe two opinions, by admitting that the opening was originally occaſioned by a violent convulſion of nature, but was afterwards enlarged and faſhioned by art.

the aſbeſtos into linen is not loſt, as ſome authors have aſſerted; but as it is very troubleſome and expenſive, and as the cuſtom of burning bodies, which gave it a value, is no longer in uſe, the manufacture is diſcontinued. Beſides the rock of aſbeſtos juſt mentioned, near Chiavenna, ſeveral mountains in theſe parts yield the ſame ſubſtance. The beſt ſort is found in the valley of Malenco, of which I have ſeen many very fine ſpecimens.

Upon quitting Chiavenna, I entered the valley of St. Giacomo, which is narrow, and watered by the torrent Lira. It is part of the county of Chiavenna, contains about ten pariſhes, is under the juriſdiction of the commiſſary, and poſſeſſes ſeveral important privileges, that preſerve the inhabitants from the oppreſſion which their neighbours endure.

All the cauſes are tried in the valley. The criminal ſtatutes are the ſame as thoſe of Chiavenna, with this difference only, that inſtead of the aſſeſſor the valley chuſes four perſons, who are always preſent at the examination; and without whoſe concurrence torture cannot be inflicted, nor ſentence paſſed.

The valley has its own code of civil juriſprudence, and courts independent of the commiſſary, from the deciſion of which there lies an appeal to the diet.

The lower part of the valley produces vines and corn: the upper part rye, barley, and paſture, mixed with large groves of fir and pine. I paſſed on my left-hand the church of St. Guglielmo, which I mention becauſe it is ſuppoſed to have been erected in honour of William king of Sicily. This William was the laſt ſovereign of

of the male branch of the Norman line, which commenced in Count Roger, who conquered Sicily from the Saracens in the latter end of the eleventh century.

Roger was twelfth ſon of Tancred of Hauteville, a Norman baron, and brother of the celebrated Robert Guiſcard, the braveſt of thoſe brave Norman adventurers * who ſallied from their native country, formed a flouriſhing but temporary eſtabliſhment in the ſouthern parts of Italy, and furniſhed by their exploits ſuch ample materials for hiſtory and romance. The ſon of Count Roger, who inherited the name and ſpirit of his father, erected Sicily into a kingdom: at the extinction of the male line of Robert Guiſcard in the perſon of William, duke of Apulia, he annexed Apulia and Calabria to Sicily, and reigned over thoſe territories, under the title of the Two Sicilies, which now comprehend the preſent kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The throne of Roger was ſucceſſively filled by his ſon William the Firſt, ſurnamed the *Bad*, and by his grandſon William the Second, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Good*. On the demiſe of the latter without iſſue male, the Sicilians ſet aſide Conſtantia, daughter of Roger, and wife of the emperor Henry the Sixth, and elected Tancred, illegitimate grandſon of the firſt king. Tancred died in 1193; and William, his only ſurviving ſon, was crowned while an infant. Being dethroned by the emperor Henry the Sixth, who claimed the Two Sicilies in right of

* I would refer the curious reader to Mr. Gibbon's ample and accurate narrative of the hiſtory and exploits of theſe Norman adventurers, in the fifth volume of his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

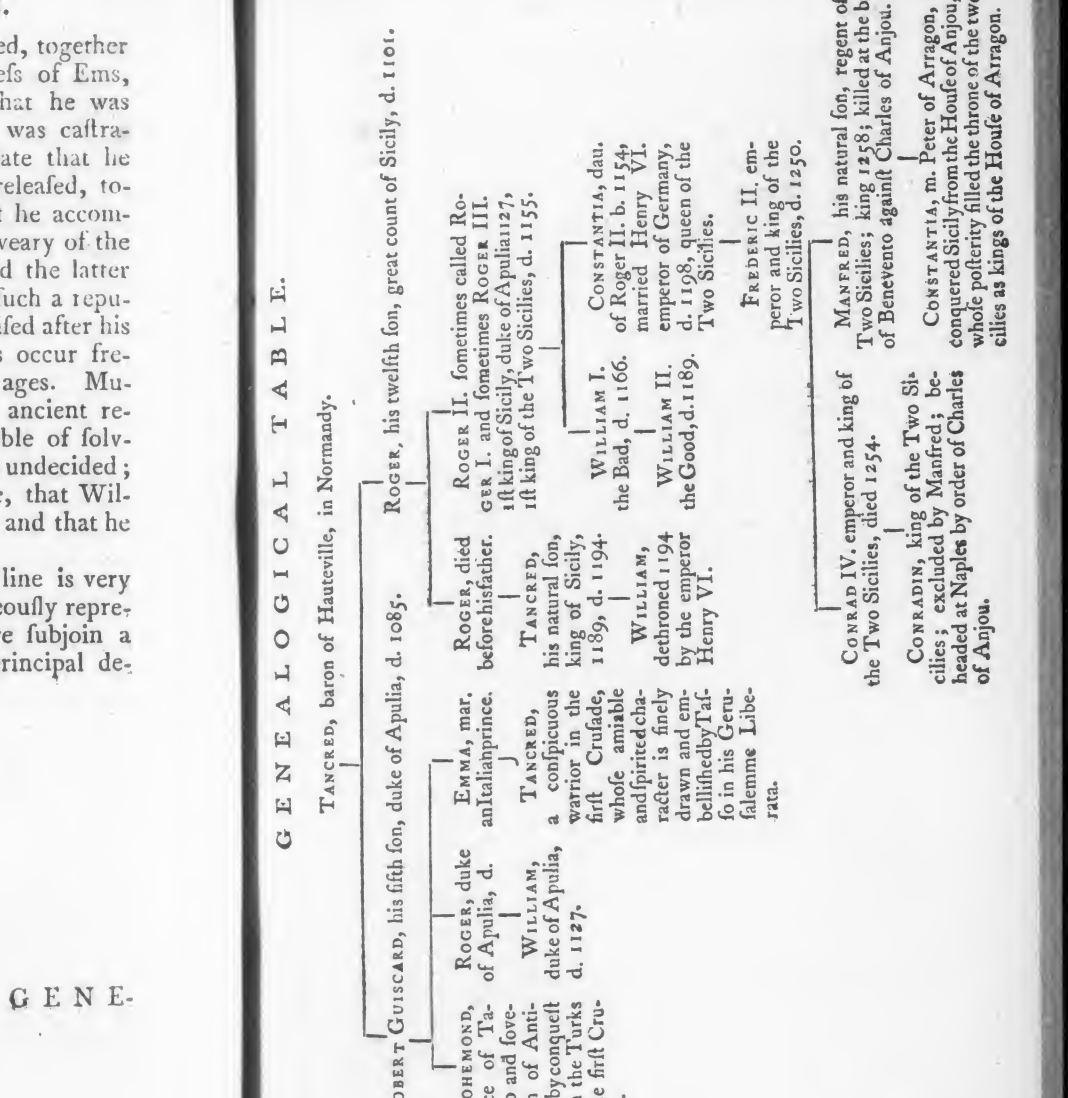
his

his wife Conſtantia, he was impriſoned, together with his mother Sibila, in the fortreſs of Ems, near Coire. Some authors aſſert that he was deprived of his ſight, others that he was caſtrated, by order of Henry. Some relate that he died in priſon, others that he was releaſed, together with his mother Sibilla; that he accompanied her to France, but growing weary of the world retired to this ſpot, and paſſed the latter part of his days as an hermit, with ſuch a reputation of ſanctity, that he was canoniſed after his death. Such contradictory accounts occur frequently in the hiſtory of the darker ages. Muratori, who from his inſight into the ancient records of thoſe ages, is the moſt capable of ſolving this difficulty, leaves the queſtion undecided; but ſeems rather inclined to believe, that William was releaſed from his captivity, and that he afterwards turned hermit.

As the genealogy of the Norman line is very complicated and obſcure, and erroneouſly repreſented by many writers, I ſhall here ſubjoin a table of thoſe ſovereigns and their principal deſcendants.

GENE-

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



I employed

I employed about three hours in mounting from Chiavenna to the pleaſant plain of Campo Dolcino, and aſcended from the extremity of that plain to Iſola, the laſt village in the valley of St. Giacomo, from whence I am now writing.

In theſe parts, where mountains riſe over mountains, and Alps tower above Alps, thoſe fallings of ſnow, which I mentioned in a former letter *, under the name of *Avalanches*, are extremely common. They are juſtly and warmly deſcribed by the poet of nature †.

Among theſe hilly regions, where embrac'd
In peaceful vales the happy Griſons dwell;
Oft, ruſhing ſudden from the loaded cliffs,
Mountains of ſnow their gathering terrors roll.
From ſteep to ſteep, loud thund'ring down they come,
A wintry waſte in dire commotion all;
And herds and flocks, and travellers and ſwains,
And ſometimes whole brigades of marching troops,
Are deep beneath the ſmothering ruins hurled.

* Letter 31. † Thomſon's Seaſons.

LETTER

LETTER 79.

Splugen — The Grey League — Rheinwald — Via Mala — Tuſis — Nicholas Ruſca.

FROM Iſola the aſcent is ſteep and rugged to the top of mount Splugen. I paſſed by the ſide of the torrent Lira, which roars from precipice to precipice in ſeveral ſtupendous cataracts. The road is hewn in the ſolid rock: in many parts it has the appearance of ſteps, in others is perforated through the mountains. In purſuing my way over this dreary tract, I was frequently reminded of the road down the Gemmi *. Toward the ſummit of the Splugen there is an oval plain about two miles long and one broad, encircled with craggy points: it produces no trees, but yields rich paſturage. Near the ſummit I noticed ſeveral rude blocks of a whitiſh kind of marble.

I baited my horſes at a ſmall inn which ſtands at the extremity of the oval plain, and is the

* Letter 33.

only

only house between the valley of St. Giacomo and Splugen. Before the door I observed at least a hundred horses laden with merchandise. Three hundred horses are said to pass daily in this season of the year.

Gently ascending from this oval plain, I observed the source of the Lira, which falls into the lake of Chiavenna, and soon afterwards crossed the highest ridge, on the other side of which the torrents flow towards the Rhine. The country is wild, and scarcely produces a single tree. As I descended lower, firs began to make their appearance; at first thinly scattered over the rocks, and gradually thickening into large forests. This passage over mount Splugen is principally used for the transport of merchandise to and from Coire: it is kept open even in winter, though not without great difficulty. In that season the merchandises are chiefly transported on sledges, of which forty or fifty pass in a day.

The territory of the Grey League, into which I have just entered, occupies all the eastern tract of this mountainous country, and is by far the most considerable, in extent as well as population, of the three Grison leagues. The etymology of the word Grigia, or *Grey*, which gives its name to this league and the whole country, is extremely uncertain. Some authors have conjectured, that the people of this district were the original inhabitants of the country, and that they were called *Grey*, in order to distinguish them from the more modern inhabitants, by an allusion to *grey* heirs, an emblem of antiquity. Others, on the contrary, dating this appellation from more modern times, assert that the first authors of the revolution, which, in 1424, gave liberty

liberty to the several communities in the Grey League were dress in the coarse *grey* cloth of the country; and that in commemoration of this great event the league was called *Grey* from their dress. It is certain, however, that this appellation is of very high antiquity, and existed long before the revolution in question. Tacitus calls the inhabitants of this country *Rhætos Grisæos, id est, canos;* and Ammianus Marcellinus styles the country about Coire, *Canos campos*, or the *Grey* Fields. Hence it appears how very fruitless must be any investigation concerning the true etymology of this word, which lies hid in very remote antiquity, beyond the reach of our most inquisitive researches. Without entering, therefore, minutely into etymological disquisitions, we may only remark in general, that the term Grisons, or *Grey* people, was the general name by which *all* the inhabitants of Rhetia were distinguished, and was not confined to that particular district now called the Grey League. The appropriation of the term to that particular body, may be thus accounted for. When the inhabitants of this district first rose in arms, for the purpose of asserting their independence, they naturally styled themselves, the League of the people called Grisons, or the *Grey* League; while those of the two other leagues, who afterwards formed similar associations, although equally known by the name of Grisons, took other appellations to distinguish themselves from the first confederacy.

The territory now occupied by the Grey League, was formerly subject to the abbot of Disentis, the counts of Werdenberg, of Sax, of Masox, and the baron of Rhætzuns. The peo-

ple

ple ſeem to have originally poſſeſſed conſiderable privileges, which were gradually undermined, and occaſionally violated by their chiefs and barons; the latter, being engaged in perpetual hoſtilities with each other, laid great exactions upon their ſubjects, in order to pay the troops, who could only be prevented from diſbanding by repeated largeſſes. Theſe exactions were at length carried to ſuch an exceſs, and the people ſo wantonly oppreſſed by the tyranny of their deſpots, that excited by the example of the neighbouring Swiſs republics, they determined to deliver themſelves from the grievous ſubjection under which they laboured.

The meeting of the inſurgents was by no means attended with any unwarrantable exceſſes, naturally to be expected from an enraged populace, but was conducted with the greateſt compoſure. The leading members of the ſeveral communities having previouſly concerted the plan, a ſolemn deputation was diſpatched to the reſpective ſovereigns, who were aſſembled at Truns: the deputies laid the ſeveral grievances before the chiefs, from whom they not only extorted redreſs, but alſo procured a confirmation of ſeveral obſolete privileges, and the addition of many others. In conſideration of theſe conceſſions, the chiefs reſerved to themſelves certain prerogatives, which ſome of their deſcendants or ſucceſſors poſſeſs at this day; a diſtinction which is now peculiar to this league, and renders its general conſtitution in ſome reſpects more ariſtocratical than that of the other two leagues.

Theſe prerogatives conſiſt in being preſent at the annual diet of the league, and in alternately propoſing three candidates for *Landrichter*, or chief

chief of the league, from whom one is nominated by the deputies. The counts of Werdenberg being extinct, the prerogatives juſt mentioned are now confined to the emperor of German, as baron of Rhætzuns, the abbot of Diſentis, and the temporary count of Sax. No real count of Sax now exiſts; for, upon the extinction of that family, certain communities * of the Grey League ſeized the domains, and continue to exerciſe the rights which were formerly enjoyed by the counts of Sax.

The mode of creating a titular count, for the purpoſe of exerciſing theſe rights, is as follows: A few days before the meeting of the diet of the league aſſembled at Truns, the communities in queſtion reciprocally elect a perſon who repreſents the count. He is called in Romanſh † *Cau de Saxe*, and, although not unfrequently a common peaſant, ſits, at the diet, upon the ſame bench with the repreſentative of the Houſe of Auſtria and the abbot of Diſentis, is addreſſed by a title equal to his ſuppoſed dignity, nominates the Landrichter every third year, and, having diſcharged his office, ſinks at the expiration of a few days into his ordinary rank.

Another diſtinction peculiar to the Grey League ought not to be omitted. Like the other leagues, the particular diſtricts poſſeſs their courts of criminal juſtice in the laſt reſort: but in all civil cauſes above a certain value there lies an appeal from the deciſion of the ſeveral courts to ſixteen deputies annually aſſembled at Truns.

* Theſe communities are Lungnets and Vals, Ilants and Grub, Flims and Caſtris.

† Literally *head* of Sax. *Cau* is ſuppoſed to be a corruption from *caput*.

I only

I only mention the fact in this place, but ſhall have occaſion to enlarge upon it in a future letter.

Splugen, ſituated upon the riſe of an hill, at the bottom of a rugged chain of Alps, is the principal place in the valley of Rheinwald which forms a high juriſdiction of the Grey League. The Rheinwald is ſo called from the Hynder Rhine, which takes its riſe upon the Vogelſberg, at about the diſtance of twelve miles, and runs through this valley. It was my intention to have viſited this ſource, but my late indiſpoſition will not permit me at preſent to take fatiguing journeys in theſe mountainous regions.

The inhabitants of the Rheinwald ſpeak German, although they are entirely ſurrounded by people who uſe a different language. Towards the ſouth, beyond the mountains of Splugen and St. Bernardin, in the valleys of St. Giacomo and Maſox, Italian is the common tongue: towards the north and eaſt, in the valleys of Schams, of St. Peter, and of Lugnetz, Romanſh is ſpoken. This remarkable circumſtance has led many authors to conjecture that the people of this and other diſtricts of the Griſons, who talk German, are deſcended from the *Lepontii*, ſuppoſed to be a Celtic nation, and conſidered as the original inhabitants of this country, before the eſtabliſhment of the Rhetians. As I ſhall have occaſion to examine this ſubject more fully in a future letter * upon the languages of the Griſons, I ſhall for the preſent only remark, that although the inhabitants of this diſtrict are im-

* See Letter 89.

mediately

mediately encircled by people who talk Italian and Romanſh, yet the German language is ſpoken at Avers, Cepina, Tuſis, and Furſtenau, which are only at a ſmall diſtance from the Rheinwald.

I quitted, on the other ſide of mount Splugen, the Italian climate and productions: the air of this valley is ſo piercing, that we may agree with the proverb "there are nine months winter and three months cold." Two high roads meet at Splugen, one from Chiavenna, which I traverſed yeſterday, the other leads over the Bernard into Bellinzone.

From Splugen to Arder the road continues by the ſide of the Hynder Rhine, through a mountainous region, which preſents at every ſtep the moſt awful magnificence of ſcenery.

The inhabitants of Suffers, the laſt village of the Rheinwald, talk German; and at a ſmall diſtance I entered the valley of Schams, where I heard the peaſants ſpeaking Romanſh. I made myſelf tolerably underſtood by a kind of jargon, compoſed of German, Italian, and Romanſh. I took out my vocabulary of the Engadina language, and compared the different modes of expreſſion and pronunciation. The inhabitants call their language Romanſh; but it differs widely from the Romanſh ſpoken in the valley of Surſet, and ſtill more that of the Engadinas. The Bible and other books uſed in this valley, are in the ſame dialect as thoſe which are read in the other parts of the Grey League, and the language is ſimilar, with a ſmall variety in the pronunciation.

The valley of Schams, a community of the Grey League, contains eight or nine inconſider-

able

able burghs or villages ſituated at ſmall diſtances upon each ſide of the Rhine. It is much lower and more fruitful than the Rheinwald. I croſſed the Rhine at Zillis, leaving on my left hand Donat, where the collective body of people meet every year to chuſe their magiſtrates, and regulate all civil and political affairs. Soon afterwards I came into the *Via Mala*, ſo called from the ſuppoſed difficulties and dangers of paſſing through it. Such dreadful deſcriptions have been given by different travellers, that I expected to have found it the worſt road which I had hitherto travelled. But I was agreeably deceived, for it was not more incommodious than the way from Splugen to Anders; nor did I once think it neceſſary even to diſmount from my horſe, except when I ſtopped to take a nearer view of any particular ſcene which ſtruck my fancy: the road even admits carriages. No reaſon occurs to me, why this particular way ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Via Mala*, unleſs ſuch deſcriptions allude to former times, and modern writers have adopted them as the mere echos of ancient travellers. Perhaps the peculiar gloom of the valley, through which the road paſſes, may have helped to convey theſe ideas of terror to perſons not accuſtomed to Alpine regions.

The Via Mala runs through a dark and uninhabited valley, overſpread in many parts with thick foreſts, which admit only a kind of twilight gloom, and ſo exceedingly narrow, that the ſteep rocks, which encloſe it, hang over, and ſeem almoſt to meet towards their ſummits. The Rhine foams at the bottom, ſometimes not

not viſible, and ſometimes faintly glimmering through

"—— *darkſome pines, that, o'er the rocks reclin'd,*
"*Wave high, and murmur to the hollow wind.*" POPE.

About three miles from the commencement of the Via Mala, we came to a ſtone-bridge of a ſingle arch, thrown acroſs a gulf; a ſublime ſcene, which I ſtopped to admire, and which I left with regret. The Rhine falls in a beautiful caſcade, rolls in a narrow channel at the depth of above four hundred feet perpendicular, furiouſly daſhes under the bridge, expands itſelf into a wide baſon, and then is loſt under a rock, through which it has forced a paſſage. The impending mountains, partly bare, and partly embrowned with firs, caſt an awful gloom over the gulf beneath.

I was here greatly ſtruck with one circumſtance, which I examined with much attention, and which I had obſerved in ſeveral other vallies of Switzerland, but never in ſuch perfection as in this place. The Rhine, which is at preſent about four hundred feet below the bridge, ſeems evidently to have once flowed as high, or even higher than the place where the bridge now ſtands; to have gradually worn away the rock, and excavated the deep channel in which it now runs.

Having paſſed the bridge, I went through a ſubterraneous opening a few paces in length, which had been cut through the overhanging rock, and a little further croſſed a ſecond bridge ſimilar to the firſt.

Soon afterwards I quitted the Rhine, and began aſcending. This part of the country is ſo

entirely uninhabited, that I did not meet with a ſingle houſe until I came to Roncalia, a village in the community of Tuſis, upon the top of a ſteep mountain. From thence I deſcended to Tuſis, ſituated near the torrent Nolla, at the beginning of the valley of Tomliaſca. This town is ſaid by the antiquaries to have been built by the Tuſcans, when they took refuge in theſe parts under Rhætus.

Tuſis is well known in the hiſtory of the Griſons for the *Staffgericht*, or court of juſtice, which ſat in 1618, for the trial of perſons accuſed of holding a correſpondence with Spain, and of oppoſing the introduction of the Proteſtant religion into the Valteline. Amongſt thoſe who ſuffered in this iniquitous tribunal, the moſt remarkable was Nicholas Ruſca, whom I had occaſion to mention in my letter on the troubles of the Valteline, the cruel circumſtances of whoſe death excited the general reſentment of the Catholics, who ſoon afterwards broke out into open rebellion.

Nicholas Ruſca, a native of Bedano, in the bailliage of Locarno, was educated in the Jeſuits' college at Milan, at the expence of cardinal Boromeo, and made ſo great a progreſs in his ſtudies, that, in 1589, he was appointed principal of the church of Sondrio, although he was only in the 24th year of his age. He immediately ſignalized himſelf by his zeal in preaching againſt the reformed doctrines; and was one of the diſputants who ſupported the Roman Catholic faith againſt the Proteſtant miniſters, in two public conferences held at Tirano, in 1595, and the following year. His character has been placed in the moſt oppoſite lights by the

the reſpective hiſtorians of the two contending parties: by the one he is repreſented a ſaint, and by the other an aſſaſſin. But if we examine with impartiality, it will appear, that though he was hurried on by a violent ſpirit of fanatical zeal, yet he cannot be ſuppoſed guilty of the atrocious crimes which his enemies have laid to his charge. Soon after his promotion to the benefice of Sondrio, a miſunderſtanding broke out between him and the Proteſtants, which gradually increaſed during the violence of the religious diſputes, and was carried upon the following occaſion to the higheſt degree of animoſity.

One Chiappinus, and three gondoliers of Venice, were arreſted under ſuſpicion of a deſign to aſſaſſinate Scipio Calandrinus, the Proteſtant miniſter of Sondrio, at the inſtigation of Ruſca; a confeſſion of guilt and of Ruſca's privity being drawn from Chiappinus by the force of torture. The governor of the Valteline referring the affair to the diet of the Griſons, Ruſca was cited before that aſſembly, but declined to appear; either, as his enemies pretend, from a conſciouſneſs of guilt, or, as his friends alledge, from a dread of putting himſelf in the power of the Griſons, ſo violently incenſed againſt him. Having eſcaped from the Valteline, he waited at Bedano while his cauſe was publicly pleaded before twelve judges deputed by the Griſons. Being acquitted of the charge, he returned to Sondrio, where his zeal, inflamed by his late proſecution, continued to diſplay itſelf by an unremitting oppoſition to the eſtabliſhment of a Proteſtant ſchool at Sondrio; a favourite meaſure of the oppoſite party.

His enemies, baffled in their firſt attempt, brought againſt him a charge of a more public nature: they accuſed him of oppoſing the decrees of the Griſons, and of exhorting the inhabitants of Morbegno not to bear arms againſt the king of Spain, the protector of the Catholic religion. In conſequence of theſe inſinuations, a troop of ſixty Griſons arrived at Sondrio by night, and, ſeizing Ruſca, carried him to Tuſis, where he was not only impeached of high treaſon in the temporary court of juſtice there aſſembled, but was likewiſe again examined, contrary to every principle of equity, for having abetted the aſſaſſination of Calandrinus: as he peremptorily denied theſe charges, he was condemned to be tortured; which horrid ſentence was three times inflicted in the dead of night. The execution of the ſentence failing to extort from him the ſmalleſt confeſſion of guilt, he was, on the following night, twice ſubjected to a repetition of the ſame dreadful proceſs. Being of a weak frame, and full of infirmities, he was overcome by exceſs of agony, and expired amidſt the torments *.

Some writers have aſſerted, that Ruſca died of poiſon, which he had taken previous to his

* *Die dominica, quæ Auguſti 23 erat, ter ſine tamen pondere elevatus fuit; perſtitit que in negativa, ſæpius miſericordiam Dei ac hominum implorans, quas voces dolor tormentorum ipſe exprimebat, erat enim homo crebris febribus vexatus, ac proinde ſuſtinendi torturam impos erat. Sequente die lunæ, facies illi velo obtegitur, ne a quoquam ſignum habere queat ullum, et his abſque tamen pondere elevatur: tumque obſervatus eſt ſpiritus deficere, et cum ſolveretur tortura jam exſpiraverat, tenens linguam dentibus admorſam ſic ut ſanguis adpareret.* Aporta Hiſt. Reform. Eccl. Ræt. vol. II. p. 268, 269.

laſt examination; but this ſuppoſition ſeems to be totally devoid of foundation, and was only advanced in order to reſcue the judges from the odium of having tortured him to death. For when it is conſidered, that, according to the common mode of applying torture in this country, he was five times drawn up by a pully, with his arms tied behind, ſo as to occaſion a diſlocation of his ſhoulders; that he remained in that excruciating poſition above half an hour each time; and that he was in an infirm ſtate of body, unable to endure ſuch extremity of pain, we have no occaſion to ſeek for any extraordinary cauſe of his death.

The advocates for the Proteſtant party in vain endeavour to exculpate Ruſca's judges from an intolerant ſpirit of bigotry, by aſſerting that the whole tranſaction was a civil and not a religious proceſs; for it is evident, that theological rancour, however diſguiſed under the maſk of patriotiſm, was the leading motive to this proſecution. Independent indeed of all theoretical reaſoning, every rational Chriſtian, whatever his perſuaſion may be, muſt recoil with horror from enormities ſo inconſiſtent with the firſt principles of humanity, and contradictory to the meekneſs of that religion, which ought to be the rule of our actions *.

* Mr. Aporta, with the impartiality of an honeſt hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the iniquitous acts of this tribunal, ſays, "*Deum immortalem! Quid eſt carbones irritare, hoſtes ſtudio conquirere ac in ſe concitare, ſummis ima miſcere, ſi hoc non erat? Nullus tamen actus majorem huic tribunali invidiam conciliavit quam ſubita mors Nicolai Ruſcæ, qui tormentis ſolutus ſub judicum oculis exſpiravit.*" Hiſt. Ref. Eccl. Ræt. vol. II. p. 266.

LETTER 80.

Valley of Tomliaſca—Retzuns—Reichenau.

Coire, Sept. 21ſt.

FROM Tuſis I continued my route along the valley of Tomliaſca, by the ſide of the Rhine, which here ſeparates the Grey League from that of the Houſe of God: numerous towns, villages, and caſtles *, lie agreeably ſcattered through the vale in the moſt romantic ſituations. I paſſed through Catzis, leaving on my left the fruitful mountain of Henzenberg, called in Romanſh Montagnia, and remarkable in theſe parts for its fertility and population. I then proceeded to Retzuns, and turned a little out of my way to the caſtle of that name, which makes ſo conſpicuous a figure in the hiſtory of the Griſons.

* Guler, the hiſtorian of Rhætia, ſays, that no region of Europe contains ſuch a number of antient caſtles as the country of the Griſons; and adds, that in the ſmall valley of Tomliaſca, not more than a German mile long, and a quarter broad, there are more than ſeventeen caſtles.

Antiquarians ×

× See laſt line of page 314

Rhætium or *Rhætia Ima* (Lower Rhætia), and give the following account of its conſtruction. In the early ages of the Roman hiſtory a numerous army of Gauls penetrated into Lombardy, and took poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of that country, which was then occupied by the Tuſcans. A conſiderable body of the latter being driven from their native country accompanied their leader, Rhætus, into theſe Alps, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in theſe regions. Rhætus gave his own name to the whole region, and conſtructed that fortreſs which he called Rhætia Ima, ſince corrupted into Retzuns. Livy relates the emigration of the Tuſcans into theſe parts without mentioning the name of their leader, who is called Rhætus by Pliny and Juſtin; and the number of places ſtill exiſting in theſe Alps, which bear a reſemblance to that appellation, ſeem ſtrong teſtimonies in favour of this account.

But as events of ſuch high antiquity will always be liable to much doubt, let us deſcend to later times, which admit of no diſpute. The caſtle was the reſidence of a baron, who poſſeſſed the adjacent territory, and was called Baron of Retzuns. His name frequently occurs in the ancient hiſtory of this country, when the territory of the Griſons was divided into ſeveral petty ſovereignties. He is alſo mentioned among the chiefs, who aſſembled in 1424 at Truns, and confirmed and enlarged the privileges of the people, when the ſeveral communities united and formed the Grey League. At that time the baron reſerved to himſelf certain prerogatives, which are now poſſeſſed by his ſucceſſors. In 1459, the male line being extinct, the barony

deſcended

deſcended to a collateral branch, and in 1470, came by purchaſe into the poſſeſſion of the emperor Maximilian the Firſt. Ferdinand the Firſt mortgaged the barony for 14,000 florins to John Planta, in whoſe family it continued until the year 1679, when it was redeemed by the emperor Leopold, and it now belongs to his granddaughter Maria Tereſa, the preſent empreſs *. The revenues of this territory are very ſmall, amounting to 2000 florins, or ſcarcely £.200 *per ann.*; but by the poſſeſſion of it the Houſe of Auſtria enjoys conſiderable influence in the political affairs of the Griſons.

The delegate of the empreſs, who is called Adminiſtrator, has a vote in the diet of Truns, and nominates every third year the *Landrichter*, or chief of the Grey League.

Being deſirous of ſeeing the caſtle, I ſent my compliments to the Auſtrian delegate, who inſtantly made his appearance, and politely attended me round the caſtle. The preſent building was raiſed by Leopold, upon the foundation of the antient ſtructure, of which there are ſcarcely any remains. I could not, upon the cloſeſt inſpection, diſcern the ſlighteſt traces of Roman workmanſhip.

This caſtle is the uſual reſidence of the Auſtrian Envoy to the Republic of the Griſons; but as the preſent envoy dwells in his own houſe at Reichenau, it is now occupied by the Auſtrian delegate. It is ſituated upon an eminence, and commands a fine view of the adjacent country.

* The empreſs was alive when I wrote this letter: on her deceaſe it was inherited by her ſon, the preſent emperor of Germany.

The

The rich plain, which extends as far as Reichenau, is bounded on all ſides by high mountains, and yields, among other productions, abundance of wheat. The Lower Rhine flows through it in a wide and ſtony channel.

The delegate finding, during our converſation, that I had a letter of recommendation from Count Firmian to the Auſtrian Envoy at Reichenau, invited me to dinner, and politely offered to accompany me in the afternoon to Reichenau; an invitation which I made no ſcruple to accept. The company at table conſiſted of the adminiſtrator, his wife, and a capuchin friar. The lady ſpoke nothing but Romanſh, ſo that I was not able to enjoy much of her converſation. I could only drink her health, and make her a ſhort compliment, which I had learned by rote. I held a long converſation, in the French tongue, with the adminiſtrator, upon the barony of Retzuns, on which ſubject he kindly gave me the following information. As delegate of the empreſs of Germany, he has a kind of territorial juriſdiction over the village and diſtrict of Retzuns. The barony of Retzuns comprizes the villages of Retzuns, Bonadutz, Embs, and Feldſberg, which form a High Juriſdiction in the Grey League, and ſend two deputies to the general diet of the Griſons; the people are free; they aſſemble annually in the court of the caſtle to elect their magiſtrates, when every male at the age of fourteen has a vote. The delegate nominates the Landamman from three candidates appointed by the people: the empreſs receives the fines for criminal offences, and pays the expences of the proceſs; the priſoners are confined in the caſtle, but are tried by judges choſen by the people.

After

After dinner I accompanied my hoſt through a rich and fertile plain to Reichenau, and waited upon Mr. Buol, the Auſtrian envoy, who received me with great attention and politeneſs; and obligingly invited me to remain ſome time at Reichenau: an invitation I declined for the preſent, through my impatience of arriving at Coire, where I expected to receive ſeveral letters from my friends in England, from whom I had not heard ſince my departure from Milan. Reichenau is ſituated upon the conflux of the two branches which form the Rhine. The lower branch is the ſame which I followed during the greateſt part of its courſe from Splugen; the upper branch riſes near the mountain of St. Gothard, and flows through the valley of Sopra Selva. The caſtle, or houſe of Mr. Buol, is placed in a moſt romantic ſituation upon a ſmall eminence, a little above the junction, and the garden advances to the Rhine. At this place there are two bridges, which were built by the nephew of Grubenman, that deſerve particular notice; one, which is thrown acroſs the lower branch of the Rhine, meaſured thirty-five paces, or about a hundred and five feet. The ſecond is built acroſs the Rhine below the point of union, and forms a moſt beautiful object. It is a wooden bridge of a ſingle arch, covered like that of Schaffhauſen, and conſtructed upon the ſame plan, with this difference however, that the road is not carried in ſo perfect a level. The ſpan of the arch is two hundred and twenty feet in length. As the banks of the Rhine in this ſpot are more elevated than thoſe of the ſame river at Schaffhauſen, the bridge of Reichenau is raiſed conſiderably higher above the ſur-

+ Antiquarians derive the name of Retzuns from *Rhætium*

face of the water than that of Schaffhauſen *. And as it preſents alſo to the eye but a ſingle curve, its general appearance is far more picturesque, and its effect more ſtriking. But it is not near ſo beautiful a piece of architecture as the bridge of Wettingen, which is Grubenman's maſter-piece. The more I examine theſe bridges, the more I am ſtruck with the ſublime ſimplicity of the ſtructure; the more I am aſtoniſhed, that the perſon who firſt conceived the plan was a common carpenter, totally unacquainted with the theory of mechanics, and indebted to a natural genius for having carried practical architecture to ſuch perfection.

In my way from Reichenau to Coire, I ſtopped at Embs, in order to inquire if there are any remains of an old caſtle, in which William, ſon of Tancred king of Sicily was confined. At preſent there is not the ſmalleſt veſtige of ſuch a fabric; but according to the tradition of the country it formerly ſtood upon a hill, whereon the church is now erected.

The valley from Reichenau to Coire is about two miles broad, and produces corn, paſture, and ſome vines, which begin to make their appearance near Embs. The Rhine flows through it with the rapidity of a torrent. Several inſulated rocks are ſcattered on the banks of the river, ſome barren, others covered with wood, which greatly diverſify the ſcenery. The chain of mountains fronting the northern aſpect is overſpread with groves of fir, while the oppoſite ridge is richly clothed for ſome way with oaks,

* See Letter 1. † Letter 13.

and

and its ſummits crowned with firs and pines. A little way beyond I entered the League of the Houſe of God, and arrived in good time at Coire.

LETTER

LETTER 81.

League of God's Houſe—Town and Biſhopric of Coire—Convent of St. Lucius.

THE whole territory, which is now compriſed within the League of the Houſe of God, was under the dominion of the biſhop of Coire, until the people, oppreſſed by their rulers, threw off the yoke, and having formed a general league, compelled the biſhop to ratify their independence.

The æra of this important revolution is not preciſely marked in the annals of this country. Some hiſtorians have even aſſerted, that it happened ſo early as the latter end of the fourteenth century, and was anterior to the formation of the Grey League. But this opinion does not ſeem to be grounded upon ſufficient evidence; as the facts alledged in its ſupport intimate little more than that the biſhop granted ſeveral immunities to the inhabitants, but by no means prove, that the communities formed themſelves into a league

league at ſuch an early period, and afforded the *firſt* * example of liberty in theſe parts. For that honour is undoubtedly due to the Grey League. This revolution, which finally exalted the league into its preſent ſtate of freedom, probably took place between 1424, the æra of the formation of the Grey League, and 1436, the year in which the Ten Juriſdictions roſe into inpendence.

This league is denominated in Romanſh *La Ligia de la Chiada* †; in German, *Gottſhauſbund*, from which we call it the *League of the Houſe of God:* it takes this appellation as well from the cathedral ſituated in its capital, as from having once been under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Coire.

It is divided into eleven diſtricts; each of which (Coire excepted) is ſubdivided into two little republics, or communities. By this arrangement the league comprehends twenty-one republics‡, and ſends twenty-two deputies to the general diet.

Formerly the burgomaſter of Coire was perpetual chief of the league without election, but in the latter end of the laſt century the other communities claimed a power of nominating to this office in their turn. The affair being re-

* Campell eſpouſes this notion, and his authority undoubtedly carries great weight: but we muſt conſider that he grounds his opinion merely upon conjecture, and that, as a member of the League of God's Houſe, he was inclined to give to that League the preference in point of antiquity over the Grey League.

† *Chiada*, or as it is ſometimes written, *Ca-de*, ſignifies cathedral. Hence the French call it *La Ligue Caddé*.

‡ See Introduction.

ferred

ferred to the arbitration of Zuric, it was decided, that for the future the twenty-two deputies of this league ſhould chooſe two candidates from the members of the ſenate of Coire; and that theſe two candidates ſhould draw lots for the charge: a mode of election which is now in uſe. The chief thus appointed is called *Bundspreſident*, and has ſeveral privileges which diſtinguiſh him from the chiefs of the two other leagues. He receives all the letters addreſſed to the Republic of the Griſons from foreign powers, and is alſo perpetual preſident of the Congreſs, becauſe that aſſembly is always held at Coire.

Coire is ſituated at the foot of the Alps, in a rich plain between two or three miles wide; a conſiderable breadth of valley for this mountainous country. Oppoſite is the chain of mountains which ſeparate the country of the Griſons from the canton of Glarus: of this chain the Calendar is eſteemed the higheſt point; but it is far inferior in elevation to ſeveral of the Swiſs and Savoy Alps I viſited in my laſt tour, and wants one certain criterion of great height, perpetual ſnow.

The town lies partly in the plain, and partly upon the ſteep ſide of a rock, and is ſurrounded with ancient brick walls, with ſquare and round towers, in the ſtyle of fortification prior to the invention of powder. The ſtreets are narrow and dirty. Several towns of Upper Engadina, although not ſo large, make a neater and more elegant appearance. It contains about three thouſand ſouls.

Many fables are related concerning the foundation of Coire: the moſt probable account ſeems to be, that it owes its origin to the em-

peror

peror Conſtantius, who, in the 355th year of the Chriſtian æra, penetrated into Rhetia, and fixed his ſtation for ſome time near the ſpot where Coire now ſtands. A town, as it often happened on ſuch occaſions, was perhaps conſtructed near the camp; and from the imperial reſidence it is ſuppoſed to have derived the name *Curia*, its ancient appellation, ſince corrupted into *Coira* and *Coire*. The remains of two or three towers, which are evidently of Roman conſtruction, atteſt its antiquity, and ſerve to eſtabliſh the truth of theſe conjectures concerning its origin.

The town of Coire was formerly a city of the German empire, under the dominion of its own counts, and came in the ninth century under the juriſdiction of the biſhop. Like many other cities of Germany, it obtained conſiderable privileges from the different emperors; and the inhabitants, having gradually circumſcribed the authority of the biſhop, at length eſtabliſhed an independent republic.

The government of Coire is of a mixed form, partly ariſtocratical, partly democratical. The ſupreme legiſlative authority reſides in the citizens, whoſe number amounts to two hundred and ninety-four, divided into five tribes. Each citizen has a vote at the age of twenty. The ſuffrages are never collected in a meeting of the whole body of the people aſſembled together in one ſpot; but the object of deliberation is ſeparately laid before each tribe, and is decided by the majority of the five tribes.

The executive power is entruſted to the council of ſeventy, compoſed of fourteen members annually elected from each tribe. This ſovereign council

council is divided into ſeveral leſſer departments, of which the principal is the ſenate, or council of fifteen, who have the chief direction of affairs, either ſolely or conjointly with other members of the ſovereign council. The chiefs of Coire are two burgomaſters taken from the members of the ſenate, who, although liable to be removed, invariably continue in office for life. Theſe two magiſtrates enjoy the ſupreme dignity by rotation, each for the ſpace of a year; during which term the acting chief, under the title of reigning burgomaſter, preſides in the uſual councils. The criminal tribunal is compoſed of the ſenate and fifteen other members of the ſovereign council. The priſoners are examined and the proceſs made out by the ſecret council, formed of the ſeven oldeſt members of the ſenate. The majority of theſe ſeven muſt concur, to order the infliction of torture. After examination and conviction, the acts of the proceſs are laid before the criminal tribunal, which ultimately paſſes ſentence; and all offences, excepting great crimes, are commonly puniſhed by fines.

My curioſity led me this morning to the apartment in which the general diet of the Griſons is held every three years; although it contained no object worthy of deſcription, yet it did not fail to ſtrike my attention, as being the place where the parliament of a free nation is aſſembled.

Coire ſends two deputies to this diet, who are generally the two burgomaſters; but if one of theſe ſhould be chief of the league, the other deputy is choſen by rotation in the five tribes,

with this condition, that he muſt be a member of the council of ſeventy.

From the apartment in which the diet is held I went to the town-hall, in order to ſee the form of adminiſtering the oath to the new *Bunds-preſident*. In general the ceremony takes place juſt before the meeting of the diet, in the preſence of the deputies of the League of God's Houſe; but as the perſon to whom the office now devolves was not preſent at the diet, it was neceſſarily poſtponed. All the parties being aſſembled, Mr. Tſcharner, the laſt preſident, with the public notary, ſtood at the upper end of the room; the gentleman appointed to ſucceed him ſtood at the lower end, with the *Bunds-weiber*, or ſecretary, dreſſed in a cloak half black and half white, the livery of the league. Mr. Tſcharner addreſſed to his ſucceſſor a ſpeech of about ten minutes, in German, acquainting him, that he was appointed by the deputies of the league Bunds-preſident for the enſuing year, giving him joy of his promotion, and congratulating the League upon the nomination of a perſon ſo well calculated by his integrity and abilities to fulfil the duties of the office. At the concluſion of this ſpeech, the public notary read the oaths for the preſident, for himſelf, and the ſecretary. Mr. Tſcharner then told them to hold up three fingers of their right-hand, and to repeat after him their ſeveral oaths; which ceremony being concluded, the new preſident made a ſhort ſpeech, that he was highly flattered with the honour conferred upon him, and that he would ſtrive, as far as his abilities would permit him, to promote the welfare of the Legate of which he had been elected preſident. Then the former preſident

preſident bowing to the new chief, the latter walked out of the room; and thus ended the ceremony.

It is remarkable, that although in the nomination of the magiſtrates, preſident, and deputies, the ariſtocratical party has the entire direction, yet that the appointment to the vacant governments of the ſubject provinces ſhould be left wholly to chance. When the turn belongs to Coire, the five tribes meet ſeparately, and a candidate is appointed by lot from each tribe. Theſe five perſons then draw lots for the office, and the ſucceſsful candidate may ſell the turn; with this reſtriction, that the preference of purchaſing it ſhall be given firſt to a member of the ſame tribe, ſecondly to any citizen of Coire, thirdly to an inhabitant of the League of God's Houſe. It frequently happens, that the five perſons, who are to draw lots for the government, agree to divide the profits of the ſale.

Upon the higheſt part of the town ſtand the biſhop's palace, the cathedral, and the houſes belonging to the chapter.

The biſhopric of Coire is very ancient, and was probably erected ſoon after the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in theſe parts under Conſtantine, or his ſon. This dioceſe once extended over the whole Roman province of Rhetia, which comprehended the preſent country of the Griſons, Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, the eaſtern diſtrict of Switzerland as far as the lake of Conſtance, and part of Tyrol. The biſhop's territorial poſſeſſions were alſo conſiderable, and his revenues by no means inadequate to his power and dignity. It would be

unintereſting to trace the diminution of his authority, and the gradual annihilation of his juriſdiction over the town of Coire, and the commonwealths of this League. I ſhall therefore obſerve, that his authority was principally leſſened by the formation of the League of God's Houſe, and the limitation of his prerogatives in 1527: by the former he was compelled to ratify the independence of the communities; by the latter the principal prerogatives, from which he derived great influence in the political affairs of the Griſons, were at once annihilated; and he was reduced to the condition of a private perſon, in that country wherein he had formerly been conſidered as a ſovereign prince. Theſe privileges conſiſted in having admiſſion, and a voice in the general diet of the Griſons; in appointing ſeveral deputies for the ſame aſſembly; in nominating the chief magiſtrates of ſeveral communities; and in receiving appeals in civil cauſes from the deciſion of the provincial courts of juſtice. All theſe prerogatives were abrogated by a general diet of the Griſons in 1527; and the few remaining rights have been either purchaſed or taken away. The introduction of the proteſtant religion gave the final blow to his power; for his revenue ſuffered great diminution by the loſs of the tythes, which were ſeized by the reformed communities.

The biſhop is prince of the Roman empire; a dignity annexed to the ſee in 1170, by the emperor Frederic the Firſt, and is ſtyled Lord of Furſtenberg and Furſtenau. His revenues amount to about £. 2,000 ſterling *per ann.* They ariſe chiefly from eſtates near Coire, and in the Tyrol. He receives alſo the annual ſum of about

about £70 from the cuſtoms of Chiavenna, in return for having ceded his right over the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Republic of the three leagues *. The only prerogatives remaining are the right of coining money, and an abſolute juriſdiction both in civil and criminal affairs within the ſmall diſtrict in which his palace and the chapter are ſituated. Beyond this diſtrict he enjoys not the leaſt power: ſo far from interfering in the affairs of the town, he could not even enter it if the inhabitants choſe to exclude him; a right which they aſſerted in 1764, upon the following occaſion. A Catholic, in order to prevent his being arreſted for a crime of which he had been guilty, took refuge from the hands of juſtice in the cathedral. The inhabitants, inflamed by the biſhop's refuſal to deliver him up, raiſed a gate cloſe to the only opening which leads into the epiſcopal diſtrict; by which means the avenue to the palace was cloſed: this manœuvre conquered the biſhop's obſtinacy, and the criminal was delivered up. The gate ſtill exiſts, and is ready to be uſed upon another occaſion.

The biſhop is choſen by the chapter. Many diſputes relating to his election have ariſen between the canons and the League of God's Houſe: the latter, in virtue of a treaty contracted in 1541 with the biſhop, proteſts, that only a native of the League can be promoted to the ſee. This treaty was obſerved until 1692, when a foreigner was elected; from that period the canons have diſregarded the right aſſerted by the League, and have without reſerve given their

* See page 241.

their votes to aliens: at every new election the League remonſtrates, but without effect. The preſent biſhop is Francis Dionyſius, of the ancient family of Roſt in the Tyrol.

This epiſcopal diſtrict is only a few hundred paces in circumference, and is ſurrounded by high walls. I examined the biſhop's palace: the greateſt part is modern, excepting a ſquare tower, which is ſuppoſed to have been conſtructed by the Romans. It is of ſtrong but clumſy workmanſhip, and is in no degree entitled to notice, except as a monument of antiquity.

In the cathedral I obſerved no one object of curioſity, unleſs the bones of St. Lucius, richly ornamented after the faſhion of Roman Catholic relics, ſhould be thought worthy of attention.

The chapter conſiſts of twenty-four canons, of whom ſix are reſident. The inhabitants of this diſtrict are all Catholics.

Above the palace, and upon the higheſt extremity of the town, is the convent of St. Lucius. It takes its name from a ſmall chapel dedicated to that ſaint, who, according to the legends of the Romiſh church, was a king of England in the latter end of the ſecond century. Having embraced Chriſtianity, and being inflamed with religious zeal, he quitted his throne, and wandering into theſe parts built an hermitage upon the ſpot where his chapel now ſtands, and by his preaching and example converted numbers to a belief of the goſpel. He is ſtyled the apoſtle of the Griſons, and is greatly revered as a ſaint by the Catholics, while the Proteſtants of the town pay him not the leaſt veneration. Burnet, in his Travels, relates, that he endeavoured

voured "*to ſhew the good old biſhop that the legend of Lucius was a fable in all the parts of it, but moſt remarkable in that which related to the Griſons; and that we had no kings in Britain at that time, but were a province to the Romans; that no antient authors ſpeak of it, Bede being the firſt that mentions it; and that the pretended letter to pope Eleutherius, together with his anſwer, has evident characters of forgery in it. All this,* he adds, *ſignified nothing to the biſhop, who aſſured me that they had a tradition of that in their church, and it was inſerted in their Breviary, which he firmly believed.*"

As I was well aware, that my endeavours to convince the monks of the falſity of the legend would have ended as unſucceſsfully as the reaſoning of Burnet, I did not imitate his example; but without entering into the merits or demerits of the ſtory, I contented myſelf with admiring the beautiful proſpect, which was the motive that induced me to viſit the convent. The environs of Coire are delightful. The plain is richly diverſified with corn and paſture; the hills gradually ſloping to the foot of the mountains are covered with vines, which yield wine of an agreeable flavour, but not ſtrong. The points of view vary ſurpriſingly, from agreeable to romantic, from romantic to wild. The Rhine, which flows rapidly through the plain, at about the diſtance of a mile, begins here to be navigable by rafts, and merchandiſe is tranſported toward Lindau and Zuric.

LETTER 82.

Caſtle of Haldenſtein—Seminary of Literature.

I RODE this evening, in company with two gentlemen of Coire, from whom I have received great marks of attention and politeneſs, to Haldenſtein, which may be called the ſmalleſt ſovereignty in Europe. We paſſed along the ſide of the hills, and at the bottom of the rugged rocks which lead to the League of the Ten Juriſdictions; and enjoyed the whole way a fine view of the rich plain, ſtretching from the town of Coire as far as Embs. The beautiful verdure of the meadows, the ſloping hills clothed with vines, the craggy mountains, partly covered with vines, partly overſpread with wood, and partly bare, formed altogether a ſtriking proſpect. We croſſed the Rhine to Haldeſtein, a ſmall village conſiſting of about ſixty houſes, and proceeded to the houſe occupied by the preſent baron, Rhodolph de Salis, who received me with great politeneſs, and kindly indulged my curioſity,

curioſity, by ſhewing me his little territory, and anſwering my inquiries with great readineſs and exactneſs. The baron, a gentleman of conſiderable learning and indefatigable induſtry, has formed a large collection of manuſcripts relative to the Griſons, from which he has drawn ample materials for a publication, in which he is at preſent engaged. His reſearches are chiefly biographical; and his work is intended to illuſtrate the memoirs of the principal perſons, who have rendered themſelves conſpicuous among the Griſons by their actions and abilities *.

With reſpect to the barony of Haldenſtein, he informed me, that it was formerly under the protection of the ſeven ancient cantons of Switzerland; that ſince the year 1568, it has been an independent ſovereignty, under the protection of the three leagues; that in the middle of the ſixteenth century it was poſſeſſed in right of marriage by John de Caſtron, French ambaſſador to the Republic of the Griſons, and at his death, in 1565, came into the family of Schauenſtein: that the male line being extinct, it was divided between two females of the collateral branches, one of whom married a de Salis, and the other an Hartmannis. In the beginning of this century the deſcendants of the former purchaſed the other half, and again reunited it under one perſon.

* This work is announced as not yet finiſhed, in Haller's *Schweitzer-Bibliothek*, vol. II. p. 364, under the following titles: 1. *Rhætia Illuſtrata, contenant l'hiſtoire ou les principaux évenemens de la vie des Hommes célébres qui ont paru au pais des Griſons.* 2. *Rhætia Literaria, ou Catalogue de tous les auteurs Griſons, de leur vie, et de leurs ouvrages.*

The

The whole barony conſiſts of a ſmall ſemicircular plain, which lies between the Rhine and the bottom of the Calendar, about five miles in length, and ſcarcely one in breadth. It occupies alſo part of the mountain, which is ſo ſteep as not to be inhabited. It contains only two villages, that of Haldenſtein and Sewils, and the whole number of ſubjects amount to no more than between three and four hundred. The people were ſerfs, or vaſſals, until the year 1701, when the grandfather of the preſent baron gave to them ſeveral immunities. At preſent the lord has territorial juriſdiction; the excluſive privilege of hunting and fiſhing; a claim of two days work annually from each of his ſubjects, and a load of dung from each peaſant. He appoints the judge in the criminal court, receives the fines for offences, from which he pays the expences of the proceſs, and has the power of pardoning. He nominates the preſident, and part of the jury in civil cauſes, and in all caſes of appeal judges in the laſt reſort.

The baron ſhewed me ſeveral coins ſtruck by his predeceſſors: the moſt ancient was a gold piece of 1611, the year in which the emperor Matthias conferred the right of coining money upon the baron of Haldenſtein; a privilege which he ſtill enjoys.

The ancient caſtle of Haldenſtein, from which the barons took their title, is now in ruins; but its remains are ſtill viſible upon the ſides of the mountain: above it is another ruined caſtle called Lichtenſtein, which was formerly inhabited by an anceſtor of prince Lichtenſtein of Vienna, and from which he is ſaid to derive his title. The prince is ſo convinced of his deſcent from the

the ancient poſſeſſors of this caſtle, and ſo proud of their antiquity, that he was at the expence of procuring a ſtone from theſe ruins, for the foundation ſtone of a ſuperb palace which he has built at Vienna, that it might be ſaid to contain ſome materials of the original caſtle in which his anceſtors once reſided.

The preſent houſe, occupied by the baron of Haldenſtein, was built in 1545, by James de Caſtrio; it is pleaſantly ſituated near the Rhine, and commands a fine view of the town of Coire, and the adjacent country.

A few years ago the caſtle of Haldenſtein was converted into a ſeminary for the education of youth. An inquiry into the origin of this inſtitution, and the cauſe of its ſubſequent decline, has led me to gain ſome inſight into the general ſtate of literature in this country.

It had long been a ſerious cauſe of complaint, that in the whole country of the Griſons there was no public ſeminary for completing the education of youth; and that all who followed any of the learned profeſſions were obliged to repair to foreign academies. M. de Salis of Manchlins, and ſome other perſons of the firſt conſequence among the Griſons, conſidering this defect a diſgrace to their country, projected a plan for the inſtitution of an academy; and having obtained the ratification of the general diet, which aſſembled at Davos in 1761, carried it into immediate execution at their own expence, with a zeal for literature which reflects the higheſt honour upon their exertions.

The plan was extenſive and uſeful, and ſeemed well calculated to ſecure ſucceſs: for a ſhort time it wore a flouriſhing appearance; but this proſperous

perous beginning was not ſucceeded by any beneficial conſequences. Its decline was owing to the little countenance given to literature; was haſtened by quarrels which aroſe between the profeſſors; and in 1779, within the ſpace of fifteen years from its firſt eſtabliſhment, the inſtitution was diſſolved.

The general ſtate of literature among the Griſons is at a very low ebb. One of the moſt learned men in this country, and who would be far from depreciating the knowledge of his countrymen without ſufficient foundation, thus expreſſes himſelf upon this head *:—" As the adminiſtration of affairs is entirely in the hands of the people, the greateſt part, conſidering nothing but their own profit, deſpiſe every ſpecies of polite learning, and are unwilling to allow any ſalaries, or beſtow any honours upon the profeſſors; ſo that all perſons who cultivate the ſciences are incited merely by the love of glory, and a diſintereſted zeal." If this is the caſe, it would be chimerical to expect the arts and ſciences to flouriſh in an ungrateful ſoil, where they meet with no encouragement: but even

* *In Rhætia noſtra rerum adminiſtratio omnium a plebe dependet, cujus numerus potior non niſi quæ ante naſum ſunt, aut lucrum adferunt, ſapit, quicquid de reliquo agatur, litteras politiores, cum omni gloria et commodis quæ ex illis ſubſequuntur, quaſi rejicienda contemnit; nullum earum profeſſoribus premium, nullum meritum, laudem nullam tribuit; ſic ut qui litteras ament, et excolant, ex generoſo quopiam animi impetu id agant, ſepoſito omni alio fine, et abſque ullo ad eas calcari. Et his tamen non obſtantibus, reperti et apud Nos qui generoſi ediderunt pectoris documenta; reperti etiam, qui ſcientiarum culturam, ac amorem quibuſvis aliis prætulerunt, licet illorum labores ac memoria fere cum ipſis intereat, nec ſit qui eam ab interitu vindicet. Aporta Hiſt. Reformat. Rhætic. Præfat.*

amidſt

amidſt theſe obſtacles to improvement, there have never been wanting, and there ſtill are to be found, men of ſuperior ſouls, who have dedicated their time to the cultivation of letters; and who merit the higheſt praiſe, for labouring in the vineyard without hopes of profit.

The Proteſtants who receive a liberal education repair for the moſt part to Zuric or Baſle, and the Catholics to Milan, Pavia, or Vienna.

Each community has a ſmall ſchool, in which the children are taught to write, read, and caſt accounts; but which is only open in winter, from the 9th of November to the 7th of March. Thoſe parents who wiſh to give their children a better education, and who can ſupport the expence, muſt either ſend them to foreign parts, or have a private tutor at home.

There is a Latin ſeminary at Coire for the children of the burghers, and another, inſtituted in 1763, for the education of perſons intended for the church; and although theſe eſtabliſhments are poorly endowed, yet they have been productive of ſome literary advantages to the country. There is alſo a typographical ſociety at Coire for Latin, German, and Romanſh: books in the latter tongue are alſo printed in the Lower Engadina and at Diſentis.

LETTER

LETTER 83.

League of Ten Juriſdictions—Fatzerol—Baths of Alvenew—Davos—Valley of Pretigau—Malantz—Mayenſield—Baths of Pfeffers.

I QUITTED Coire yeſterday morning, in order to make an excurſion into the League of the Ten Juriſdictions; but before I proceed in my account of this expedition, I ſhall ſend you a ſhort abſtract of this league, from its firſt foundation to its preſent independency.

This league ought properly to be called, and indeed is not unfrequently denominated in this country, the League of the *Eleven* Juriſdictions, from the number of communities of which it is compoſed; but as upon its firſt union it was formed of ten juriſdictions, it ſtill retains its original appellation, although one of the juriſdictions has been ſince that period ſubdivided into two.

The

The territory of this league was formerly under the dominion of the barons of Vatz, whoſe authority was limited, as the people poſſeſſed very conſiderable privileges. Upon the death of Donatus, the laſt baron, the count of Toggeburg, who had married his eldeſt daughter, ſucceeded to his poſſeſſions; and Frederic, one of his deſcendants, dying in 1436 without iſſue, the ſeveral communities united, formed an offenſive and defenſive alliance, and erected themſelves into a league. But although by this alliance they increaſed their immunities, yet they were by no means perfectly independent; for the male heirs of the count of Toggeburg obtained the lordſhip over theſe juriſdictions, after having confirmed all their privileges, and added others. Afterwards Sigiſmond, archduke of Auſtria and count of Tyrol, purchaſed the baronial rights. Upon his death they devolved to his heir, Maximilian the Firſt, and the ſucceſſors of that emperor. Theſe prerogatives conſiſted in the appointment, in ſeveral of the communities, of the criminal judge, in the power of pardoning, in receiving part of the fines, in nominating the principal magiſtrates from three candidates, and in other ſimilar privileges, which gave to the Houſe of Auſtria conſiderable influence in the interior adminiſtration of affairs. Theſe rights exerciſed by means of a governor who reſided at Caſtels, but who could not be appointed without the concurrence of the league, were gradually annihilated, either by purchaſe or conceſſion; the ſeveral communities became entirely independent; and this independence was ſolemnly ratified by the emperor Ferdinand the Third, ſoon after the peace of Weſtphalia.

After about half an hour's aſcent from Coire, I entered the League of the Ten Juriſdictions near Malix; paſſed along the vale, and through the community of Churwalden, in which the hamlets lie prettily ſcattered about the vale, and upon the ſides of the mountains. I made a ſmall circuit in order to paſs through the village of Fatzerol, which conſiſts only of five or ſix houſes, and ſtands at the bottom of ſome very high and rugged mountains; it is celebrated in the hiſtory of the Griſons as being the place where, in 1471, the firſt perpetual alliance was ratified by the deputies of the three leagues. I was accompanied to the ſpot by one of the principal inhabitants, who was not diſpleaſed with the enthuſiaſm I teſtified at beholding the birth-place of their liberties. The houſe is now in ruins, and the apartment which was remarkable for the meeting of the deputies no longer remains. Having, with the aſſiſtance of my companion, traced its ſite, I conſidered with reſpect the ſpot which was once ſanctified by the ratification of the general union; lamented that ſo venerable a pile of building ſhould be ſuffered to fall into decay; and felt diſappointment, that there was no inſcription by public authority, in order to conſign together the date of the tranſaction, and to conſecrate the place which had been witneſs to an event the moſt memorable in the annals of this country.

Having ſatisfied my curioſity in viewing theſe reſpectable remains, I deſcended through Brientz to the baths of Alvenew. The ſource which gives celebrity to the laſt-mentioned place is ſulphureous, and reſembles both in ſmell and taſte the Harrowgate water. The ſituation of theſe

theſe baths is highly romantic, by the ſide of the torrent Albula, at the bottom of the majeſtic Alps.

Having paſſed through Alvenew and Anderwiſen, I mounted a very ſteep rugged aſcent through a thick foreſt, and then purſued a narrow path upon the ſide of a rock called Zug, over a ſteep precipice, with a torrent flowing beneath. This rock is moſtly bare, excepting a few ſtubbed firs, the remains of a foreſt which was formerly deſtroyed by fire; hence it is called the *Burnt Wood*, and exhibits a moſt deſolate appearance. At the bottom of this rock, cloſe to the torrent, are mines of ſilver, which were formerly worked. I entered the juriſdiction of Davos at the village of Glarus, and took up my lodging in a neat cottage.

The diſtrict of Davos is a long plain, about a quarter of a mile broad, gradually riſing into hills, which terminate in high mountains. It is not unlike the valley of Upper Engadina, but is more fertile. Near the church of St. John there is a ſmall cluſter of eight or ten houſes contiguous to each other: in the other parts the cottages are thickly ſtrewed over the plain, and upon the gentle acclivities, as in the canton of Appenzel, each with its little territory. The country produces oats, rye, large quantities of rich paſture, and yields two crops of hay in one ſeaſon. It is now the ſecond harveſt, and the fields are covered with mowers. The bordering mountains are overſpread to their ſummits with foreſts of fir and larch, intermixed with meadows: above them tower the rugged Alps. A clear murmuring ſtream flows through the midſt of the plain, with a gentle though lively courſe; its banks

prettily ornamented with ſcattered cottages, which are remarkably neat and commodious. Some are built of trees piled one upon another; others have ſtone foundations, and the upper part of wood; others are conſtructed with ſtone plaiſtered and white-waſhed. I walked to the valley of Dieſma, leading to Scampf in Upper Engadina, which is cloſed at ſome diſtance by a high mountain covered with ſnow, ſaid to be one of the moſt elevated in the country of the Griſons. It is called the Swart-Horn, and is part of the Scaletta Alps, which communicates with the Julian Alps, the Set, and the chain that ſeparates the Valteline from Upper Engadina and Pregalia. Cloſe to my inn is the town-houſe, in which the deputies compoſing the general diet of the Griſons are aſſembled every three years. It is alſo the place of meeting for the deputies of this league, who aſſemble annually in the month of May, for the choice of the *Bunds Landamman*, or chief of the league, and for the tranſacting of any particular buſineſs. It is plain and ſimple, like the people themſelves.

The form of government eſtabliſhed in this diſtrict of Davos is ſimilar to that of the ſmall cantons of Switzerland, and is entirely democratical. The people muſt be aſſembled upon all extraordinary occaſions, ſuch as enacting new laws, deciding upon appeals from the general diet, and raiſing money. Every male at the age of fourteen has a vote. The whole collective body of the people, however, do not meet, in order to chuſe their magiſtrates, who are elected from deputies ſent by each diſtrict. The adminiſtration of affairs reſides in the great council of eighty-two, and the council of fifteen, which is

is included in the former. The great council regulates all affairs relating to finance; the fifteen ſuperintend the police, and are judges in the civil and criminal courts of juſtice without appeal *. In criminal caſes torture cannot be inflicted without permiſſion of the great council. The Landamman is elected every two years, and is preſident of both theſe councils.

This remote corner has produced ſeveral perſons eminent in literature; and particularly the two hiſtorians of the Griſons, Guler and Sprecher.

John Guler was born in 1562, and died in 1637, at a very advanced age. He was remarkable for his multifarious knowledge; and publiſhed, in 1616, in the German tongue, "an account of the three Griſon Leagues, and other Rhetian people." In this work, much eſteemed by the natives, the author gives a circumſtantial detail of the origin of the antient Rhetians, and of their emigration from Tuſcany into this country under their leader Rhætus; traces their ſubſequent hiſtory under the Romans, and in the dark ages, to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the union of the three leagues was eſtabliſhed.

Guler has illuſtrated the hiſtory of ancient and modern Rhetia by wooden engravings of medals, towns, and battles; genealogical tables, coats of arms, and maps; which, though rude,

* It is remarkable, that through the whole League of the Ten Juriſdictions there is no appeal from the deciſion of the civil courts of juſtice, excepting in the community of Alvenew. The inhabitants of that place being Catholic and Proteſtant, there lies an appeal to the civil tribunal either of Churwalden or of Davos.

are curious for their antiquity. The author had alſo meditated a ſecond volume, on the union of the three leagues, on the topography and hiſtory of the whole country, and on the tranſactions of his own times.

For this part of the work Guler was eminently qualified; as well from his extenſive erudition, and for having carefully digeſted Campel's account of the Griſons *, as from the various offices to which he was raiſed both in the civil and military line, and the repeated embaſſies and negotiations in which he was employed. It is, however, uncertain whether this part was ever finiſhed; and if finiſhed, it is probably loſt: as Mr. Aporta has ſearched for it without ſucceſs in the libraries and among the manuſcripts of his countrymen †.

The deficiency of this valuable performance, however, is fortunately ſupplied by Fortunatus Sprecher, the contemporary, friend, and relation, of Guler.

Sprecher was born in 1584; and in 1617 gave to the world *Pallas Rhætica armata et togata*; or the military and civil hiſtory of the Griſons from the earlieſt ages to the æra in which the book was publiſhed. In this work, which is a model for method and perſpicuity, the author gives the national hiſtory, in ten books. The firſt contains the emigration of the Tuſcans, their ſettlement in this country, the deſcription of the antient Rhetians, and their tranſactions to the time

* See Letter 72.

† See Aporta Hiſt. Refor. Ecc. Ræt. Præfat.—Haller, in his Schweit. Bib. No. 814. ſays, that it was already prepared for the preſs, but was unfortunately burnt.

of

of Auguſtus. The ſecond compriſes the period from the Auguſtan æra to the eſtabliſhment of the empire of the Franks. The third treats of the Griſons under the empires of the Franks and Germans, till 1476. The fourth details the wars of the Griſons; namely the Swabian war againſt Maximilian the Firſt, and the campaigns againſt James of Medici, from 1525 to 1531. The fifth compriſes the wars in which the Griſons were engaged under the ſtandards of foreign powers. The ſixth relates the union and political ſtate of the three leagues, and their alliances with the Swiſs and other powers. The ſeventh, eighth, and ninth, ſeparately deſcribe the Grey League; the biſhopric of Coire, and the League of God's Houſe; and the League of Ten Juriſdictions. The tenth concludes with an account of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio.

A ſecond volume, which appeared in 1629, under the title of, *Hiſtoria Motuum et Bellorum poſtremis hiſce annis in Rhetia excitatorum et geſtorum*, relates the wars and troubles of the Griſons from 1617 to 1629; a period of turbulence and diſcord.

A third volume continued the hiſtory of the Griſons from 1617 to a ſhort time before the author's death, which happened in 1647; but has never been given to the public.

Towards the extremity of the beautiful valley of Davos I came to a ſmall lake, about four miles in circumference, which is remarkably deep and clear, and abounds with excellent trout. It lies at the foot of the mountains, and ſupplies a ſmall ſtream, which being joined by one from the valley of Flola, and by another from that

of

of Dieſma, forms the murmuring brook that waters the valley of Davos, and falls into the Albula above the baths of Alvenew: it is conſidered by ſome writers as forming a ſource of the Rhine.

From the banks of this lake I deſcended to another, about half a mile in circumference, that lies in a wild and romantic ſituation, and ſupplies a ſmall torrent, which is the ſource of the Lanquart. A little further we paſſed through a ſmall pleaſant plain ſtrewed with cottages, which compoſes the village of Lower Lera; at the extremity of which the deſcent was ſo ſteep and rugged, that I diſmounted until I reached the vale of Pretigau. I paſſed through Cloſter, Kublis, Jenatſch, and Schiers, following all the way the torrent Lanquart. The country is delightful, and greatly diverſified with all kinds of productions. It yields different ſpecies of grain, rich paſtures, abundance of fruit-trees, with large quantities of flax and hemp: the latter is much cultivated, and ſeems to be carried to great perfection. The peaſants manufacture coarſe but very ſtrong linen from this hemp.

The mountains on each ſide are in ſome parts covered with foreſts; and ſo great is the abundance of wood, that the fields are either ſtudded or ſkirted with larch, pines, or beech. The hamlets are ſcattered through the plain, and along the declivities of the mountains, in a very pleaſing manner. The houſes are moſtly of wood, in the Swiſs mode of conſtruction, and not leſs convenient. The road through this vale deſcends gently all the way. I have not for ſome time viſited a more agreeable, fertile, and populous diſtrict.

A little

A little beyond Gruſch, which lies under ſome bare rocks in a fertile plain, the valley of Pretigau contracts; and I went through a narrow paſs, between impending rocks, juſt broad enough to admit the torrent and the road. The ſudden change from the fertility of the country to the rugged barrenneſs of this ſpot, ſufficiently ſtriking of itſelf, was ſtill further heightened by the gloom of the evening, which added to the horror of the ſcenery. The road was carried for ſome way in continued aſcent and deſcent along the craggy precipices, ſometimes above, and ſometimes upon a level with the torrent. The path was ſo narrow and rugged, that I gave my horſe to the guide, and continued my way on foot. I ſoon emerged from this obſcure paſs, and, as far as I could judge by the dim light of the ſtars, came into a fine and rich country, and went through a ſeries of vineyards to Malantz, in the diſtrict of Mayenfield.

The High Juriſdiction of Mayenfield is the moſt remarkable in the whole country of the Griſons, becauſe the inhabitants are reſpectively ſovereign and ſubjects. They are ſovereign, becauſe they form part of the League of the Ten Juriſdictions, ſend deputies to the general diet of the Griſons, and nominate to the governments of the ſubject provinces. They are ſubject, becauſe, like the ſubject provinces, they are governed by a bailif ſent from the Griſons, who is changed every two years, and in whom reſides the ſupreme authority. This ſtrange intermixture of privileges and ſubjection is derived from the following cauſes.

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The lordſhip of Mayenfield was, like the whole territory of this league, ſubject to the counts of Toggenburgh, and, in 1436, joined the other communities to form a league. In 1509, the prerogatives enjoyed by the count of Toggenburgh were ſold, by his heirs, for 20,000 florins, to the three leagues, which confirmed the privileges of the inhabitants. In 1537, Malantz and Jennins, the remaining part of this High Juriſdiction, were alſo purchaſed by the three leagues for 10,000 florins. Thus, while the inhabitants of all the other juriſdictions, who came under the dominion of the Houſe of Auſtria, have purchaſed their abſolute independence, the people of Mayenfield and Malantz, although making part of the ſovereign power, have continued in the ſame ſtate as at the firſt formation of the leagues. The bailif or governor is appointed by the communities of the three leagues in rotation; and the inhabitants of this very High Juriſdiction nominate the bailif, when it is their turn to preſent to that office.

The prerogatives of the bailif, who reſides at Mayenfield, are as follow: he appoints the *Stadvogt*, or chief magiſtrate of that town, with this condition, that he muſt be a member of the ſenate; upon a vacancy in the ſenate or little council, he nominates the new ſenator; he arreſts criminals, examines them, and makes a compoſition if he chuſes; he cannot order torture or paſs ſentence without the concurrence of the members of the criminal tribunal *, and

* The members of this tribunal conſiſt of ſix judges from the diſtrict of Mayenfield, and ſix from that of Malantz, three from Jennins, and two from Flæſch.

when

when they paſs ſentence can pardon; he can give a liberation, in the ſame manner as the governor of the Valteline *; he receives part of the fines for criminal offences, and a certain portion of the great tythes; at Malantz he appoints the chief magiſtrate from three candidates preſented by the people, who chooſe all the other magiſtrates. Both Mayenfield and Malantz have their civil courts, from that of the former there lies an appeal to the bailif.

From Malantz, a ſmall but handſome town lying upon the ſide of an hill, I deſcended into a rich plain of paſture, about three miles in breadth. I croſſed the Rhine, and ſoon afterwards aſcended into the county of Sargans, through hanging groves of larch, fir, birch, beech, and oak. From the eminence I looked down upon a fine view, on the other ſide of the Rhine, of hills gently riſing from the bed of the river into mountains. Upon this chain are ſituated Mayenfield, Malantz, Jennins, and Flæſch, ſurrounded by corn-fields, meadows, and vineyards: it ſeemed to me the richeſt part of this country. I obſerved beyond the confines of the Griſons, at a little diſtance, the road † which I paſſed in 1776, as I travelled from Appenzel to Wallenſtadt.

Having reached Pfeffers, I left my horſe at the village, where there is an abbey of Benedictine monks, the abbot of which is a prince of the empire, and took a guide to the baths of the ſame name, which are diſtant about three miles. I paſſed through a thick foreſt of beech, down a ſteep and rugged path, to the houſe which the

* See Letter 75. † Letter 5.

abbot

abbot has built for the reception of the company. Formerly the accommodations were extremely indifferent; and the deſcent into the baths was attended with great inconvenience, if not with danger. Affairs are now greatly changed: the waters are conveyed by pipes into commodious baths; and the houſe, which is not only commodious, but ſuperb, hangs in a moſt romantic ſituation, on the ſide of the mountain, amidſt the gloom of the foreſt, cloſe to the lively Tamina.

Being deſirous of viſiting the warm ſource, I croſſed the Tamina, over a wooden bridge, and entered into a chaſm or narrow opening in a rock of lime-ſtone, through which that torrent has forced its way. The chaſm is from ten to twenty feet broad, and from two to three hundred feet high. In ſome places it is open at top and overſpread with ſhrubs; in ſome its ſides converge and almoſt touch; in others it is quite cloſed with enormous maſſes of fallen rock, and ſcarcely admits a feeble ray of light. The paſſage along this chaſm is quite dreadful; and my head almoſt turns giddy at the bare recital. I went along a kind of ſcaffolding erected for the purpoſe of ſupporting a wooden aqueduct, through which the waters are conveyed from their ſource to the baths: the planks upon which I walked, either reſting upon long beams, or ſuſpended by iron cramps driven into the ſides of the rock, hang over the torrent. I was frequently obliged to ſtoop for a conſiderable way, in order to avoid the impending rock: in ſome places I traverſed a ſingle plank, which forms a kind of bridge ſuſpended over the gulf, tottering

ing under my weight, and ſo narrow that I walked ſideways. In this manner I continued for near a quarter of an hour before I reached the warm ſprings, which guſh abundantly from the crevices of the rock. Here the baths were formerly conſtructed: the houſes for the reception of the ſick were built upon a platform, under the over-hanging crags; a ſituation ſo dreary, that I no longer find the deſcriptions given by the writers of the laſt century in the leaſt degree exaggerated. Willing to convey a general idea of their gloomineſs, they repreſent theſe dwellings as never receiving the rays of the ſun, and ſo dark that the inhabitants were accuſtomed to uſe candles at mid-day. The approach to the baths was very inconvenient: the company deſcended ranges of perpendicular ladders, or were let down by ropes. As the rocks have fallen, and overwhelmed theſe ſubterraneous dwellings, I could obſerve no traces of them, except ſome holes in the rock for the beams which ſupported the houſes.

Theſe baths have been ſo renowned for their efficacy in curing the gout, rheumatiſm, and cutaneous diſorders, that, according to the general opinion, they contain a ſmall portion of gold; as if that metal would render them more ſalutary for the cure of diſeaſes. The waters are tranſparent, perfectly free from ſmell or taſte, and about the warmth of milk immediately drawn from the cow. Perſons who have analyſed them ſay, that they depoſit no ſediment, are as light and pure as rain-water, are impregnated with a ſmall quantity of volatile alcali and iron, but contain no ſulphur.

I re-

I returned from this ſource through the ſame chaſm, and along the ſame tottering ſcaffolding, and was not diſpleaſed when I iſſued again into day. I then mounted to the village of Pfeffers, deſcended into the plain of the Rhine, and haſtened to Coire.

LETTER

LETTER 84.

Union of the Three Leagues—Diet—Congreſs.

THE country of the Griſons is divided into three leagues, which unite and form one republic; the Grey League, the Cadée, or the Houſe of God, and the Ten Juriſdictions. The reſpective communities of theſe three leagues have their peculiar conſtitution, enjoy their municipal laws and cuſtoms, and are independent commonwealths in all concerns, which do not interfere with the general policy of the whole republic, or the articles of the particular league of which they form a part.

It is remarkable, that the preciſe period at which the three leagues formally united to compoſe one general republic cannot be aſcertained from any poſitive record in the annals of this country. Campel, the beſt hiſtorian of the Griſons,

Griſons, places this event about 1436 *. For though the firſt articles of union which are tranſmitted to poſterity were drawn up in 15 4; it is plain that there were others of anterior date, becauſe it is therein expreſsly mentioned, that the ſaid articles were compiled from a former treaty, with great additions. This union has ſince been frequently renewed at different periods; but the ſame articles remain without any alteration.

The connection between the three leagues is maintained by means of an annual diet, of the congreſs, and of the three chiefs.

The diet is compoſed of ſixty-three deputies, and the three chiefs. Of theſe deputies the Grey League ſend twenty-ſeven, the Houſe of God twenty-two, and the Ten Juriſdictions fourteen. They are choſen in the ſeveral communities by every male of a ſtated age †.

The diet aſſembles annually about the beginning of September at Ilants, Coire, and Davos, by rotation, and continues ſitting about three weeks or a month. The chief of that league, in whoſe diſtrict the diet is held, is preſident for that turn, and has the caſting voice in caſe of equal ſuffrages. The ſupreme authority is not abſolutely and finally veſted in the diet, but in the communities at large; for in all affairs of importance, ſuch as declaring war, making peace, enacting laws, contracting alliances, and

* Sprecher, however, in his Pallas Rhætica, fixes the union of the three leagues in 1471, p. 228. Eliz. Edit. Moſt of the Griſon hiſtorians follow Sprecher.

† The age which entitles them to vote is not exactly the ſame in all the communities; in ſome it commences as early as fourteen.

impoſing taxes, the deputies either bring poſitive inſtructions from their conſtituents, or refer thoſe points, concerning which they have no inſtructions, to the deciſion of the ſeveral communities; ſo that in effect the ſupreme power conſtitutionally reſides in the body of the people, and not in their repreſentatives at the diet. All queſtions in the diet are carried or rejected by a majority of voices: the mode of voting is as follows. In all caſes where the communities ſend inſtructions, the deputies deliver them to the ſecretary, who reads them aloud: if theſe inſtructions are obſcurely worded, as ſometimes happens, either through accident or deſign, the diet determines by a majority in what ſenſe they ſhall be taken. In reſolutions, which, for want of inſtructions, are ſubject, after the deciſion of the diet, to the reviſal of the communities, each member is at liberty to vote as he chooſes. The three chiefs have no ſuffrage, when the communities ſend their inſtructions, becauſe they are not repreſentatives: but in all caſes which are either not referable to the communities, or which are afterwards to be ſubmitted to the communities, they vote in the ſame manner as the deputies.

It is worthy of remark, that although each deputy has the power of bringing in any bill, or propoſing any queſtion; yet he can only communicate it to the aſſembly through the medium of the preſident: the latter may lay it before the aſſembly, without any previous notice, at any time before its diſſolution; a privilege, which neceſſarily inveſts him with great influence in promoting or oppoſing the ſucceſs of a motion.

The deputies receive, for their attendance, a ſmall ſalary from the public treaſury, which never exceeds five ſhillings a day.

Extraordinary diets are convoked at the requeſt of any foreign court, who will diſcharge the expence of its ſittings, and upon other important emergencies. This extraordinary aſſembly is ſometimes compoſed of all the deputies, at other times of only half the number: in the latter inſtance it is called a half diet. The deputies are choſen in the ſame manner as at the election of a general diet, and its powers are the ſame.

The ariſtocratical party is ſtill further ſtrengthened by the power delegated to the congreſs; an aſſembly formed by the three chiefs, and three deputies from each league. In the Grey League theſe deputies are nominated by the Landrichter; in each of the other leagues they are choſen by rotation from the ſeveral communities.

This congreſs generally meets in February or March, and always at Coire, for which reaſon the chief of the League of God's Houſe is preſident: its office is to receive the votes of the ſeveral communities, relative to the queſtions referred to their deliberation at the laſt diet, and to communicate to each of them the reſult of the general deciſion. Whenever the anſwer of a community is not clearly worded, the congreſs determines the meaning of that vote by the majority; and this circumſtance gives an opening to much intrigue. For, if the leading perſons in any community do not chuſe to form a poſitive deciſion, they have it obſcurely worded, provided they are certain that a majority of the congreſs will affix that interpretation which they deſire. This aſſembly ſends out decrees to the ſubject

ſubject countries: if ſuch decrees are agreeable to the governors, they put them into execution; but if otherwiſe, and they can ſecure a majority at the approaching diet, they reject them, alledging that congreſs has exceeded its power. The three chiefs, as well as each of the other members of the congreſs, receive as a defrayment of their expences 54 florins, or about £. 4.

The three chiefs aſſemble regularly three times in the year at Coire, and upon any emergency may be alſo ſummoned by the chief of the League of God's Houſe. The principal meeting is in the month of May, when they write circular letters to the ſeveral communities, concerning the queſtions which are to be laid before the general diet. All the circular letters are written in German, and are tranſlated into Italian or Romanſh by the notaries of the diſtrict where thoſe languages are ſpoken. All public acts and documents are compiled in German: at the diet all bills are propoſed in that language; but the deputies, who do not underſtand German, may ſpeak Italian.

Thoſe theoriſts, who are ſo anxious to reform the Engliſh Houſe of Commons by transferring to *the people at large* the election of their repreſentatives in parliament, might, on examining with attention the features of the Griſon diet, fondly imagine, that an *annual* aſſembly, in the choice of whoſe members *every male* of the ſtate ſhould have a vote, and which, in all material occurrences ſhould be liable to *be directed by its conſtituents*, muſt *neceſſarily* be the pureſt ſanctuary of general freedom. In this inſtance, however, their conjectures are by no means conſonant to fact and experience; as corruption

and influence are not in any national parliament more conſpicuous than in the diet of the Griſons.

For although, in general, thoſe deputies, *annually choſen by every male of a ſtated age, are ſubject to be controuled in their votes by written orders from their conſtituents*, yet they frequently contrive to elude this reſtriction. Sometimes the inſtructions are drawn up, with the conſent of the community, under the ſole direction of the deputy himſelf; at other times an exemption from poſitive inſtructions, and the power of voting at his own pleaſure, is purchaſed by the deputy from his conſtituents. Sometimes again the deputy, although he may not have intereſt ſufficient to gain either of theſe points, has ſtill ſufficient addreſs to get his inſtructions ſo obſcurely worded as to admit a doubtful interpretation.

By various intrigues of this kind the greateſt part of the deputies ultimately acquire the power of voting as they pleaſe; and as they chiefly obtain this power by corrupting their conſtituents, moſt of them in return ſell their vote to the leading members of the diet. For moſt queſtions are carried, and moſt cauſes decided by bribery. Nor can it well be otherwiſe, when the electors are perſons in needy circumſtances; and the members, who have purchaſed their ſeats, are not themſelves exalted by their poſſeſſions above temptation.

Thus then the leading members ſecure an unbounded ſway in the affairs of the diet. But ſtill it ſhould ſeem, that whatever influence they may obtain by corrupting the deputies; yet as that aſſembly itſelf does not in many caſes decide finally,

finally, they could not acquire the ſame authority in thoſe concerns, which muſt be referred to the determination of the communities at large. Here at leaſt we might expect the unbiaſſed ſenſe of the majority of the people. But it may be univerſally remarked, that the delegation of deliberative authority to the people at large unavoidably tends to introduce an actual, though not an acknowledged ariſtocracy. For a *numerous* populace ſummoned to determine upon political, legiſlative, and judicial queſtions, *far above their comprehenſions*, muſt neceſſarily reſign themſelves to the direction of more informed men, eſpecially when aided by the recommendation of ſuperior wealth. As the deputies are generally the chiefs of thoſe communities which they repreſent, they muſt of courſe have the principal influence, and eaſily find means to incline the opinion of the people to the ſide which they have eſpouſed. In fact, without this ariſtocratical influence the exceſs of freedom would often degenerate into anarchy, and public deliberations would be attended with endleſs diſputes and factions.

If therefore corruption and ariſtocratical influence alone diminiſh factions and prevent anarchy in ſo poor a country as that of the Griſons, and in a republic ſcarcely known among the nations of Europe; to what a dreadful exceſs muſt the ſame evils prevail, if the *ſame* mode of electing, and giving inſtructions to, members of parliament, ſubſiſted in a kingdom like England; where riches and luxury are continually advancing with ſuch rapid ſtrides; where the moſt important political and commercial debates are agitated without reſtraint; and where the deci-

ſions of public affairs frequently affect the peace and intereſts of all Europe!

Theoretical reaſoners may, indeed, attempt to prove, that the beſt method of preventing corruption is to augment the number of electors, from the chimerical idea, that *large numbers* cannot be bribed. But if we appeal from uncertain theory to more certain experience, we ſhall find, that this argument is contradicted by the hiſtory of all ages. Among the Grecian republics, thoſe commonwealths in which the magiſtrates were choſen by the *people at large*, were the moſt venal. Among the Romans, the moſt effectual means which Julius Cæſar, the moſt able politician of his age, employed to ſubjugate his country, was to extend the privileges and votes of Roman citizens to *all* the inhabitants of Italy. The members of the Poliſh diet *, which is no leſs venal than the diet of the Griſons, are choſen by needy and *numerous* electors, of whom far the greateſt part poſſeſs no property; and whoſe *numbers*, inſtead of preventing, neceſſarily tend to increaſe influence and corruption.

* See Travels into Poland, Ruſſia, &c. Vol. I. B. 1. c. vi. & viii.

LETTER

LETTER 85.

Valley of Sopra Selva—Ilants—Truns—Diſentis—Tavetch.

IMPATIENT to return to England, after ſo long an abſence from my friends, I yeſterday morning quitted Coire, and paſſed by Embs, and over the bridge of Reichenau, which I again ſtopped to admire, as it boldly projected over the Rhine. I then rode along the ſide of the mountains which ſeparate the Griſons from the canton of Glarus, went through Tamins, and left Flims on my right, ſituated about a quarter of a mile from the road, in a pleaſant plain. The houſes of theſe towns are not ſcattered like thoſe of Davos, but ſtand in ſeparate cluſters, like the burghs of Engadina. Having traverſed thick foreſts of pines, and a very wild country, richly diverſified with grain and paſture, I deſcended to the deep bed of the Rhine, and croſſed it to Ilants.

Ilants, the capital of the Grey League, is a ſmall town, containing about ſixty houſes, and partly

partly ſurrounded by walls; a circumſtance which ſerves to diſtinguiſh it, as it is the only walled town, excepting Coire, among the Griſons. It is alſo remarkable for being the place, where the general diet of the three leagues aſſembles every third year. The adjacent country is fertile in every ſpecies of grain and paſture. The points of view are uncommonly fine, exhibiting a ſmall plain ſkirted by cultivated mountains, and backed by a ridge of barren rocks which bound the valley of Lungnets. The Romanſh, which is ſpoken in theſe parts, differs conſiderably, both as to pronunciation and orthography, from that of Engadina. By the aſſiſtance of ſome perſons to whom I had letters of recommendation, I procured ſeveral books written in the dialect of this league; theſe, in addition to others which I obtained in Engadina, have ſo conſiderably ſwelled my travelling library, that if I continue to increaſe the collection, I muſt hire an additional horſe for the purpoſe of carrying my baggage of information.

This tract of country, ſtretching from Reichenau to the mountain of St. Gothard, is called the valley of Sopra Selva, and is the moſt populous part of the Grey League.

On quitting Ilants I purſued my route at the foot of the mountains, through a plain covered with paſture and foreſt by the ſide of the Rhine, which is rapid and ſhallow. Afterwards I paſſed through a rocky country, continually aſcending and deſcending through large tracts of foreſt. I croſſed the Rhine ſeveral times during the laſt four or five miles: that river formed repeated cataracts, as I judged from the roaring ſound, for

for the evening was ſo dark, that I could not diſtinguiſh any objects.

I arrived very late at Truns, remarkable in the hiſtory of this country as the place where the independence of the league was firſt ratified, and an alliance concluded between the chiefs and the communities. I obſerved an aged oak, which, according to tradition, is the ſame tree under which the three chiefs confirmed the liberties of the league; and near it a chapel, whoſe walls are painted with a repreſentation of the ceremony.

My curioſity alſo led me to the town-houſe, in which the diet of the Grey League is annually aſſembled. The room is well adapted for the purpoſe, and is handſomely painted with the arms of the ſeveral Landrichters, beginning from thoſe of John of Lambris, the firſt perſon appointed to that office when the Grey League was formed. From this place of its meeting the aſſembly is always called the Diet of Truns. It conſiſts of the ſame twenty-ſeven deputies who are appointed for the general diet of the three leagues, the two Landrichters, the abbot of Diſentis, the repreſentative of the Houſe of Auſtria, as baron of Retzuns, and the Cau de Sax. All affairs relating to legiſlation, politics, and expenditure, which concern the general intereſt of the league, are agitated in this aſſembly; and the queſtions are decided by the majority of voices.

At the ſame place is alſo aſſembled a court of appeal compoſed of ſixteen * deputies, and the Landrichter,

* Theſe deputies are taken from the eight High Juriſdictions of the Grey League, in the following proportions:

From

Landrichter, who has the caſting voice. It hears and decides in the laſt reſort all civil cauſes, above a certain ſum, which are brought by appeal from the deciſion of the civil courts in the ſeveral communities of the Grey League.

Diſentis, from whence I am now writing, takes its appellation from an abbey of that name, whoſe abbot was formerly ſovereign over this part of the Grey League, and who, although his prerogatives have been gradually diminiſhed, yet, as one of the chiefs of the league, ſtill poſſeſſes no inconſiderable influence in the general adminiſtration of affairs. At the diet of Truns he not only votes, but has ſuch weight, that few acts can paſs in oppoſition to his will. In the court of appeal, although he is not preſent, he may be ſaid to poſſeſs four votes, as the four deputies from the High Juriſdiction of Diſentis are generally nominated through his intereſt. Nor is his aſcendancy confined to the Grey League; by the nomination of the Landrichter every third year, he ſecures four * votes in the

From Diſentis	4
Grub	2
Lugnets	2
Waltenſberg	3
Rheinwald and Shams	2
Retzuns	1
Tuſis,	1
Maſox	1
	16

* He propoſes for Landrichter three candidates, from whom one is nominated by the deputies, but the latter always appoints the perſon he recommends; and as the Landrichter appoints the three deputies to the congreſs, and is himſelf a member of the ſame aſſembly, the abbot may be juſtly ſaid in that year to influence *four* votes in the congreſs.

congreſs

congreſs for that ſitting, and has alſo much power in the general diet of the Griſons by his influence over the deputies of the Grey League. His preſent revenue is very ſmall, ſcarcely amounting to £. 100 *per ann.*; in addition he receives a penſion from the Houſe of Auſtria, intereſted to ſecure his concurrence. He is choſen by the Benedictine monks, who compoſe the chapter; and is a prince of the German empire.

The abbey, which is ſituated upon the ſide of the mountain, is a large quadrangular building, and makes a magnificent appearance, as it overlooks the village. I was much diſappointed that the abbot was not in the country. I had the pleaſure of meeting him at Coire, and found him a perſon of conſiderable information. I no leſs regretted his abſence, becauſe he had in his poſſeſſion the key of the archives, which are ſaid to contain ſeveral curious records of high antiquity. The monks who politely accompanied me over the abbey were able to give me little intelligence. Beſides the great church, they carried me to a ſmall chapel, which is eſteemed the moſt antient in the whole country of the Griſons. Having been previouſly informed, that books in the Romanſh tongue, for the uſe of the Roman Catholics, are frequently printed in this abbey, I procured ſeveral from the monks, particularly a vocabulary of the Romanſh ſpoken in the valley of Sopra Selva.

Diſentis is a ſtraggling village lying upon a gentle declivity, which ſlopes gradually from the foot of the mountains to the banks of the Rhine. The ſides of the mountains are clothed with groves of firs and ſmall birch; the lower parts yield rich paſture, a ſmall quantity of wheat,

rye,

rye, and millet. Oppoſite Diſentis is the valley of Medels, from which deſcends a torrent called the Middle Rhine, and joins the upper branch that flows from the chain of the St. Gothard.

The communities of Diſentis and Tavetch, which form a High Juriſdiction, occupy the weſtern extremity of the valley of Sopra Selva, ſtretching as far as the confines of Uri. The whole body of people aſſemble every two years at Diſentis in the open air, for the choice of the Landamman, and for the confirmation of their magiſtrates, as well as for the purpoſe of enacting laws. They nominate alſo to the governments of the ſubject provinces. The courts of judicature are eſtabliſhed at Diſentis; and the judges are choſen by the people in the ſeparate diſtricts. The general adminiſtration of affairs is entruſted to a council of ſixteen, which gives inſtructions to their deputies, ſent by the two communities to the general diet of the three leagues. The Landamman is preſident, and has the caſting voice. The abbot enjoys the privilege of being preſent at all political queſtions, and of giving his vote. He has conſiderable influence in theſe communities. Formerly the fines for criminal offences belonged to him; but one of his predeceſſors having diſpoſed of that right to the community, they are now divided among the judges.

September 30th.

I quitted Diſentis this morning, and in about two hours entered the pleaſant valley of Tavetch, lying at the foot of the Alps, which ſeparate the Griſons

Griſons from the canton of Uri. The villages of this valley are numerous, and conſiſt of ſcattered cottages chiefly conſtructed of wood, and reſembling the Swiſs hamlets in the ſmall cantons. I met many large herds of cattle juſt deſcended from the higher Alps, and driving towards the fairs of Tirano and Lugano.

The valley of Tavetch produces paſture, hemp, and flax, and a ſmall quantity of rye and barley. The trees growing in theſe parts are chiefly firs and pines, and their number gradually diminiſhes towards the extremity of the vale. From Tavetch I aſcended a very narrow path, and paſſed through Selva and Cimut, the laſt village in the country of the Griſons, where I took my farewel of the Romanſh. The country became more and more wild as I aſcended; and the Upper Rhine gradually diminiſhed as I approached its ſource. A little beyond Cimut I came into a ſmall plain of paſture, watered by two ſtreams which unite and form the Upper Rhine. I had once intended to have viſited the ſource of the principal ſtream, that precipitates from mount Badus; but finding, upon inquiry from the inhabitants of Selva, that it would employ at leaſt five hours in going and returning; as the day was far advanced, and as my late illneſs has diſqualified me for ſuch fatiguing journies, I thought it moſt prudent to purſue my route to Urſeren. At Cimut, a peaſant, who had frequently viſited the ſpot, informed me, that the chief ſource of the Rhine deſcends from a Glacier upon the ſummit of the Badus; and forms a piece of water about half a mile in circumference, called the lake of St. Thomas. From this lake iſſues a torrent, which precipi-

tates

tates itſelf from the mountain, and being joined by many ſprings and currents forms the largeſt of the two ſtreams, which unite in the above-mentioned plain of paſture. On quitting this plain I aſcended by the ſide of the ſmaller ſtream, until I traced it falling from a Glacier cloſe to the confines of the canton of Uri. The aſcent, though abrupt and craggy, was not ſo difficult as the paſſage of the Braglio or the Muret. Theſe Alps produce no trees, but are covered to a great height with herbage.

After two hours continued aſcent from the valley of Tavetch, I reached the higheſt point of the chain, which ſeparates the country of the Griſons from the canton of Uri: a few paces further I paſſed a poſt without any inſcription, which marks the boundary between the two reſpective territories. Soon afterwards I arrived at a lake of an oblong ſhape, about a mile and a half in circumference. It is formed principally by a torrent that falls from the northern ſide of the ſame chain, which gives riſe to the Rhine: the lake ſupplies a ſtream that may be called one of the ſources of the Reuſs. I followed it as it runs through a narrow plain until I came to a ſteep deſcent, where the beautiful valley of Urſeren ſuddenly burſt upon my view.

LETTER

LETTER 86.

General Idea of the Courts of Juſtice—Religion—Revenues—Population.

DURING the courſe of my correſpondence I have occaſionally mentioned the judicial proceedings in ſome of the communities. I ſhall here remark in general, that throughout the three leagues the Roman law prevails, modified by the municipal cuſtoms. The courts of juſtice in each community are compoſed of the chief magiſtrate, who preſides, and a certain number of jurymen choſen by the people: they have no regular ſalaries, but receive for their attendance a ſmall ſum, ariſing in ſome communities from the expences of the proceſs, which are defrayed by the criminals, in others from a ſhare of the fines. They enjoy the power of pardoning or diminiſhing the penalty, and of receiving a compoſition in money. This mode of proceeding ſuppoſes, what is as abſurd in theory as it is contrary

trary to experience, that judges will incline to mercy when it is their *intereſt* to convict; or will impartially inflict puniſhment, even when injurious to their own private advantage.

The priſoners are examined in private; frequently tortured, for the purpoſe of forcing confeſſion, when the judges either divide the fines, or remit the puniſhment for a compoſition. In ſome diſtricts a criminal trial is a kind of feſtival to the judges, for whom a good repaſt * is provided at the expence of the priſoner if convicted; and thus the following alluſion, in Garth's Diſpenſary, applied with more wit than truth to our courts of juſtice, is literally fulfilled:

"*And wretches hang, that jurymen may* DINE."

Capital puniſhments, however, are extremely rare; a circumſtance ariſing not from a want of ſeverity in the penal ſtatutes, or from a propenſity to mercy in the judges; but becauſe the latter draw more advantages from fining than executing an offender. In a word, to uſe the expreſſion of Burnet, which is as true at preſent as it was in his time, "Many crimes go unpuniſhed, if the perſons who commit them have either great credit or much money."

It is remarkable that torture is more frequently applied, and for ſmaller delinquencies, in theſe independent republics, than in the ſubject provinces. The infliction of it depends entirely upon the arbitrary will of the judges, a majority of whom may order it for an offence which is

* A ſpecific ſum is allowed for the expence of the dinner, amounting in general to about 48 florins.

not

not capital, nor even puniſhable by corporal penalties. Thus it is not uncommon, in thoſe communities where fines are divided among the judges, to torture women of looſe conduct, for the purpoſe of compelling them to confeſs with whom they have been connected; for as ſuch offences * are puniſhable by fines, the more perſons are convicted, the larger ſhare of money is diſtributed among the judges, for the trouble of their attendance. Even in the diſtricts, where the fines are paid to the community, torture is often no leſs wantonly inflicted, becauſe when the priſoner is not found guilty, the expences of the proceſs fall upon the public, and the judges receive little emolument.

Even in the civil courts moſt cauſes are decided by bribing the judges; and appeals in thoſe communities, wherein they are admitted, ſcarcely ſerve any other end than to enlarge the ſphere of corruption: Coire and a few other places are excepted from this general reflection. This deſcription comprehends the courſe of juriſprudence throughout the Griſons; and how can it be expected, that the governors of the ſubject provinces ſhould impartially adminiſter juſtice, where their power is enlarged, and where they enjoy greater means of enriching themſelves; when they have ſuch continual examples of injuſtice and venality in their own country?

* In many of the communities incontinence between married perſons is puniſhed by a fine of - - -	200 florins.
A married and ſingle perſon -	150
Perſons unmarried - -	100

A pound ſterling is equal to about 13½ Griſon florins.

Before

Before I close the account of the courts of judicature, it may be necessary to mention the *Straffgericht* *, or public chamber of justice, which was established upon particular occasions, and in the most alarming crisis of affairs, by the consent of the general diet; and which, during its sittings, had jurisdiction over the three leagues. It was chiefly held in cases of high treason, and is thus justly described by Burnet, "There is a "part of this constitution that is very terrible, "and which makes the greatest men in it trem- "ble: the peasants come sometimes in great bo- "dies, and demand a chamber of justice from "the general diet, and they are bound to grant "it always when it is thus demanded, which "comes about generally once in twenty years; "commonly this tumult of the peasants is set "on by some of the mal-contented gentry, and "generally there are a great many sacrifices "made. This court is composed of ten judges "out of every league, and twenty advocates, "who manage such accusations as are presented "to them; this court is paramount to law, and "acts like a court of inquisition, they give the "question, and do every thing that they think "necessary to discover the truth of such accu- "sations as are presented to them; and the

* Paschal, the French ambassador from Henry the Fourth to the Grisons, gives, in his *Rhætica Legatione*, the following definition of a Straffgericht: *Straffgerichtcum, est is hominum, paucis exceptis, imperitorum, ac truculentorum consessus, qui rebus turbidis a motâ, et lasciviente, multitudine educitur in hoc, ut sæviat in personas, et fortuna eorum, quos vel sua pravitas, si facinorosi homines sint, aut si boni, sua infelicitas, his duris capitibus mactandos objicit: igitur ea omnia ibi aspere et violenter, ex rumore et libidine plebis et partis iratæ agit, hanc sæviendi occasionem jamdiu aucupantis.*

"decisions

"decisions of this court can never be brought "under a second review; though there is an "exception to this, for about a hundred years "ago one court of justice reversed all that "another had done; but that is a single in- "stance."

These meetings, very usual in the last century, were always attended with such dreadful effects as nearly to endanger the ruin of the republic. The present generation, grown wiser by experience, and either aware of the dreadful effects of such licentious proceedings, or less agitated with intestine dissensions, have never had recourse to these sanguinary measures: accordingly these courts are now so totally fallen into disuse, that they may be considered as obsolete, although they have never been abolished by public authority.

The religion of the Grisons is divided into Catholic and Reformed, the only two persuasions which are tolerated in this country. By the reformed is meant what we call Calvinism, although it is not the same as was established at Geneva. For, as the reformation was introduced into this country by the disciples of Zuingle, the religion of the Protestant Grisons bears a greater resemblance to that settled at Zuric, than to the church of Geneva; although the difference between these two sects is so trifling, that they may be considered as holding the same tenets. Among the Grisons the Protestants are more numerous than the Catholics, the former being estimated at about two-thirds of the inhabitants; and Stanyan justly asserts *, that "as all their elections

* State of Switzerland, p. 352.

are decided by the plurality of voices, the republic of the Griſons may be deemed a Proteſtant ſtate."

The reformation was introduced very early into this country: the new doctrines were firſt preached about the year 1524, and received at Flæſch, a ſmall village in the Ten Juriſdictions, upon the confines of Sargans; from thence they were extended to Mayenfield and Malantz, and ſoon afterwards through the whole valley of Pretigau. The reformed opinions ſpread with ſuch celerity, that before the end of the ſixteenth century they were embraced by the whole league of the Ten Juriſdictions, (excepting part of the community of Alvenew,) the greateſt part of the Houſe of God, and a few communities in the Grey League.

The difference of religion nearly excited a civil war between the two ſects, as well at the firſt introduction of the reformation, as at the beginning of the troubles in the Valteline. In the latter inſtance the two parties roſe in arms, but the Catholics being overpowered by the Proteſtants, matters were amicably adjuſted. Since that period, all religious concerns have been regulated with perfect cordiality. According to the general conſent of the three leagues, each community, being abſolute within its little territory, has the power of appointing its own particular worſhip, and the inhabitants are free to follow either the Catholic or Reformed perſuaſion. In the adminiſtration of civil affairs religion has no interference: the deputies of the general diet may be members of either communion, as choſen by the communities which they repreſent. By this moderate and tolerating principle

ciple all religious diſſenſions have been ſuppreſſed as much as poſſible; and the moſt perfect amity ſubſiſts between the two ſects.

In ſpiritual concerns the Catholics for the moſt part are under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Coire. For the affairs of the Reformed Churches, each league is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, the miniſters whereof aſſemble twice every year: theſe aſſemblies are called *colloquia*. Each *colloquium* has its preſident, and each league a ſuperintendent, called a dean. The ſupreme authority in ſpiritual concerns is veſted in the ſynod, which is compoſed of the three deans, and the clergy of each league: the ſynod aſſembles every year alternately in each of the three leagues. Candidates for holy orders are examined before the ſynod. The neceſſary qualification for admiſſion into the church ought to be the knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; but this rule is not ſtrictly adhered to; many being ordained without the leaſt acquaintance with either of thoſe languages. Formerly Latin was ſolely uſed, as well in the debates of the ſynod as for the purpoſe of examining the candidates; but at preſent the tongue grows more and more into diſuſe, and German is employed in its ſtead.

The number of reformed pariſhes in the whole three Leagues amount to 135, in the following proportion. In the Grey League 46, in that of God's Houſe 53, and in the League of Ten Juriſdictions 36.

The miniſters of theſe churches enjoy but very ſmall ſalaries. The richeſt benefices do not perhaps yield more than £. 20, or at moſt £. 25 *per ann.* and the pooreſt ſometimes ſcarcely £. 6.

This ſcanty income is attended with many inconveniencies. It obliges the clergy, who have families, to follow ſome branch of traffic, to the neglect of their eccleſiaſtical ſtudies, and to the degradation of the profeſſional character. Another inconvenience is ſuperadded to the narrowneſs of their income. In moſt communities the miniſters, though confirmed by the ſynod, are choſen by the people of the pariſh, and are ſolely dependent on their bounty.

For theſe reaſons the candidates for holy orders are generally extremely ignorant. They cannot ſupport that expence which is requiſite to purſue their ſtudies; they are not animated with the expectation of a decent competence; and, from the dependent mode of their election, are not encouraged to deſerve their promotion by a conſiſtent dignity of character.

But there are not wanting a few men of great knowledge and eminence, as well in their profeſſional ſtudies as in other branches of polite learning. Beſide Mr. Aporta, whom I look up to as a kind of phænomenon in the literary world, I have met with two or three clergymen who are greatly diſtinguiſhed for their erudition, and who would do credit to any church.

It is remarkable, that the liturgies of theſe reformed churches are not exactly the ſame; a diverſity owing to the independence of ſo many ſmall commonwealths, which are abſolute, within their little territories, in all concerns that do not affect the political union of the three Leagues.

The churches of the German communities uſe the liturgy of Zuric; but as this form of prayer was amended and refined in 1766, ſome of the miniſters

miniſters admit the new, and others ſtill retain the antient liturgy.

Stephen Gabriel, paſtor of Ilantz, a perſon of great learning in the beginning of the laſt century, tranſlated into the Romanſh of the Grey League the liturgy of Zuric; and the ſame form of prayer is uſed in Upper and Lower Engadina, adapted to their reſpective idioms *. The miniſters of the Italian churches employ a tranſlation of the Genevan liturgy †.

The old ſtyle is in uſe among the Proteſtants, the new ſtyle among the Catholics; a few years ago an attempt was made to introduce the latter among the Proteſtants. The inhabitants of Pregalia admitted it, and thoſe of Upper Engadina offered alſo to receive it, if the town of Coire would ſet the example. Its admiſſion, however, being ſtrongly oppoſed by a party on religious ſcruples, it was abſolutely rejected, and the inhabitants of Pregalia again adopted the old ſtyle ‡.

The revenues of the three Leagues ariſe from the following articles:

1. The duties upon the merchandiſe which paſſes through the Griſons, the Valteline, and Chiavenna: they are farmed at the annual rate of 17,000 florins, or about £. 1259.

2. A third of the fines laid upon delinquents in the ſubject countries: the fluctuating ſtate of this article cannot be aſcertained.

* For the Romanſh ſpoken in Upper and Lower Engadina, ſee Letter 89.

† In 1749 a new ſervice was introduced into the churches of Pregalia; but, on account of its length, ſoon fell into diſuſe.

‡ I am informed, that ſince my departure from the Griſons the new ſtyle has been adopted by ſeveral Proteſtant communities.

3. A tribute

3. A tribute of 500 philips * from the Valteline, and 100 from Chiavenna.

4. A ſmall fund, the principal part of which is only £. 4,000, veſted in the Engliſh ſtocks.

The public expenditure is very trifling, being chiefly confined to the expences incurred by the ſittings of the diet, and the ſalaries aſſigned to the deputies for their attendance.

Beſides this public treaſury, each League has its own fund. The penſions received from the foreign powers are paid annually at the meeting of the diet, when they are equally divided between the three Leagues; and each deputy delivers the ſhare to the community which he repreſents.

Many diſputes have occaſionally ariſen among the Griſons in regard to the power of coining, and ſeveral of the communities have aſſerted their claim to the exerciſe of that right. The fact is, that each community might doubtleſs coin money, and order it to be taken within its own little territory; but as it could not make it paſs in the other parts, the right is merely nominal. According to the general conſent of the three Leagues, this privilege is veſted in the town of Coire, in the biſhop of that dioceſe, and in the baron of Haldenſtein †. No money is, however, ſtruck in the Griſons, excepting a ſmall copper coin called blutſger, which is ſomewhat leſs than a halfpenny. The gold and ſilver current in the country is chiefly Auſtrian and French.

* A philip = 5*s*.

† And I believe in the abbot of Diſentis.

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I have beſtowed no inconſiderable degree of pains in order to aſcertain the population of the Griſons, but my labours have not been attended with the ſucceſs which I expected. I have not been able to procure any particular and certain detail of the number of inhabitants, and can only ſubjoin the following rough calculation:

The Grey League is ſuppoſed to contain about	54,000	ſouls.
League of God's Houſe	29,000	
League of Ten Juriſdictions	15,000	
	98,000	

If we add 87,000, the number of inhabitants in the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, the whole population of the Griſons, and the ſubject countries, will amount to only 185,000 ſouls; and allowing for deficiencies will ſcarcely exceed 200,000.

LETTER

LETTER 87.

Commerce of the Griſons—Canal of the Adda.

THE commerce of the Griſons is extremely contracted. The only exports (excluſive of thoſe from the ſubject provinces) being cheeſe and cattle. They import, grain, rice, ſalt, and ſilk ſtuffs, from Milan; grain from Suabia and Tyrol; ſalt from Tyrol and Bavaria; fine cloth, chiefly Engliſh, French, and Sileſian, through Germany; fine linen and muſlins from Switzerland: and as the only manufacture throughout the whole country is that of cotton eſtabliſhed at Coire, it is evident that the balance of trade muſt turn conſiderably againſt them. They are enabled to ſupport this difference by means of the eſtates which the Griſons poſſeſs in the ſubject provinces, by the ſums which the governors draw from thoſe provinces, by public and private penſions from France and Auſtria, by money ſaved in foreign ſervices, and by the duties upon

upon the merchandiſe paſſing through their territories.

As moſt of the Griſon peaſants weave cloth and linen for the uſe of their families; it would be no difficult undertaking to introduce manufactures in different parts. But it is remarkable, that in theſe little republics a ſtrange prejudice prevails againſt commerce; and that the project of eſtabliſhing manufactures is oppoſed by many leading men of the country. It is difficult to diſcover the occaſion of theſe illiberal principles; it has been imputed to a ſuſpicion, that if the people ſhould become opulent by commerce, they would be leſs open to influence; and the powerful families, who now direct the public affairs, would loſe their aſcendancy. Beſides theſe reaſons, which are of too delicate a nature to be openly acknowledged, other motives of a more generous complexion have been aſſigned.

The advocates againſt extending commerce aſſert, that as the true riches of every country conſiſt in the products of agriculture, all occupations, which turn the attention of the people from that one great object, are detrimental to the general good of ſociety; and particularly, that in free ſtates manufactures tend to enervate the inhabitants, to introduce the baneful effects of luxury, to depreſs the ſpirit of freedom, and to deſtroy the general ſimplicity of manners.

Theſe reaſons, however ſpecious in appearance, will prove fallacious upon mature conſideration. If in a country, which ſubſiſts chiefly by agriculture, manufactures are purſued to the total neglect of huſbandry, they then become detrimental; but this is ſeldom the caſe: as, by adding to the general conſumption, manufactures uſu-

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ally tend to increaſe, inſtead of diminiſhing, the products of the earth. Such have been the effects in the mountains of Neuchatel, where the foreſts have been cleared, and the country converted into paſture, or ſown with grain. Manufactures and commerce are ſtill farther ſerviceable in augmenting the number of inhabitants, which form the true riches of a country. For whenever conſtant opportunities of employing a number of hands occur, children will not be a burden to the peaſants, and population will increaſe; the contrary of which muſt happen in thoſe diſtricts which afford little occupation.

With reſpect to the Griſons in particular; their territory being entirely mountainous will not yield ſufficient produce for the inhabitants, conſequently ſome means of ſupplying that deficiency muſt be adopted. Now ſurely it would be far more honourable to purſue commerce, even if attended with ſome unavoidable inconveniences, than to depend for their ſubſiſtence upon foreign ſubſidies, to oppreſs and exhauſt the ſubject provinces, and to exhibit a regular ſyſtem of venality, which almoſt pervades the whole maſs of people.

Nor does the eſtabliſhment of manufactures tend to enervate the inhabitants, and to diminiſh the ſpirit of freedom. In fact, the manufactures in theſe democratical ſtates are by no means ſimilar to thoſe introduced into large towns, where a number of individuals are collected in the ſame ſpot: on the contrary, the work is divided, and diſtributed among the peaſants, who, with their wives and children, weave the cloth at home. By this method they preſerve (as I had occaſion to remark in the canton of Appenzel)

zel) their original ſimplicity of manners, and maintain the ſpirit of freedom, even to a greater degree, than in thoſe parts where there is no commerce. Examples are not wanting among the Griſons themſelves: the natives of Upper Engadina, who are ſo much addicted to trade, are in reality mere free and leſs influenced than the people of the other communities; nor is it obſerved, that the inhabitants of the valley of Pretigau have become more enervated, ſince they have been employed in weaving cotton for the manufacture at Coire. In fact, that kind of occupation does not always take the peaſants from more active employments. In ſummer they are at leiſure to cultivate the earth, while their wives and children attend principally to the manufactures: during the long winters, which laſt in theſe Alpine regions for ſix months without intermiſſion, agriculture is neceſſarily ſuſpended; and theſe occupations ſucceed the more laborious exertions of the field.

As the principal commerce of the Griſons and the ſubject provinces is carried on acroſs the lake of Como with Milan, I ſhall give you an account of the inland navigation, which has been lately eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of facilitating that commerce; the ſeveral parts of which I had the curioſity to viſit.

The water communication between the country of the Griſons and Milan is formed by the lake of Como, by its branch the lake of Lecco, by the Adda, by the canals of the Adda and Trezzo.

The canal of Trezzo, called alſo *Canale Della Marteſana*, begins at Trezzo, ſituated on the Adda, and is carried to Milan. This cut, which

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is 24 miles in length, begun in 1457, under the reign of Francis Sforza, and completed in 1460, did not at firſt ſerve for the purpoſe of navigation more than two days in the week; being principally uſed for overflowing the low grounds with water, neceſſary for the cultivation of rice. In 1573, during the adminiſtration of the duke of Aberquerque, Spaniſh governor of Milan, the cut was enlarged, and the body of water ſo much increaſed, as to admit the paſſage of veſſels every day.

Still, however, the Adda was not navigable during the whole way between the lake of Lecco and Trezzo; and conſequently there was no water communication between the lake of Como and Milan.

The navigation of that river was interrupted by a ſucceſſion of cataracts for about a mile, during which ſpace the fall of water is equal to the perpendicular height of about 80 feet.

In order to obviate this inconvenience, a canal was projected, in 1519, but no part was carried into execution, excepting a mole, which was thrown acroſs the Adda. In 1591 the work was undertaken, and the canal completed in 1599. But the ſtream of the Adda was no ſooner admitted into the cut, than the banks broke down, for ſo conſiderable a way, as to render all repairs impracticable.

This breach, generally imputed to the violence of the current, was principally owing to the nature of the rock, in which the cut was excavated, and to an error in the original plan.

The rock is a compoſition of gravel and ſand, or a ſpecies of pudding-ſtone, of looſe texture and unequal ſolidity; and as the cut was made too

too near the precipice, which overhangs the Adda, that part of the rock which formed the banks of the canal was not ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport the ſluices and the weight of water.

From that time the canal was conſidered an impracticable work, and abandoned; until a few years ago it was again undertaken by order of the preſent emperor Joſeph the Second, and carried on with ſuch expedition, as to be finiſhed within the ſpace of three years.

The canal of the Adda is about a mile in length, and is excavated in the rocks, which form the precipitous banks of the Adda. In ſome places the rock has been hollowed to the depth of 100 feet, and the breadth of 200. The fall of water, which is equal to the perpendicular height of about 80 feet, is broken by ſix ſluices; and the water is ſupplied by the running ſtream of the Adda. The breadth of the canal is 70 feet.

The expence has already amounted to near £. 100,000. The engineers, however, ſeem to have fallen into the ſame error which attended the original plan; by forming the cut too near the precipice. In conſequence of this inadvertence, the water lately forced down the banks of the canal, and the damage was not repaired without much difficulty and a conſiderable expence.

Notwithſtanding the precaution of letting out the ſuperfluous water by flood-gates, there is reaſon to apprehend, that theſe breaches will be frequent; and that the recent labours may be rendered as ineffectual as thoſe of the Spaniards.

But

But ſhould the canal continue in its preſent ſtate, and the navigation not be interrupted; yet the advantages will hardly compenſate for the expence of making and keeping it in repair. The commerce between the Griſons and inhabitants of Milan is ſo extremely contracted, that if all the merchandiſe which paſſes between theſe two people was conveyed along the canals, the tolls and duties would be very inadequate to the expence.

But the navigation from the lake of Como to Milan is attended with ſo many difficulties, that the greateſt part of the merchandiſe is ſent by land, as the moſt commodious and leſs hazardous way. The current of the Adda is ſo rapid, that the veſſels cannot be towed up without great expence and delay, and is in ſome parts ſo extremely dangerous, that boats are not unfrequently overſet. The only perſons, therefore, who forward their merchandiſe along the Adda and the canals to the lake of Lecco are the contractors who furniſh the Griſons with corn and ſalt, and who are compelled by the government of Milan to ſend thoſe commodities by water.

And when it is conſidered that Milan receives from the Griſons only planks, ſtones for building, and coals, but ſupplies them with corn, rice, and ſalt; the articles of export evidently exceed thoſe of import; and the navigation from Milan to the lake of Como is of more conſequence than that from the lake of Como to Milan. The canal of the Adda, therefore, which has only facilitated the inland navigation from the Griſons to Milan, and not from Milan to the

the Griſons, though a work of extreme difficulty, and redounding greatly to the honour of the ſovereign who completed it, will ſcarcely produce advantages equal to its original coſt and frequent repairs *.

* The curious reader is referred to the Abbe Friſi's account of the Canals of the Adda, and Trezzo, and of the other navigable canals in the Milaneſe. See *Pauli Friſi Opera, Tom.* ii. *Dei Canali Navagibili di Lombardia, 4to. Lib.* ii. *Cap.* 3, 4, & 5.

LETTER 88.

Alliances of the Griſons with the Swiſs Cantons—France—Venice—and the Houſe of Auſtria.

THE alliances of the Griſons with foreign powers come next under conſideration.

The Three Leagues, though always eſteemed allies of the Swiſs, yet are not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, in confederacy with all the cantons. In 1497 the Grey League, and in the following year the League of God's Houſe, entered into a perpetual treaty with Zuric, Lucern, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug and Glaris. Although the League of Ten Juriſdictions was not included in the ſame treaty, yet it was afterwards declared that, in conſequence of its connection with the other two leagues, it ſhould be entitled to the ſame aſſiſtance and good offices. The Three Leagues are in cloſe alliance with Bern and Zuric, to whoſe mediation they have frequently had recourſe in points of diſagreement. By theſe treaties the Griſons are called allies of the Swiſs;

Swiſs; and, in conſequence of a requeſt from the particular cantons, with which they are united, would, in caſe of invaſion or rebellion, be ſupplied with ſuccours from all the Swiſs Republics.

The Griſons contracted the firſt alliance with France in 1509 with Louis the Twelfth, and in 1516 were comprized in the treaty of perpetual peace between Francis the Firſt and the Helvetic body. Since that period they have, as occaſion offered, renewed their private confederacy with the kings of France; but they were not comprehended in the late treaty of Soleure, concluded between Louis the Sixteenth and the other ſtates of Switzerland. The king of France maintains an envoy in this country, and has two Griſon regiments in his ſervice *.

In 1707 a treaty was formed between the Griſons on the one ſide, queen Anne and the United Provinces on the other, for permitting the free paſſage of troops marching into Italy. This is the only alliance by which the Griſons, as a particular ſtate, are connected with England. Our court formerly had a miniſter in the country, but for ſome time the Engliſh envoy to the Swiſs cantons reſident at Berne, has tranſacted buſineſs with this republic.

The Venetians, for the purpoſe of procuring the free paſſage of the Valteline, had often ſolicited an alliance with the Griſons; but their projects were always defeated by the influence of the Spaniſh monarch, who poſſeſſed the Milaneſe; nor were they able to effectuate the accompliſhment of their deſign, until the Spaniſh

* It is probable, however, that they have ſince contracted a ſeparate treaty with France.

branch of the Houſe of Auſtria became extinct in the perſon of Charles the Second. Soon after that event, when Milan was the object of contention between the emperor and the French, the Venetians obtained the conſent of the Griſons to enter into a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive, which was ratified at Coire the 17th of December, 1706. By this accommodation it was ſtipulated, among other articles on the ſide of the Venetians, to pay an annual penſion of 711 Spaniſh doubloons, and to furniſh the Griſons in time of war with a thouſand Venetian ducats per month: in return, the Griſons agreed to permit the paſſage of the Venetian troops through the Valteline, and to make a road leading from Morbegno over the mountain of St. Mark into the Venetian territories, by which accommodation the merchandize might be conveyed to and from Venice to Germany without going through the Tyrol.

This treaty, concluded for twenty years, was to continue in force for the ſame additional period, unleſs one of the contracting parties ſhould withdraw before the expiration of the firſt term; but though obtained by the Venetians with much trouble and expence, it was not long fulfilled by either of the negociating powers. In a few years the Venetians omitted the payment of the annual penſion, and the Griſons neglected to make the road over the mountain of St. Mark. The two republics, however, continued upon terms of amity; and the Venetians, ſoon after the expiration of the forty years, deſirous of renewing the treaty, offered to diſcharge the arrears of the penſion, if the Griſons would open the propoſed communication over the mountain of St. Mark.

For this purpoſe an envoy was diſpatched to the Griſons in 1759, and no promiſes were ſpared to promote the negociation: it failed, however, through the influence of the empreſs of Germany. The Griſons rejected the propoſals of Venice, and ſtill further alienated that republic by the capitulation of Milan. In conſequence of this conduct, the Venetians were ſo incenſed as to baniſh the Griſons who were ſettled within their territories; and all connection is now interrupted between the two republics.

The treaties with the Houſe of Auſtria, as ſovereigns of the Milaneſe, remain to be conſidered. It is not my purpoſe to mention any treaties which the Griſons contracted with the dukes of Milan of the houſe of Sforza, or thoſe by which Philip the Second and his ſucceſſors acknowledged their claim to the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio; but I ſhall begin with the celebrated alliance, or, as it is called, the *Capitulation* of Milan in 1636; becauſe it ſuperſeded all others, and eſtabliſhed that cloſe connection between the Griſons and the Houſe of Auſtria, which has ſince continued with little interruption.

The following are the principal articles in this capitulation, concluded between Philip the IVth, king of Spain, as duke of Milan, and the Three Leagues:

An hereditary and perpetual peace between the two contracting powers.

Weekly fairs to be eſtabliſhed in the neighbouring towns of the Milaneſe, in which the Griſons may purchaſe grain, and alſo enjoy a free trade, for the purpoſe of importing and exporting all kinds of merchandize and arms, upon paying only the accuſtomed duties.

A free paſſage through the territories of the Griſons for the Spaniſh troops, with a reſerve, that no more than a company of 150 infantry, and a troop of 60 cavalry ſhall march through the ſame day.

Free paſſage of the Griſon troops through the Milaneſe, upon condition that they do not march againſt the allies of Spain, and that more than two or three companies do not paſs at one time.

The king may levy at his own expence, in caſes of neceſſity, a body of troops not exceeding 6000 nor leſs than 2000, for his ſervice againſt all his enemies, except the confederates of the Griſons, and particularly the republic of Venice.

All Griſon troops in the ſervice of any ſtate or ſovereign, intending to attack the territories of the king of Spain, ſhall be immediately recalled; and all officers and ſoldiers, who enroll themſelves in any foreign ſervice, ſhall be forbidden to invade his majeſty's territories.

If the Griſons ſhould be engaged in war, the king obliges himſelf to furniſh, within fifteen days, 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry; and if the Griſons prefer aſſiſtance in money, to pay 1000 ſcudi * per month as long as the war laſts; alſo to ſend into the country of Chiavenna ſix pieces of campaign artillery, with ammunition ſufficient for the ſervice of the war.

No troops ſhall be allowed to paſs through the reſpective territories to the diſadvantage of the two contracting powers.

To each league the king promiſes an annual penſion of 1500 ſcudi; and alſo to pay for the

* A Milaneſe ſcudo = to about 4s. 6d.

education of two ſtudents from each league at Pavia or Milan, beſides a donation of ſixty ſcudi to each ſtudent.

All antient alliances with any other powers are permitted to remain in force on both ſides, and on the part of the Griſons, the continuance of their treaty with France is particularly ſtipulated; they promiſe, however, that they will not renew it in caſe of a rupture between the two crowns; and if renewed, they will declare at the ſame time, that it is to be ſuſpended during ſuch a rupture, and that they will not for the future contract an alliance with any foreign power to the prejudice of this perpetual peace.

If either parties ſhould be attacked, the other, without any regard to the aforementioned ſtipulations in favour of their antient allies, is bound to give aſſiſtance againſt ſuch invaders, excepting however on his majeſty's part, the German branch of the Houſe of Auſtria; if that Houſe ſhould engage in war with the Griſons, for the maintenance of its rights in the territory of the Griſons.

The cauſes which gave riſe to this capitulation, as well as the articles reſpecting the Valteline, having been already related *; it will be neceſſary only to remark, that the Spaniards guarantied to the Griſons the poſſeſſion of their ſubject provinces, and to the ſubjects the confirmation of their privileges. In caſe of any diſſention between the Griſons and their ſubjects, the diſpute is to be referred to the mediation of the king of Spain.

This treaty, ſigned at Milan on the 3d of September, 1639, by the marquis de Legnes, go-

* Letter 74.

vernor of Milan, on the part of the Spaniſh king, and on the other by the deputies of the Three Leagues, was preſerved inviolate, and a good underſtanding maintained between the contracting powers, until the extinction of the Spaniſh branch of the Houſe of Auſtria in the perſon of Charles the Second. During the war of the ſucceſſion, which followed his death, the Milaneſe frequently changed its maſters, until it was ſecured to the emperor Charles the Sixth by the peace of Utrecht. Charles had no ſooner firmly eſtabliſhed his power in his new dominions, than he turned his attention to the Griſons, and prevailed upon them to renew the capitulation of Milan. One of the principal arguments which gave ſucceſs to his negociation, was the promiſe, not only of continuing the annual penſion, but even of diſcharging the arrears, which amounted to twenty-nine payments.

This new treaty, in which the German branch of the Houſe of Auſtria ſucceeded to the place of the Spaniſh, was concluded on the 24th of October, 1726, by count Daun, governor of Milan, in the name of Charles the Sixth, and the deputies of the Three Leagues. It confirmed and ratified the antient capitulation of 1639, with a few modifications and additions, of which the principal are the following:

The duties upon corn purchaſed by the Griſons in the Milaneſe are lowered two-thirds.

The tenth article in the firſt treaty, by which all Griſon troops in the ſervice of any ſtate deſigning to attack the territories of the Houſe of Auſtria are ſubject to immediate recall, is annulled; and the Griſons are free to ſerve any foreign

foreign prince in time of war without incurring the breach of this capitulation.

The number of ſtudents educated at the expence of the emperor is increaſed to twelve.

On the 8th of February, 1763, this hereditary league was renewed by count Firmian, miniſter plenipotentiary, in the name of the empreſs of Germany as ſovereign of Milan, and the deputies of the Three Leagues.

By this treaty the capitulations of 1639 and 1726 are ratified, and ſerve as the baſis of the preſent union; they are alſo augmented by the following articles.

The empreſs renounces all right to the lake of Chiavenna, together with a ſmall portion of the adjacent territory, and cedes them in perpetuity to the Griſons.

The limits between the Milaneſe and the territory of the Griſons are accurately fixed.

In return for this ceſſion, the Griſons agree to erect no fortifications upon the ceded territory, impoſe no new taxes upon the tranſport of merchandize, make no new roads; and according to the former capitulation, no troops ſhall be permitted to paſs to the prejudice of the ſtate of Milan.

The empreſs promiſes to obtain from the pope an abolition of ſeveral eccleſiaſtical privileges in the Valteline, highly detrimental to ſociety; alſo to prevent the biſhop of Como from granting eccleſiaſtical privileges to thoſe who, without entering into orders, aſſume the clerical dreſs, and are thereby entitled to the immunities of the church; alſo to correct ſeveral other abuſes, which render the clergy of the Valteline independent of ſecular authority, and in civil and criminal

criminal cauſes only amenable to the biſhop of Como.

The weekly fairs for the purchaſe of grain are aboliſhed, and in their ſtead the Houſe of Auſtria agrees to ſupply the Griſons with a certain quantity for themſelves and for the ſubject countries, according to the current price of corn in the Milaneſe.

The duties upon merchandize exported from the Milaneſe are lowered, and the cuſtoms both in that country and in the territory of the Griſons are eſtabliſhed upon a permanent footing, for which purpoſe a table of the duties is annexed to the treaty.

At preſent the Houſe of Auſtria directs all the affairs of the Griſons with the moſt unbounded authority. That power has acquired this ſway by regularly diſcharging the public penſions, by holding the leading members of the diet in its pay, by being a guarantee of the Valteline, and mediator in all the diſputes between the Griſons and their ſubjects.

LETTER

LETTER 89.

Languages of the Griſons—Particularly the Romanſh—Its Antiquity—Origin—and two principal Dialects.

THE languages of the Griſons are the Italian, German, and Romanſh. The Italian, which is a jargon ſimilar to the Milaneſe dialect, is ſpoken by the inhabitants of Pregalia and Puſchiavo, and in the vallies of Maſox and Calanca.

The German is ſpoken throughout the whole League of the Ten Juriſdictions, a few villages excepted; in the League of God's Houſe, at Avers, Coire, and the four villages; and in the Grey League, at Splugen, Cepina, and other villages of the Rheinwald, at Valts, in the valley of St. Pedro, at Tuſis, Reichenau, Feldſperg, Tamins, Meyerhof, Verſam, and Valendros.

Some of the earlieſt and moſt authentic writers upon the Griſons have aſſerted, that the natives

tives of the Rheinwald ſpeak a Celtic idiom, a language neither German or Romanſh, but more ſimilar to the former; although they are entirely ſurrounded by people of a different tongue, and are neither contiguous to, nor have any great intercourſe with, the German inhabitants. From this remarkable circumſtance they are led to conjecture, that the natives of the Rheinwald are deſcended from the *Lepontii*, a Celtic nation, and conſidered as the original inhabitants of this country before the influx of the Tuſcans; and they ground the proofs of this aſſertion upon the numerous names of many caſtles which ſeem to be derived from a * Celtic or German origin. This hypotheſis, however, reſts upon a wrong baſis, and is grounded upon two miſtakes. For in the firſt place, the language of the Rheinwald is German; and ſecondly, although the inhabitants of this diſtrict are immediately ſurrounded by perſons ſpeaking the Italian and Romanſh, yet they are within half a day's journey of Roncaglia, Tuſis, and Furſtenau, where German is the common language. It is more probable, therefore, that the Rheinwald was peopled by a German colony, which penetrated into theſe regions in the darker ages, when the Germans iſſued from their foreſts, and ſpread themſelves

* Cluverius and other authors have erroneouſly ſuppoſed the Gothic and Celtic nations to have been the *ſame*, and their language to have given riſe to the Teutonic or German: but the learned tranſlator (Dr. Percy, biſhop of Dromore) of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, has eſtabliſhed, beyond a doubt, that the Celtic and Gothic nations were originally different, and that there was not the leaſt affinity between the languages; the Celtic having given riſe to the old Gallic, Britiſh, Erſe, &c. &c. and the Gothic to the German. See Tranſlator's Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

over

over Europe. With reſpect to the German names of caſtles and towns we may remark, that many of them are corrupted from the Romanſh, that others have been adopted in later times; and as a proof, that the Romanſh is more ancient in this country than the German, the greateſt part of the mountains, vallies, and oldeſt caſtles, have Romanſh appellations, even in the diſtricts inhabited by the Germans *.

This circumſtance leads me to the conſideration of the Rhetian, or as it is more commonly called, the † Romanſh, which is the vernacular tongue among the greateſt part of the Griſons; a language in former times more extenſively diffuſed than it is at preſent, and through the Tyrol, as far as Innſpruck.

I had the good fortune to meet with a German tranſlation of Mr. Planta's excellent Treatiſe upon the Romanſh of the Griſons, of which I had before ſeen the original in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1775. The peruſal of this treatiſe firſt excited my inquiries; and although I am obliged to differ from the ingenious author in a few inſtances, yet I hold myſelf indebted to him, for having greatly facilitated my reſearches, and for a more accurate knowledge of the ſubject than I could otherwiſe have obtained.

* The German names adopted from the Romanſh are very numerous; ſuch as *Chur* from *Curia* or *Coire*, *Splugen* or *Speluga*, *Cepina*, *Tuſis* or *Toſſan*, *Davos*, *Pretigau* or *Rhetigoua*, *Caſtels*, &c.

The following German names are evidently of a very late date: *Furſtenau*, *Furſtenberg*, *Hahlenſtein*, *Lichtenſtein*, *Heinzenberg*, *Reichenau*, *Rheinwald*, &c. as will eaſily be allowed by any one converſant in that tongue.

† It is called by the natives *Arumaunſch*, *Rumaunſch*, *Romanſch*, *Lingua Romanſcha*.

The

The Romanſh of this country is divided into two principal dialects, the one ſpoken in the Grey League, and the other in that of God's Houſe. Theſe two dialects, although materially varying as to pronunciation and orthography, are yet ſufficiently ſimilar in the general arrangement and expreſſions, to be compriſed within the ſame inquiry.

It muſt always be extremely difficult to trace the origin of any language: for etymologiſts are too apt to build a favourite ſyſtem, by miſtaking a partial for a general reſemblance; and finding a few ſimilar expreſſions in two languages, which in other reſpects are eſſentially different, conclude them to be derived from the ſame ſtock.

The Griſon writers, however, pretend, that the proofs of the antiquity and origin of their language are too well founded to admit of the leaſt doubt. They aſſert that the Rhetian tongue is derived from the Latin, or from a dialect of the Latin; and the arguments upon which they ground their aſſertion may be reduced to three principal heads. 1. The hiſtory of the country. 2. The names of places which have evidently a Latin origin. 3. Its ſimilarity to the Latin, and to other languages derived mediately or immediately from the Latin.

1. The hiſtory of the country. Livy, who has given the earlieſt account of theſe Alps, informs us, that under the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus, a colony of Tuſcans, driven from Lombardy by the Gauls, ſettled in theſe mountainous regions; and the ſame hiſtorian adds, that in his time the Rhetians, who were deſcended from theſe firſt coloniſts, ſtill retained ſome traces of the

the Tuſcan pronunciation, although vitiated by lapſe of time and change of ſituation.

Since that period, we have no poſitive documents of any ſubſequent emigration, although it is probable, that upon many occaſions in which the Italians quitted their country, they retired to theſe Alps, and mixed with the natives.

In ſome of theſe excurſions it is likely, that the inhabitants of Latium, or others, who ſpoke the Latin, or at leaſt a dialect of that tongue, which muſt have had a conſiderable affinity to the Tuſcan, eſtabliſhed themſelves in theſe regions; but whether this ſettlement happened during the invaſion of Hannibal, or at any ſubſequent period, cannot be exactly aſcertained.

About the time of the Cæſars, Rhetia became an object of Roman conqueſt; and frequent expeditions were made into theſe parts, until the whole country was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by a prætor reſident at Coire. During that period, many Roman families eſtabliſhed themſelves in theſe Alps, and diffuſed the knowledge of their language.

On the decline of the Roman power, Rhetia came under the dominion of the Franks, a German nation. The new people introduced their own tongue into many places; and in others, gave a new turn and modification to the Latin, by the addition of auxiliary verbs, and by the frequent uſe of the articles.

2. The ſecond proof of the derivation of the Romanſh from the Latin, reſts upon the numerous names of mountains, rivers, towns, and caſtles, which evidently ſeem to have a Roman origin. To uſe the words of the eccleſiaſtical hiſto-

hiſtorian *, whom I have ſo often quoted; "Perſons verſed in claſſic antiquity, who travel among the Griſons, will, from the frequency of Latin appellations, conceive that they are paſſing thro' Latium, Etruria, and Campania. They will trace the ancient names *Ardeates*, *Vettones*, *Sentinates*, *Samnices*, in Ardets, Vettan, Sent, and Samnun. They will meet with mount *Umbria*, the river *Albula*, the towns *Antium*, *Suſa*, *Lavinium*, *Tutium*, *Seaptia*, *Silium*, *Cernetia*, and many others: derivations ſo plain and ſo frequently occurring, evidently certify their origin."

3. The affinity of the Romanſh, as well to the Latin, as to the languages immediately derived from the Latin.

Firſt, a collateral argument in favour of its derivation from the Latin may be deduced from the word *Romanſh*, the general appellation of the language, and the particular dialect of Engadina, called *Ladin*; both theſe terms having in effect the ſame ſignification, *Latin* † and *Roman* being ſynonimous. But without inſiſting too much on this conjecture, we need only refer to a book written in the Griſon tongue, to perceive the general affinity of its vocabulary to that of the Latin. In this compariſon, however, great allowance muſt be made for the variation, which muſt have taken place between a mother tongue, as written in the beſt authors, and its offſpring,

* Aporta, Hiſt. I. p. 6.

† Latin and Ladin are the ſame words, only differently pronounced: for it muſt be evident to any one the leaſt converſant with different languages, how often the *t* and the *d* are ſubſtituted for each other. Quintilian ſays that the old Romans frequently wrote a *t*, before they had any fixed rules of orthography, inſtead of a *d*; for Alexander—Alexanter.

which

which for many centuries was merely colloquial, and which has not only been occaſionally intermixed with other languages, but has ſuffered a change in its general modification by the admiſſion of the German ſyntax.

Yet it by no means follows, that the Romanſh, although the undoubted offſpring of the Latin, ſhould have been derived immediately from that language, ſuch as it is found in the beſt authors, or as conſigned to writing during any period of the Roman æra; but rather, that it owed its origin to the vulgar tongue, as it was ſpoken by the people, or to ſome provincial dialect of Italy.

In all living tongues there is a colloquial as well as a written language: for how different are the Engliſh and Scottiſh idioms, and even the dialects of Lancaſhire and Norfolk? In France the Pariſian accent varies eſſentially from the provincial pronunciation; and the ſeveral patois of Provence, Lorrain, and Gaſcony, cannot be underſtood without reſpective gloſſaries. The ſame circumſtance prevails in Germany, where the idioms of the Saxons, Auſtrians, and Suabians, are ſcarcely intelligible to each other. That this was equally the caſe with the Latin, we may collect not only from the general analogy of language, but likewiſe from the teſtimony of the beſt authors.

The origin of the Italian and of the other dialects, which are derived principally from the Latin, is frequently attributed to the invaſion of the Goths under Alaric; when a new language was introduced throughout Italy and the Roman provinces. But this is not preciſely the truth; for theſe ſeveral dialects aroſe from a corruption,

or

or at leaſt a variation, in the primitive Latin, antecedent to the irruption of the Goths, or even to the times of the Cæſars. Italy was occupied by many people originally independent: the *Umbri*, *Oſci*, *Samnites*, *Etruſci*, and *Piceni*, all of whom differed in dialect, and many in language from the Romans. But the latter had no ſooner conquered Italy, than the Latin language came into general uſe, though in the ſeveral provinces it was not uniformly pronounced in the ſame manner; as the natives of every diſtrict varied in their mode of articulation.

Cicero mentions ſeveral * corruptions of the Latin which he could ſcarcely comprehend; and Horace alludes to the people of Canuſium, in *Græcia Magna*, as ſpeaking a mixed language †. Canuſium contained, beſides the original Greek natives, many inhabitants from different parts of Italy, who ſpoke Latin. Hence their language was a mixture of both Greek and Latin; but ſo extremely impure, as to give riſe to the proverb, *Canuſini more bilinguis*.

In Italy there muſt have been many idioms of this ſort, which were for a long time unobſerved. For while Rome flouriſhed, the language of that capital was the ſtandard of purity; and all other dialects of the Latin were diſregarded. Yet, even at Rome itſelf, the Latin was corrupted at a very early period. Suetonius * relates, that Auguſtus frequently affected to write words as they were pronounced, without any regard to orthography; and to abridge them, by the change or omiſſion of ſyllables. If this was the practice of the ſovereign himſelf, in the purity of the Auguſtan age, and in the capital, we may be aſſured, that the ſame cuſtom was ſtill more prevalent among the people, in the diſtant provinces, and particularly towards the decline of the empire.

Thus the Latin tongue was growing gradually more corrupt, and would, in proceſs of time, have almoſt totally varied from its primitive purity, even if Rome had continued to be the ſeat of empire; yet it may be allowed, that its decline was haſtened by the irruption of the Goths.

Should theſe remarks be founded on fact, the Romans muſt have left traces of their language throughout the different provinces of their vaſt empire; and the ſeveral dialects derived from the colloquial Latin, before they were refined and poliſhed, muſt have borne a reſemblance to each other, in ſome places more ſtriking, in others more faint and diſtant. And although theſe dialects were in ſome meaſure changed and modified by the introduction of the Gothic or German idiom, which the conquerors gradually eſtabliſhed throughout the Roman provinces; yet the ſame affinity muſt have been ſtill obſerved: thoſe changes affected *all* the dialects, and conſiſted not ſo much in varying the expreſſions, as

* Amongſt other examples he ſays, that the people inſtead of *diem hanc* pronounced *di hanc*, and *cauneas* inſtead of *cave ne eas*.

† *Cum Pedius cauſſas exſudet Poplicola atque*
Corvinus, patriis intermiſcere petita
Verba foris malis, Canuſini more BILINGUIS?
Lib. I. Sat. x. v. 30.

ted

* *Non literas modo ſed ſyllabas permutat aut præterit. Communis hominum error.*

in giving a new modification to the general ſyntax, by the introduction of the auxiliary verbs, by the indeclenſion of the caſes, and by the neceſſary uſe of prepoſitions and articles.

If therefore the Romans eſtabliſhed themſelves in the country of the Griſons ſo effectually as to introduce their own language; and if that tongue, derived from the colloquial Latin, and ſtill further modified by the adoption of the German ſyntax, is, from the peculiar ſituation of the natives, and from its not having been conſigned to writing till within theſe laſt two hundred years, little changed from its primitive ſtate; we have reaſon to expect, that it ſhould bear evident marks of affinity to thoſe dialects which have originated from the colloquial Latin, and were equally modified by the German ſyntax; it follows alſo, that the reſemblance will be greater in proportion as we can trace earlier and ruder ſpecimens: and this analogy is conſonant to experience.

The earlieſt language, which undoubtedly draws its origin from the colloquial Latin, is the ancient Romanſh, called *Lingua Romana*, the mother of the French tongue. It was underſtood in Italy, in the Morea, and Conſtantinople, and was univerſally diffuſed throughout the ſouthern parts of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Mr. Planta, in the treatiſe to which I alluded in the beginning of this letter, has unqueſtionably proved that this tongue and the Romanſh of the Griſons are the ſame language.

We cannot expect, perhaps, the ſame evident affinity between the Romanſh of the Griſons and any

any other language now exiſting; but in comparing it with the Italian, and particularly ſome provincial dialects of Italy, the Spaniſh *, the Patois of Provence, Languedoc, Gaſcony, and Lorraine, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that they originated from the ſame ſtock, with the difference which time, a variety of pronunciation, and the mixture of other tongues, muſt neceſſarily occaſion in all languages. With reſpect to the Italian, it is remarkable that the Romanſh leſs reſembles the pure Tuſcan idiom than the provincial dialects; a circumſtance eaſily accounted for. The former has been gradually purified and refined, until it has undergone a total change from its original ſtate; and the latter, being leſs committed to writing, has not been ſubject to ſuch variation.

To theſe languages I may add that ſpoken by the Vaudois, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, in the 16th century, of which Leger has printed ſpecimens, the originals whereof are now extant in the public library at Cambridge, and alſo the Wallachian tongue. The latter is derived from the Latin, introduced by the colony of Romans, which Trajan eſtabliſhed in thoſe parts. The preſent natives, deſcendants of that colony, although ſurrounded by people ſpeaking the Hungarian and Sclavonian, talk a language in which evident traces of the original Latin are ſtill preſerved. It bears a general reſemblance to the Italian; and Mr. Aporta, who paſſed ſome time in Hungary, informed me, that, allowing for the variety of pronunciation, he compre-

* In comparing it with the Spaniſh, we muſt exclude thoſe words which have a ſtrong guttural pronunciation, and are evidently derived from the Arabic.

hended the natives, and found in their expreſſions no inconſiderable degree of affinity to the Romanſh.

The Romanſh of the Griſons, as I have before obſerved, is divided into two principal dialects, that of the Grey League and the * *Ladin* of Engadina.

The two dialects perfectly agree in the grammatical arrangement, but differ widely in the pronunciation and orthography: of the two, the *Ladin*, being leſs intermixed with foreign words, is the pureſt; the Romanſh of the Grey League, from the number of German colonies blended with the natives, abounds more in German expreſſions.

The *Ladin* is divided into the two idioms of Upper and Lower Engadina: the vocabulary of both is the ſame, with a ſmall variety of accent † and pronunciation, which ariſes chiefly from the different manner of articulating the vowels. The inhabitants of Lower Engadina ſpeak with a broader accent, like the Dorians among the Greeks; while thoſe of Upper Engadina, like the Ionians, uſe a ſofter pronunciation. Hence is derived a variety in the orthography of the two idioms; and books, although perfectly under-

* For it is needleſs to mention ſeparately the Romanſh ſpoken in the valleys of Munſter and Surſet.

† To give an inſtance of this difference.

The inhabitants of Lower Engadina pronounce the *a* open as we do in war, while thoſe of Upper Engadina uſe an *æ* inſtead of an *a*.

Star	Stær
Judicar	Judicær
Armaint	Armænt
Our	Or
Chiauſſa	Chioſſa

ſtood

ſtood by both, are printed ſomewhat differently in the two diſtricts.

Before the introduction of the reformation among the Griſons, the Romanſh was eſteemed ſo barbarous a jargon as to be thought incapable of being reduced to grammatical form *. It is no wonder, that the monks, whoſe intereſt it was to keep the people in the groſſeſt ignorance, ſhould have favoured this opinion; but it is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the moſt learned among the native laics, and ſuch intelligent foreigners as † Tſchudi and Stumpf, ſhould have ſupported a notion ſo contradictory to common ſenſe. For although it is an evident axiom, that all living tongues may be reduced to certain principles, and conſigned to writing; yet the barbariſm of the Romanſh was ſo univerſally prevalent, that no attempt was made to write it before the ſixteenth century. The perſon to whom the Griſons owe the firſt production in their native tongue, was John de Travers; a man who blending the characters of the ſoldier, politician, ſcholar, and divine, performed the moſt eſſential ſervices to his country; by his valour in arms, by his ſkill in negociation, by cultivating and protecting letters, and by favouring and aſſiſting the introduction of the reformed religion.

* Aporta, lib. 2. p. 403.

† *Rhætica lingua tam perplexa et impedita eſt, ut ſcribi nequeat; unde omnes literæ ab antiquis confectæ, Latine ſcriptæ ſunt, et quæ hodie parant, Germanice ſcribi procurant.* See Tſchudi Alp. Rhæt. p 9.—And, as Philip Galicius expreſſes himſelf in his preface to Campel's Pſalter:—*Parce chia 'lg noas languack mæ nun ais ſtætt ſcritt, ne cir crett brick ch'ell s'poaſſa ſcrievver infyn avaunt brick b'lear anns, chia 'lg ſaimper deng da ngyr cun hunur nummad huom Ser Joan Travers da Quotz haa ell impriim ſcritt in Ladin la noaſta guerra.*

This reſpectable perſon, of a noble and opulent family of Zutz in Upper Engadina, was born in 1483: before the eighth year of his age he was ſent for his education to Munich, and from thence into Tranſylvania. Being there ſeized with a deſire of travelling, he remained abſent thirteen years; and returned to Zutz about the 28th year of his age. Highly diſtinguiſhed * for integrity, learning, and abilities, he acquired univerſal eſteem; and was raiſed to every honour which his grateful country was capable of beſtowing. Indeed ſuch was the reſpect generally ſhewn to his ſuperior talents, that no affair of moment was tranſacted by the Republic of the Griſons in which he was not conſulted. His acquaintance with foreign languages, his knowledge of the world, and the politeneſs of his addreſs, rendered him the fitteſt inſtrument to negotiate with foreign powers; and he always acquitted himſelf with honour of the truſt which was repoſed in him. In a military line he greatly ſignalized himſelf as commander of the Griſon forces againſt James of Medicis, for the rapidity of his movements, his perſonal valour, and cautious conduct; and by laying ſiege to the fortreſs of Muſſon †, he brought the campaign to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue.

* *Ille quidem anno* 1483 *natus, bis vallis Tellinæ Gubernator, Epiſcopalis Aulæ Curator, plurimis ad exteros Principes legationibus clarus, in Patria vero omnibus honoris gradibus nactus, eruditione, dexteritate, et auctoritate unus in Rætia florebat; ut Reipublicæ lumen, ſidus, et decus merito habeatur. Eo virtutes quia multam ipſi conciliaverunt famam, nulla in Republica momenti agebatur cauſa, cujus vel arbiter non eſſet vel conſilium non advocaretur, &c.* Aporta, tom. i p. 229.

† Situated near the lake of Como, not far from Gravedona.

He

He was greatly inſtrumental in forwarding the progreſs of the reformation. Although inclined to favour the new doctrines, yet he was never hurried away by a miſguided zeal. Averſe to renounce the religion in which he had been educated, without the ſtrongeſt conviction of its ſuperſtitious tendency, he ſtudied the controverſy between the two ſects, and weighed the arguments on both ſides with the utmoſt deliberation; but he no ſooner became a proſelyte to the reformed opinions, than he ſhewed himſelf as zealous in promoting as he had previouſly been circumſpectious in adopting them. Nor did he only favour the reformation by his example and authority, but he even promulgated its doctrines. As few natives of Engadina were qualified, by their learning and theological knowledge, to preach in the Ladin, the progreſs of the reformation was conſiderably retarded. For theſe reaſons John de Travers, who had critically ſtudied and written in his own tongue, condeſcended to inſtruct the people. Having obtained the permiſſion of the church, he aſcended the pulpit *, and explained in the moſt perſpicuous manner the Chriſtian doctrines. His diſtinguiſhed abilities, his exalted rank, his venerable age, and

* *Stupuit tunc ordo Evangelicus, ſtupuit tota Rætia contemplans eximium inclitumque Herca, inter Rætiæ gentis optimates, diu principem habitum, ſummis etiam, patriæ honoribus, debito virtutibus premio inſignitum, ſenio nunc confectum ſuggeſtu in publica ſacra æde conſcenſo, populum docere, et alia Eccleſiaſtica munia, quando res poſcebat, operam ſuam cum ordinario Miniſtro conjungendo, et laborem participando. ſummo audientium applauſu undique ex locis circa vicinis, integris turmis ad ejus ſermones audiendos confluentibus, obitit.* Aporta, tom. 1. p. 239.

his

his amiable character, drew from all quarters a numerous audience; while his diſcourſes, delivered with a noble ſimplicity of eloquence, made the deepeſt impreſſion, and never failed to increaſe the number of proſelytes. This reſpectable man finiſhed his career, which had been ſo uſeful to his country and ſo honourable to himſelf, in 1563, and in the 80th year of his age.

His writings in the Ladin, which gave riſe to this digreſſion, were, a poem in rhyme, deſcribing the war of Muſſo; many ſermons; and ſeveral ſacred dramas in verſe.

The example of committing the Ladin to writing was next followed by Philip Salutz, called Gallicius, one of the earlieſt reformers among the Griſons; who, in 1534, tranſlated the Lord's prayer, the Apoſtles' creed, and the decalogue, into the dialect of Lower Engadina; and not long afterwards, from the Hebrew into the ſame language, ſome chapters of Geneſis, and the Athanaſian Creed: which were diſtributed in manuſcript among the natives.

Huldric Campel wrote ſeveral ſacred dramas, in the repreſentation of which he himſelf aſſiſted; and alſo turned ſome of the pſalms into verſe.

But theſe compoſitions, being only to be found in manuſcript, were too ſcarce to be of general uſe; and James Tutſchet, of Samada, more known by the name of Biveronius, was the firſt who ventured to publiſh in his native tongue. That celebrated reformer finding, from experience, that the want of religious books in the colloquial language was a great obſtruction to the progreſs of the reformation, printed at Puſchiavo,

chiavo, in 1560, a ſmall work *, which contained an alphabet, the Lord's prayer, the Apoſtles' creed, the Ten Commandments, and ſeveral occaſional prayers. This little publication being well received, was followed by a work of the greateſt importance, a tranſlation of the New Teſtament †.

In 1562 Huldric Campel printed the pſalms ‡ of David, and other hymns done into verſe, for the uſe of the reformed churches: this publication afforded a ſtriking proof of the author's genius and taſte, that he was able to give ſo much harmony of metre and variety of rhymes to the language in ſo rude a ſtate. Beſides the benefits which this pſalter produced in a religious light, it was alſo ſerviceable in a literary view, as it contributed to diffuſe a taſte for poetical compoſition among his countrymen; and convinced them, that divine truths might be inculcated in a pleaſing diction.

Mr. Aporta, in his excellent Hiſtory of the Reformation among the Griſons, ſays that the

* I poſſeſs a copy of this ſcarce work, reprinted at Zuric, 1621, but without the title page. At my requeſt the learned M. Aporta favoured me with an accurate catalogue of all the books printed in the Romanſh of Engadina and of the Grey League, accompanied with many critical remarks, which I have made uſe of in this letter.

I once propoſed to have printed this catalogue: which gives the titles of 82 books printed in the Ladin, and 26 in the Romanſh of the Grey League; but relinquiſhed it on conſidering that it would have ſwelled this work too much; and would be unintereſting to the generality of my readers. I ſhall, therefore, only inſert, at the end of this letter, the titles of the Bibles, and of thoſe which were printed in the 16th century; together with a vocabulary of the language.

† N° 1. ‡ N° 3.

language

language of Biveronius is (like infant dialects) ſo rude and unpoliſhed, both as to the mode of expreſſion and orthography, that it is ſcarcely underſtood at preſent; that Campel greatly refined it, and endeavoured as much as poſſible to reduce the words and orthography to a ſimilarity with the Latin, which was the original mother tongue. Hence we may obſerve, that the publications of Biveronius afford the moſt curious ſpecimen of the Ladin, as it exiſted in its moſt antient ſtate, when it was chiefly a colloquial language *.

The poſſibility of writing and printing the Ladin was no ſooner proved by ſuch authorities, than the preſs teemed with productions calculated to diſſeminate the reformed opinions. Theſe publications, however, not excepting even the performance of Campel) as well as all which appeared in the 15th and in the beginning of the 16th century, are now obſolete; and, without a gloſſary, almoſt unintelligible to the natives themſelves, who have not made them the object of their particular ſtudy.

No verſion of the whole Bible was publiſhed in the Ladin before the year 1679: it was printed at Scuol †, in the dialect of Lower Engadina; and republiſhed, with various explanations and a new index, in 1743. Beſides the tranſlation of the New Teſtament by Biveronius, which is obſolete, a new ‡ verſion was printed in 1640, in the dialect of Upper Engadina, and is in com-

* I ſhall inſert, as a ſpecimen of his language, in the end of this letter, the Apoſtles' Creed, publiſhed in 1571. N° 2.
† N° 5. ‡ N° 6.

mon

mon uſe. But the natives of this diſtrict have no other verſion of the Old Teſtament than that of Lower Engadina.

As it would be unintereſting to ſend you a dry catalogue of the ſeveral publications in the Ladin, I ſhall therefore only remark in general, that except a hiſtory * of the Griſons, compiled from various authors by Aporta, the books in this tongue ſolely treat of religious ſubjects. Some of our theological tracts, particularly written by our divines of the laſt century, are tranſlated into their language; of theſe I obſerved, among the liſt of books in my poſſeſſion, Bayley's Practice of Piety and Baxter on Vows.

The Romanſh of the Grey League remains to be conſidered.

The earlieſt publication in this dialect is a catechiſm †, tranſlated from the German by Daniel Boniface, paſtor of Furſtenau, and printed in 1601. It was ſoon followed by a metrical verſion of ſeveral pſalms ‡, accompanied with other hymns, publiſhed at Coire in 1611.

The author of this uſeful pſalter was Stephen Gabriel, a native of Vettan, in Lower Engadina, and paſtor of Ilants: he was a man of conſiderable learning; and his zeal for the reformed religion expoſed him to the fury of the Catholics, who, in 1620, plundered his houſe, burnt his library, and hanged him in effigy. Gabriel having eſcaped to Zuric, drew up, during his retirement, an account of that controverſy between the Proteſtant and Roman Catholics, which in thoſe turbulent times nearly excited a civil war

* N° 7. † N° 8. ‡ N° 9.

among

among the Griſons. This polemic treatiſe, written in the Romanſh, was printed at Zuric in 1625; and was anſwered in 1630 by a Roman Catholic prieſt, in the ſame tongue: a work which is probably the firſt production printed by the Catholics in the Romanſh. Upon the ceſſation of the civil commotions Gabriel returned to Ilants, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in tranquillity.

Stephen was ſucceeded in his preferment and literary purſuits by his ſon Lucius Gabriel, who, in 1648, gave a verſion of the New Teſtament*; a work much wanted, as the inhabitants of the Grey League were moſtly ignorant of any but their own language, and could with difficulty comprehend the tranſlation in the dialect of Engadina.

It is remarkable, that this verſion, which was printed only forty-eight years after the Romanſh of the Grey League became a written language, ſhould ſtill continue in uſe; a proof either, that the language has not received that degree of refinement which the Ladin has experienced; or that the firſt perſons who wrote in this idiom took great pains to ſettle the orthography, and arrange the grammatical conſtruction.

The liſt of books publiſhed in this dialect are, for the moſt part, far inferior, both as to number and merit, to thoſe written in the Ladin; for, excepting the two Gabriels, the Grey League has furniſhed few men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſuperior learning.

A complete tranſlation of the † Bible was not given before the year 1718: it was publiſhed at

* N° 10. † N° 11.

Coire,

Coire, at the expence of the clergy of the Grey League, and dedicated by the printer to George the Firſt, who ſent in return a preſent of fifty guineas. This ſum being delivered to the printer, and claimed by him as his own property, occaſioned a law-ſuit between him and the editors: the latter, however, although in equity they had the ſole right, were never able to obtain any part of the donation.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

Vocabulary of the Romanſh of Upper Engadina.

God	Dieu	Wine	Vin	Verſes	Vers
Heavens	Cèl, pronounced Chel	Water	Ova	To love	Amær
		Fire	Foe, pr. like Feu	To liſten	Tadlær
				To believe	Crair
Cloud	Nuvla	Air	Aier	To go	Or
Rain	Plovgia	Earth	Tearra	To come	Gnir
Hail	Tempeſta	Wood	Gôd	To feign	Finger
Mouth	Boucchia	Tree	Bœſch	To beat	Batter
Noſe	Næs	Horſe	Chiuvalg	To ſlay	Amazzare
Eye	Oelg, pr. like the French Œil	Dog	Chiaun	Great	Grand
		Lion	Liun	Little	Pitſchen
		Tiger	Tigra	Fat	Graſs
		Man	Hom	Thin	Megier
Head	Teſta	Woman	Duona	Black	Nair
Ear	Araglia	Huſband	Marid	White	Alb
Hand	Maun	Wife	Muglier	Red	Coatſchen
Foot	Pè	Girl	Matta	Blue	Blow
Body	Chuerp, or, Courp	Son	Filg	Green	Vert
		Daughter	Figlia	Yellow	Mellen
Hair	Chiapè	Soldier	Sûdo	Brown	Brun
Bread	Pain	Poet	Poarta	Grey	Griſch

1	Un	7	Sett	12	Dudeſch, &c.
2	Duos	8	Oach, in Lower Engadina Ott	20	Vainch
3	Trais			30	Trenta
4	Quater	9	Nov	100	Tſchient
5	Tſchinch	10	Deſch	1000	Mille.
6	Ses	11	Undeſh		

TITLES

TITLES *of the earlieſt* BOOKS, *and of the* BIBLES *printed in the* ROMANSH.

N° 1. The tranſlation of the New Teſtament by Biveronius. *L'g Nuof Saint Teſtamaint da noſs Signer Jeſu Chriſti Prais our delg Latin et our d' oters launguax et huoſſa da noef miſs in Arumaunſch três Jachiam Bifrun d' Agnedina.* Pſalm 119. *Tieu vierf es una glimyra a mes pes et una liuſth à mieu paſs. Squiſcho ilg an* 1560.

N° 2. Another ſcarce work, printed by the ſame author in 1571, and which is in my poſſeſſion, containing a catechiſm and paraphraſe of the Lord's Prayer in queſtion and anſwer, bears the following title: *Una cuorta et fuorma da intraguidær la giuventüna et par 'lg prüm co es cugnioſche Deus et ſe d'ſues. Alhura üna declaratiun de la Chredinſha, dals diſchs cumandamains, dalg Pædernus, dals ſainchs ſacramains, tuot três 'ls Predichiauns da Chuoira in moed da dumanda aſchantô, et miſſa in Aromaunſch*, 1571. From this book I ſhall inſert the Apoſtles Creed, as a ſpecimen of the early Romanſh.

"*Eau craich in Dieu Pædar Omniputaint, creatur dalg tſchil et de la terra. Et in Jeſum Chriſtum ſes ſullet filg, nos Signur. L'g quæl es concepieu dalg Sainch Spiert, naſchieu da la Vergina Maria. Indurô ſuot Potio Pilato, crucifichiô muort, et ſappulieu. Jeu ad iſiern, et aint ilg ters di da muort areſuſtô. Et es jeu à iſchil, et ſetza dalg dret maun da ſes bab celeſtiel. Innuonder che el vain à gnir à judichier viſs et muorts. Eau craich aint ilg ſainc ſpiert. Eau craich che ſaia la ſainchia fidela chriſtianna baſelgia. Comuniun dals ſenchs. Remiſchiun dals pchios. Reſuſtatiun da la chiarn. Et ſieva aquaiſta vita, la vita eterna. Amen.*"

N° 3. Title of Campel's tranſlation of the Pſalms, ſecond edition. *Un Cudeſch Da Pſalms Tratts our da'gl Tudaiſchk, e luguads da chiantar in Ladin. Prea quai alchiunas Spiritualas Chiantzuns: chi s'ettuengen cun la vardad è ſcrittura ſainckgio, ed our da quella tuutas, &c. Tras Durich Chiampel, Sarviaint de l' g' Evangeli da Jeſu Chriſti a Suſch in Ingiadina dſuott. Schquiſchada a Baſel* 1606.

N° 4. A Catechiſm by the Rev. John Planta, of Samada. *Un Cuort Nuzaivel e Bſognius Catechiſmus, chi cuntain la ſuſtaunza da l'intyra Cretta, e vaira fæ Chriſtiauna, &c. Scrit in Arumauntſch træs Juannem Plantum da Samedon, miniſtar de la*

la Baſelgia da Jeſui Chriſti. Squitſcho in Puſchleſ træs Cornelium et Anthonium Landuolphs. 1581.

N° 5. The Bible in the dialect of Lower Engadina. *La ſacra Biblia, quai ais Tuot la Sonchia Scrittura in la quala ſun comprais tuots Cudaſchs dal Velg e Nouf Teſtamaint cun l' aggiunta dall Apocrypha eſchantada, vertida e ſtampada in lingua Rumaunſcha d' Ingadina Baſſa tras cumun cuoſt e lavear da Jacobo Antonio Vulpio, Serviaint dal Pled da Deis in Ftaun, et Jacobo Dorta a Vulpera, Serviaint dal Pled da Deis in Scuol. Stampod in Scuol in Ingadina Baſſa tras Jacob Dorza a Vulpara.* 1679. Fol. pag. 1524.

N° 6. A verſion of the New Teſtament by John Gritti, and printed at Baſle. *'L Nuof S. Teſtamaint da Nouſs Segnier Jeſu Chriſti huoſſa da nöſ vertieu in Romaunſch, our da l' originel Greec, træs Joann. Gritti da Zuoz, &c. Squitcho in Baſel træs George Decker, &c.* 1640. 8vo. p. 870.

N° 7. Aporta's Rhætian Chronicle, printed at Scuol. *Chronica Rhætica order l' Hiſtoria da l' origine, guerras, alleanzas, et Auters evenimaints da noſſa chiara patria la Rhetia, our da divers Authurs compomuda da Nott da Porta, V. D. M. et par bain public acuoſt ſeis fatta ſtampar da Nuot N. Schucan tras Jacobo N. Gadina et Jac. Rauchio. In Scuol. an.* 1742. 8vo. p. 209.

N° 8. The firſt book in the Romanſh of the Grey League is a Catechiſm by Daniel Boniface, under the following title: printed at Lindau. *Catechiſmus, cuſt muſſameint dels Principals Punctys della Chriſtianeita Religiun par las Baſelgias et Skolas da Communas Trees Ligias, tras quell ault amuſſaa S. Johann Pontiſella da Cuira ſaig per Tudeſchk, uſſa da nief taas Daniel Boniface meſs ora in Romaunſch, &c. Squitchau a Lindau vid igl Bodenſee tras Johann Ludwig Brem.* 1601.

The following expreſſions in his preface, "*et eint in noſs linguogh mæ na nean ne ſcritts ne ſquitcheus; nothing having as yet appeared in our language, either written or printed*; ſufficiently proves that this Catechiſm was the firſt publication in the Romanſh of the Grey League; although the following Pſalter by Stephen Gabriel, is uſually ſtyled the firſt book.

N° 9. Pſalter by Dan. Boniface, printed at Coire, 1611; reprinted 1649, 1683, 1740, 1768. The following is the title-page of the laſt edition. *Ilg Ver Sulaz da Pievel Juven: quei anis una curta Summa da la Cardienſtha dils Patriarchs, Prophets, ad Apoſtels: Item, Anzaquonts Pſalms da David, a Canzuns Spiritualas: Item, Anzaquontas Uratiuns, Tras Steffan Gabriel, &c. Squitchau a Cuera.* 1768.

N° 10. Verſion of the New Teſtament by Lucius Gabriel, printed at Baſle. *Ilg Nief Teſtament da Nieſs Senger Jeſu Chriſt*

Chriſt meſs qui en Rumonſch da la Liga Griſcha tras Luci Gabriel, &c. Squitchau a Baſel 1648. 8vo.

N° 11. Tranſlation of the Bible in the Romanſh of the Grey League, printed at Coire, with the following title: *La S. Biblia, quei ei, Tut la Soinchia Scartira, ne Tuts ils ludiſch dilg Veder a Nief Teſtament cun ils Apocryphs, meſs'a giuent ilg languaig Rumonſch da la Ligia Griſcha, tras anchins Survients dilg plaid da Deus dils Venerands Colloquio Sur a ſutt il Gualt. Cum Privil. Illuſt. G. D. Rhætor. a Squitchad en Coira tras Andrea Pfeffer Stampadur.* 1718. Fol. p. 1148.

LETTER 90.

FROM DAVID PENNANT, ESQ. TO THE AUTHOR.

On the Italian Bailliages of Switzerland—Journey from the Top of the St. Gothard to Milan—The Levantine Valley—Bellinzone—Locarno—Town and Lake of Lugano—Lago Maggiore—Boromean Iſlands.

SIR,

LITTLE is wanting to complete your deſcription of Switzerland and its dependencies; that chaſm I now endeavour to fill up. Youth and inexperience muſt ſerve as excuſes for errors and omiſſions. Happy if this haſty ſketch may excite the curioſity of yourſelf, or any other traveller equally intelligent, whoſe obſervations may amuſe and inſtruct mankind. The route which I here attempt to deſcribe, is connected with your work; a route which would afford ſatisfaction to

to the curious of all nations who take you as their guide.

The higheſt parts of the principal Alpine paſſes are uſually occupied by a ſmall plain or baſon; as the St. Bernard, the Gemmi, the Splugen, and the St. Gothard. From the ſummit of the St. Gothard I commenced my route on the 2d of Auguſt, 1786. I followed the courſe of the Teſino, which you mention in your letters: it paſſes by the Capuchin convent, and is ſoon after joined by two other rills from the neighbouring mountains. Near this ſpot the Levantine valley begins, and Switzerland, properly ſo called, may be ſaid to terminate. The deſcent on the ſide of Italy is much ſteeper, and the views are more ſavage and pictureſque, than in the aſcent from Urſeren; and the road is conducted with equal ſkill. The majeſtic ſcenery is heightened by the Teſino tumbling in an almoſt uninterrupted cataract; ſometimes pent up in a narrow channel, or piercing its way through the remains of Avalanches, ſtill unmelted though fully expoſed to the rays of a meridian ſun. Theſe enormous maſſes obſtruct the road; and workmen are continually employed in promoting their diſſolution; as the aggregate of unmelted ſnows, for a few ſummers, would bar all communication between Switzerland and Italy: with ſuch difficulty are the few paſſes kept open!

After deſcending rapidly for three miles thro' this ſcene of deſolation, bounded on all ſides by precipices, or impending rocks, the river foaming over blocks of granite, the ruins of the ſurrounding mountains; we croſſed the *Ponte Tremolo*, or trembling bridge; where the view en-

larged, and extended over a verdant valley ſprinkled with numerous houſes.

Airolo, the firſt ſmall burgh, ſtands at the bottom of the ſteep deſcent; to the right is the paſſage over mount Grias to Munſter in the Upper Vallais, practicable only from the middle of July to October, when 300 horſes tranſport weekly the cheeſe from the various parts of Switzerland.

At Dacio we found comfortable accommodations: that village conſiſts only of a few houſes, ſeated at the entrance of a paſs, capable of being defended with eaſe againſt the whole force of Italy. A wall and gate are added to its natural ſtrength, but their principal uſe is to prevent contraband trade, and to exact alſo a ſmall toll for the merchandize which paſſes that way. For half a league from hence is a ſucceſſion of ſtriking and romantic ſcenery; the perpendicular rocks ſcarcely affording room for the ſteep road, and tranſparent waters of the Teſino, which, thundering over the vaſt fragments, riſes in a white foam, and ſubtile miſt, viſible only from refracting the rays of the ſun. We croſſed the torrent, in that ſhort ſpace, over three bridges thrown from rock to rock, whoſe ſpan and boldneſs of execution might vie with the boaſted, becauſe better known, Devil's Bridge.

Faido is the reſidence of the bailif, nominated by the canton of Uri. He remains in office four years, and his power is almoſt unlimited. Unfortunate inſurrections in 1712, and in 1755, have been attended with the loſs of the few remaining privileges to a people who ſtruggled for perfect liberty.

Giornico,

Giornico, called by the Germans Irnis, is famous for the victory which 600 Swiſs gained, in 1478, over the troops of the duke of Milan, amounting to 15,000 men; a victory which enſured the Swiſs an honourable and advantageous peace. In this neighbourhood we firſt perceived the effects of a ſouthern ſun, and a leſſer elevation above the ſea, by the frequent appearance of vineyards, and the walnut and cheſnut-trees of a very large ſize; the girth of ſeveral among the latter was not leſs than thirty feet. At Polegio, this bailliage ends.

The Levantine Valley, or *Valle Leventina*, is ſuppoſed to retain, by its name, traces of the *Lepontii*, the antient inhabitants of the ſurrounding regions. Its length, counting from the ſummit of the paſſage on the St. Gothard, is about eight leagues: the breadth very inconſiderable. The lower part is extremely populous, rich in paſturage, and produces much hemp and flax. In the neighbourhood of ſuch lofty mountains, its climate muſt be variable, and liable to frequent rains. In order to prevent theſe rains from damaging their crops, the inhabitants ſuſpend and dry the corn and graſs on ſeveral bars ſupported by two high poles about fifteen feet aſunder. The houſes are entirely wood, and have externally the appearance of Swiſs cottages; but a neglect of cleanlineſs proves the vicinity and greater ſimilarity to the Italians. The Teſino is here joined by the Bromio, a torrent which takes its riſe in mount Uccello, or the Vogelſberg, near Splugen; a bridge over it is the boundary of the two bailliages of the valleys Levantine and Poleſe, and leads into that of Riviera. The valley now becomes perfectly flat, and of courſe

ſubject

ſubject to violent inundations; the few villages are ſcattered on the ſides of the ſteep mountains; below all is deſolate. Offogna, the reſidence of the bailif, conſiſts only of a few houſes. The country ſoon improved; the ground roſe gently from the bed of the river, when we came in ſight of the beautiful town of Bellinzone, ſituated in a delightful plain, encircled with antient walls and battlements in good repair: to the right, riſe majeſtically the ruins of an antient caſtle; to the left, ſeparately emboſomed in trees, are the caſtles of the bailifs of the three regent cantons, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden.

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Swiſs, at peace with the Houſe of Auſtria, ſeem firſt to have been ſtimulated with the ambition of extending their dominions towards the ſouth. In 1410, the whole Helvetic body, excepting the canton of Berne, paſſed their natural barriers, plundered the town of Domo d'Oſcella, and the adjacent country, and returned laden with ſpoil to paſs the winter in their humble cottages. Elevated by ſucceſs, the enſuing ſummer ſaw them again deſcend into the plains of Italy, and ravage the dutchy of Milan, then ſubject to the Viſcontis. They again retired, but without attempting to make a ſettlement. Bent on theſe enterprizes, we are not ſurprized, that, in 1422, the three original cantons purchaſed the town of Bellinzone from its owners the counts of Sax; or that Philip Maria, duke of Milan, exerted himſelf to prevent from falling into their hands a town ſo important, from its ſituation and natural ſtrength, to check their inroads, and cover his dominions. Having, therefore, taken poſſeſſion of it by force of arms; a body of 8000 Swiſs

Swiſs paſſed the Alps. The forces of both nations met; the Italians were led on by Carmagnola; a bloody battle enſued, of which both ſides claimed the victory; the Swiſs retired with a ſtandard taken from the enemy, who remained maſters of the town.

Excepting ſome inroads, nothing of importance was again tranſacted to the ſouth till the year 1466, when Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the new duke of Milan, formed an alliance with his tranſalpine neighbours; the firſt article was the ceſſion of the Levantine Valley to the canton of Uri, for which he was annually to receive three hawks and a croſs-bow. Yet ten years after, when Charles duke of Burgundy threatened the total deſtruction of the republic by his powerful invaſions, the treacherous duke of Milan ſent a body of troops to his aſſiſtance, who were intercepted in the Vallais and worſted. On the defeat and death of Charles at the battle of Nancy, they again reſolved to make an attempt on Bellinzone; but as the ſeaſon was too far advanced to undertake the ſiege, a body of 600 Swiſs reſolved to winter at Giornico. The duke collected an army of 15,000 men, and attacked them in their entrenchments, but was repulſed with the loſs of 1400 of his beſt troops. The mountaineers were enriched with the ſpoils; but no regular attack was made on the object of their invaſion.

From this period, the wars in which the Swiſs engaged no ways concerned themſelves: they ſacrificed their blood in foreign quarrels, and the contending parties made uſe of their ſuperior valour to attempt or eſtabliſh conqueſts in Italy. In 1500, the three cantons obtained what they had

had ſo long contended for. The inhabitants of Bellinzone, vexed by the frequent changes in the Milaneſe, voluntarily ſurrendered to them. The French, when they had conquered the dutchy, in vain reclaimed it; the Swiſs retained poſſeſſion; and the ſeven Italian bailliages were formally ceded to them by Maximilian Sforza, in gratitude for their having reinſtated him in the ducal ſeat. Courted or feared by all parties, thoſe valuable territories were confirmed to them by the French, and finally by the Houſe of Auſtria.

The bailif remains in office two years; he is nominated alternately by the three cantons, and is generally removed from Riviera the pooreſt, to Bellinzone the moſt lucrative of the three governments. An appeal lies from his deciſion to the ſyndicate, and from that court to the three cantons. In eccleſiaſtical affairs, the inhabitants are cognizable to the biſhop of Como, excepting three pariſhes. Moſt of the natives underſtand Italian, but the language is a corrupt German.

The interior of Bellinzone by no means correſponds with its external beauty and ſituation; the ſtreets are narrow, and the houſes ill built. We continued our journey ſouth on the banks of the Teſino, which we croſſed in a bad ferry; that river is here increaſed to a very conſiderable ſize, by the numerous additions it has received in its courſe, particularly by the Muſa, a torrent which takes its riſe in the St. Bernardin, and flowing down the Val Maſox, forms a junction above Bellinzone. The valley is level, and laid waſte by the numerous torrents: the road runs along the ſides of the hills through continued vineyards. We proceeded at the foot of the weſtern

weſtern chain of hills; a ſimilar ridge bounds the view to the Eaſt, both clothed to their ſummits with woods of cheſnut and walnut-trees, half concealing frequent ſpires and numerous hamlets. Before us the view extended to a part of the Milaneſe over the lake of Locarno, or Lago Maggiore. Having reached its north-weſtern extremity, we coaſted its banks for two or three miles; and arrived at the town from which it derives its name.

Locarno contains about 1500 inhabitants. Part of the town is built on piazzas in form of a creſcent with two wings; in front is a row of trees, and the public walk; the old part of the town is dirty, and the ſtreets are narrow. It contains three convents, and a ſmall Franciſcan monaſtery, perched on a rock overhanging the valley, and commanding a ſuperb view of the lake, and its magnificent boundaries. The canopy, in the church of the Capuchins, deſerves to be mentioned for its beautiful execution: it is of ſtraw-work, and almoſt rivals velvet and gold fringe.

Of the four tranſalpine bailliages which belong to the twelve cantons, Lugano holds the principal rank; Locarno the ſecond. The governor or commiſſary, as he is called, is ſent in ſucceſſion by all the cantons except Appenzel; he remains in office two years; in criminal affairs his deciſion is abſolute, in civil an appeal lies to the annual ſyndicate from the regent cantons, and from thence to the Helvetic body aſſembled at the diet. The emoluments of this poſt are not great; but the profits unfortunately depend too much on the virtue of the man, as they ariſe principally from fines exacted for criminal offences. The people enjoy ſome privileges, and

hold

hold an annual aſſembly in the month of January, in which they elect twenty counſellors; twelve out of the town, three from Aſcona, the remainder from the country at large. Theſe counſellors have the charge of watching over the intereſts of the republic, as far as does not interfere with the ſuperior powers, of ſettling the public expences, and of raiſing the ſupplies paid to the governor. Theſe bailliages do not raiſe corn ſufficient for their domeſtic conſumption; that grain is furniſhed by treaty from the dutchy of Milan, and is weekly imported from Livino, a village on the oppoſite ſhore. The chief food of the peaſants is a cake made with maize and millet: the inhabitants on the banks of the lake are well ſupplied with fiſh.

The fiſheries give employment to a great number of hands, although they are in ſome degree ſubject to monopolies. In the months of May and June, from 200 to 250lb. weight are taken in a day; trout of 40lb. and perch of 9lb. are found in the lake.

In 1555, the doctrines of the reformation had made conſiderable progreſs in theſe parts: but the Catholic cantons, at the general diet, obtained an edict, that thoſe who refuſed to return to the antient faith ſhould quit the town and province. Numbers, thus driven from their native country, were received with open arms by the canton of Zuric, which was benefited by their induſtry, and owes to them the introduction of their ſilk manufactures.

Locarno once was ſituated on the lake, and had a port capable of receiving large barks: at preſent it ſtands at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile; a circumſtance owing to the accumulation of ſand brought down by the torrent Maggia.

The

The little voyage from hence to Magadino is delightful: we croſſed the upper part of the lake in an hour; the banks of this noble piece of water riſe boldly, and are well wooded; Locarno forms a fine object, to the ſouth of it is the opening into the Val Maggia, terminated by mountains covered with eternal ſnow. The ſpot where we landed conſiſts only of a few ſcattered houſes, for the purpoſe of receiving the merchandize, which is put on ſhore and ſent on horſes to Bellinzone. Old Magadino is more inland, and owed its origin to the vicinity of the lake, the retiring of which has cauſed its ruin: from thence the road winds up the ſteep ſides of the mountain Cenero, through woods of walnut and cheſnut trees, interſperſed with oak and holly; on the ſummit of the paſſage is a ſmall oval plain, the boundary of the bailliages of Locarno and Lugano. Our deſcent lay between the hills, through luxuriant and verdant vallies, peopled with numerous villages, and rich in every production. The vines, laden with fruit, are conducted in elegant feſtoons from tree to tree; a conſtant variety of ſcenery, ſoftened by the glow of a ſetting ſun, and next ſilvered by the moon glimmering on the diſtant lake heightened the charms of our journey through this Elyſian country.

The ſituation of Lugano is delightful: it is built round the gentle curve of a bay, and backed by a fine ſucceſſion of hills, riſing in gentle ſwells to a conſiderable heighth: in front, a bold mountain clothed with foreſt projects into the lake, of which a noble branch extends to its right and left. To that ſpot boats of every ſize are continually paſſing and repaſſing, its baſe being

ing perforated with *cantine*, or caverns, to which the inhabitants ſend their meat, and all ſorts of proviſion, where it is kept untainted for ſeven or eight days, and the wine preſerved with a delicious coolneſs. Enjoying the advantages of a ſouthern climate, it has few of its inconveniences: the heats are moderated by the ſurrounding hills and the cool breezes from the lake. It is no leſs ſheltered from the Alpine blaſts, which, chilled by the neighbouring ſnows, would otherwiſe deſcend with violence, and deſtroy the temperature of this equal climate. Olive, almond, and all the ſouthern fruits, ripen here to perfection.

Lugano is the emporium of the greateſt part of the merchandize which paſſes from Italy over the St. Gothard, or the Bernardin. At the end of autumn, the Swiſs mountaineers bring down numerous herds of cattle for ſale; and return with leſs bulky commodities. The town contains about 8000 inhabitants. Moſt of the houſes are built of tuf-ſtone: the reſidence of the *capitano*, or governor, is a low building; on the walls are the arms of the twelve regent cantons. On an eminence above the town, ſtands the principal church, remarkable only for the beautiful carving in ſtone round the doors, and roſe window, and for the delicious proſpect from its terrace. In the cloiſters of the Recollets is a capital picture attributed to Luvino; their church is handſome, and the ſkreen is ornamented with a painting of the Paſſion by the ſame maſter. The palace of the Marquis de Riva contains a few good pictures.

We then embarked upon the lake of Lugano *,

* The lake of Lugano is about 190 feet perpendicular higher than the lake of Como rnd Lago Maggiore. The two laſt-mentioned lakes are of the ſame level, and about 240 feet higher than the city of Milan. *Veri ſtoria di Milan*, p. 5. *Abr. Friſi Dei Canali Navig. di Lombardia*. 4to, p. 465.

which

which is about twenty-five miles in length, and from two to four in breadth; its form is irregular, and bending into continued ſinuoſities. The town forms a fine object, backed by the amphitheatre of hills; the banks on each ſide bordered with a ſucceſſion of gardens and villas. After being rowed to ſee the noble branch pointing northward, we croſſed to the Cantine, and continued our voyage under the precipitous rocks, whoſe baſes are loſt in the depths of the lake. We landed at Porto a ſmall village in the duchy of Milan, ſituated at its ſouthern extremity.

From this point, an arm of the lake points northward, and diſcharges itſelf into the Lago Maggiore, by means of the river Triſa. It is ſcarcely poſſible to imagine a more perfect or greater variety of beauties than this noble piece of water affords; the vaſt over-hanging woods, the bold precipices, the tranſparency of the water, unite to form a ſcenery in the higheſt degree luxuriant.

From Porto the traveller may obſerve, with ſatisfaction mingled with compaſſion, the ſtrong contraſts effected by the influence of a free and of an arbitrary government: the borders of the lake ſubject to Switzerland ſtudded with a ſucceſſion of villages, houſes, and gardens; thispart of the Milaneſe deſolate, and almoſt unpeopled.

On leaving that village, the hills begin to diminiſh, and in the courſe of three miles are totally loſt in the rich plain of Lombardy. Vareſe is entirely compoſed of the ſeats of the Milaneſe nobility. The principal palazzo is the reſidence of the dutcheſs dowager of Modena; the gardens are laid out in the old taſte, the artificial mount commands a fine view over a rich flat

country

country, a ſmall lake, and bounded by the long chain of Alps. In the magnificent ſaloon are ſome tolerable portraits of the families of Modena and Auſtria. The emperor, as duke of Milan, has exerted himſelf in the ſuppreſſion of convents; a rich Franciſcan monaſtery has fallen a ſacrifice to his plans of reformation.

The road from hence to Laveno, a ſmall burgh on the Lago Maggiore, is varied, and the country very rich; to the right, on an eminence, is San Sacramento; to the left we paſſed near ſome leſſer lakes. From Laveno we were rowed acroſs the delightful paſſage to Iſola Bella, one of the famous inchanted iſlands ſo particularly deſcribed, and with ſuch pleaſure, by Biſhop Burnet and Keyſler; the latter can compare it to nothing but "*a pyramid of ſweetmeats, ornamented with green feſtoons and flowers.*" The taſte of mankind alters with the ſucceſſion of years: I therefore conſidered it only as a monument of expence and folly: terrace riſes above terrace in regular gradations, bordered with flower-pots, or gigantic ſtatues of horſes, gods, and goddeſſes. The whole is raiſed upon arches; and the ſoil has been brought from the ſhore to cover them. The palace is magnificent, and contains a profuſion of marbles and paintings: the lower part of the houſe overhangs the lake on one ſide; where ſeveral apartments are furniſhed in the ſtile of grottos; the floors, pillars, and walls, are inlaid with various-coloured ſtones, marbles, and ſhells; the view and the coolneſs united make this part a delicious ſummer retreat.

If any thing juſtly gives this iſland the appellation of enchanted, it is the proſpect from the terrace.

terrace. The gradual diminution of the mountains from the regions of eternal ſnow to the rich plain, the ſinuoſity of the lake, its varied banks, and the bay of Marzozzo bounded by vaſt hills, the neighbouring burgh of Palanza, and more diſtant view of Laveno, the numerous villages, the Iſola Madre, on which is a palace of the Borromean family, and another iſland with fiſhermen's huts, form a delightful aſſemblage. Theſe iſlands, and the whole weſtern coaſt of the lake to the bailliage of Locarno, was ceded to the king of Sardinia, by the late empreſs queen, at the treaty of Worms, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance which ſhe had received from that monarch.

We re-entered our boat, troubled by the importunities of the beggars, whoſe miſerable huts adjoining to the palace diſgrace the iſland. Belgeritta is a neat village, containing ſome excellent houſes, and a handſome church. From thence we continued our voyage down the lake. The tract of country to our right, from near Palanza to ten miles ſouth of Arona, pays a ſmall contribution to the Borromean family for ſeignorial rights. That family receives a toll for the merchandize which paſſes, grants the privilege of fiſhing, and appoints eleven judges in the reſpective villages; but an appeal lies from their deciſion to a ſuperior, nominated by the king of Sardinia, and reſident at Palanza, and again to Turin. The riches of this opulent houſe are now increaſing from the product of the gold mines, which lie amongſt the moſt inacceſſible parts of the mountains, thirty miles from Margozzo. Above Arona is a ſeminary for forty boys, founded by San Carlo Borromeo; near it is

is the coloſſal ſtatue of that ſaint, ſixty feet in height, placed on a pedeſtal of juſt proportions. He is repreſented in his cardinal's habit; the right hand extended, a book under the left arm. The ſtatue is of bronze, was caſt at Milan, and brought in ſeparate pieces. San Carlo, nephew to Pope Pius the Fourth, was born near this ſpot; he paſſed with early credit through his ſtudies, and the dignities of the church; was made a cardinal, and archbiſhop of Milan. His charity and pious exertions, during the plague which ravaged his dioceſe, the ſubject of ſo many fine pictures at Milan, inſure him more general renown than his canonization in 1610.

Arona is a ſmall town, with a neat port; above it riſes a ruined caſtle, which, in the earlier part of the Milaneſe hiſtory, ſeems to have been conſidered as a place of the utmoſt importance; at the period when the great conteſts aroſe between the families of Viſconti and Torriani, this caſtle was the perpetual object of capture and repriſal. Otho Viſconti, the archbiſhop, who at length gained the aſcendancy, was twice repulſed and driven from hence. Two promontories project into the lake at this ſpot; the eaſtern is crowned with the caſtle of Anghiera, which gives name to this valuable province, which in 1397, to gratify Galeazzo, the ſecond duke of Milan, was erected into a county by the emperor Wenceſlaus, and has ſince been transferred to the king of Sardinia. On doubling the promontory of Arona, the lake again enlarges, and forms a bay; the banks are very low. Soon after entering the Teſino we landed at the dirty village of Seſto; hired another boat, and were hurried with great rapidity down that river, between high

high banks of gravel, to the commencement of the *Naviglio Grande*, the great canal which forms the junction between the Po and the Adda, calculated not leſs for conveying merchandize and wood to Milan, than for benefiting the neighbouring country with partial inundations, and for the purpoſe of laying the rice fields under water. Its breadth at firſt is great; but narrows as we advance, and the ſtream becomes almoſt a dead water *.

If bad weather and other circumſtances had not prevented me from extending my tour, I had purpoſed viſiting the bay of Margozzo, Domo, d'Oſcella, Varallo, and the gold mines in its neighbourhood; an excurſion, which, from the reports I have heard, could not fail of affording the higheſt ſatisfaction to the naturaliſt, and the lover of nature in her great features.

* According to the Abbé Friſi, the length of the Naviglio is 86,000 braccia, or 14 Italian miles (60 to a degree); its breadth at the entrance 70, which gradually diminiſhes to 20; and the perpendicular height of the fall of water is 58; at firſt 5 braccia per mile, gradually decreaſing for the firſt twelve miles, until it is no more than one braccio in a mile; then increaſing for the five next miles to a little more than five braccia in a mile.—See *Canal. Navig. di Lomb. C.* 1. A Milaneſe braccio is to an Engliſh foot nearly as 22 to 11, without conſidering a ſmall fraction.

SUPPLEMENT.

Account of the late Tumults and Revolution of Geneva in 1789.

I HAVE delayed the publication of this work, which was ready to be delivered, on account of the revolution recently experienced at Geneva, which has greatly changed the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1782, and deſcribed in the 65th letter.

I have, accordingly, ſpared no pains, which the ſhortneſs of the time would admit, to collect the moſt authentic intelligence; and here ſubmit to the reader a ſhort account of the cauſes and termination of the late tumults, which have been the means of reſtoring Geneva to its former liberty.

The edict of pacification paſſed in 1782 ſucceeded to a long ſeries of diſſenſions between the popular and ariſtocratical parties. The three powers of France, Sardinia, and Berne, by whoſe dominions Geneva is encircled, beholding, with regret and diſpleaſure, the flames of civil diſcord continually ſmothered, and continually burſting forth on the ſlighteſt occaſion, had combined in order to ſettle a *fixed* and *permanent* conſtitution, and took ſuch precautions as ſeemed calculated to prevent in future any effectual oppoſition to the government which they thought proper to eſtabliſh. By the combined forces of the three powers the far greater part of the Genevans were compelled to ſubmit to the moſt grievous conditions: the exile of their popular chiefs; the prohibition of carrying arms; and a foreign garriſon quartered in barracks, at the entire diſpoſal of government, formed the baſis which ſupported the new conſtitution.

From that period a calm of a few years, almoſt unknown to the republic, ſucceeded; but it was a ſullen and a lowering calm; the people were kept in order by the precaution of a military force, not calculated for a ſmall republic; the taxes impoſed for the maintenance of that military force, and for building barracks, were heavy; and their burden was felt the more, becauſe they conſtantly reminded the Genevans of their humiliation and ſubjection.

During my ſubſequent viſits to Geneva, in 1785 and the following year, I found an almoſt general diſcontent prevailing among all parties; many of the Negatives diſaffected; the Repreſentants ſubmitting in ſilent and ſullen deſpair; and

and the people without ſpirit and energy. The wiſdom of many of the regulations paſſed in 1782 was overlooked, or forgotten; thoſe only which annihilated the firſt principles of liberty were remembered; and almoſt the only ſentiment which prevailed, was the ſentiment of degradation, ariſing from the ſubjection of a free people to a military government.

In this ſtate of affairs and general diſaffection to the ruling party, many of the citizens ſecretly entertained hopes of another revolution; either founding their expectations on the embarraſſed ſituation of France, or on the favourable diſpoſition of the Great and Little Councils; the members of which had for ſome time fatally experienced many difficulties in ſupporting the authority of government. The minds of the greateſt part were ready to take advantage of every incident likely to effect a change of government.

Such a general ſpirit of diſaffection had gone forth among the people, that adminiſtration had been compelled to employ a military force in order to quell a tumult, which took its riſe in the theatre on the 12th of December 1788.

The quelling of this tumult was only a temporary remedy; and the popular diſcontents broke out uncontrouled on the 16th of January, on account of the publication of an edict raiſing the price of bread a farthing in the pound. This augmentation, though juſtified by the ſcarcity of flour, and paſſed principally with a view to prevent the exportation of bread, was yet imprudently laid on in the preſent temper of the people. An inſurrection inſtantly took place; the bakers ſhops were pillaged, and on the following day

day a carriage laden with bread, and eſcorted by ſoldiers, was plundered in its way to the diſtribution office in the quarter of St. Gervais. The ſoldiers, firing at the populace killed one man and wounded another: the numbers and fury of the rioters increaſed; they drove away the troops, and carried the body of the deceaſed, in a kind of funeral proceſſion, before the town-houſe, as a memorial of violence and oppreſſion. The populace, rouſed to frenzy at this ſpectacle, attacked and occupied the gates of the city, and dangerouſly wounded the commanding officer, as he was endeavouring to reſtrain the ardour of his ſoldiers and the fury of the people.

In all tumults and inſurrections the firſt moments are precious. The magiſtrates, inſtead of acting deciſively, had loſt them in deliberation; and the poſition of government became more and more embarraſſing. On the preſent occaſion it was neceſſary either to retake the gates, which had been occupied by the inſurgents, or to confeſs, that the military force, by which they had hitherto kept the people in awe, was no longer capable of enforcing obedience. The military committee, charged with the command of the garriſon for the ſecurity of the city, fluctuated between their duty to quell the inſurrection, and their repugnance to ſhed the blood of their fellow citizens. In this dilemma they heſitated for ſome time, and at length ordered two bodies of troops to force their paſſage over the two bridges of the Rhone which ſeparate the quarter of St. Gervais from the remainder of the city, and to retake the gate on the ſide of Switzerland. They flattered themſelves, that the people would retire at the firſt appearance of a conſiderable

derable body of ſoldiers. But it was now too late: the inſurgents had already formed a ſtrong barricade, behind which they played off two fire-pumps, filled with boiling water and ſoaplees, againſt the extremities of each bridge; the croſs fire of ſeveral ſmall arms, which poured from the windows and tops of the adjacent houſes, wounded ſeveral ſoldiers and killed the commanding officer; the pavement of the ſtreets was torn up, and carried to the tops of the houſes, in order to be hurled down upon the troops, if they forced the barricades and penetrated into the ſtreets. Meanwhile the tumult ſpread into the other parts of the city, and was in danger of becoming univerſal. In this ſtate of affairs the magiſtrates, finding that they could not quell the inſurrection without great effuſion of blood, found themſelves under the neceſſity of complying with the demands of the inſurgents. One of the principal magiſtrates repaired in perſon to the quarter of St. Gervais, proclaimed an edict for lowering the price of bread, granted a general amneſty, and releaſed all the inſurgents that had been taken into cuſtody. Theſe conceſſions reſtored indeed a momentary calm; but produced the very effect they were intended to avoid. The leaders of the diſaffected party, now convinced, either of the inability or unwillingneſs of government to employ a ſufficient degree of force, and foreſeeing that the moderation which had been juſt adopted muſt be continued, held themſelves in readineſs to take advantage of any opportunity which preſented itſelf of exciting or encouraging another inſurrection, in order to effect a change of government, and a recovery of former privileges. Such

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an opportunity preſented itſelf on the 29th of January, at the interment of a woman who had been caſually killed by the diſcharge of the military in the tumult of the 26th. An immenſe concourſe of people attended the funeral; and the magiſtrates imprudently ordered the garriſon to be ranged and poſted with cannon, for the ſecurity of the barracks and the city gates againſt any attempts of the multitude. The populace, believing that the garriſon was drawn out in order to recommence hoſtilities, roſe inſtantly, with one accord directed their fury againſt the ſoldiers, drove them from their poſts, diſarmed them, and took poſſeſſion of the city gates without oppoſition.

This ſecond tumult convinced the magiſtrates that all farther oppoſition was fruitleſs. For, as the generality of the citizens and burghers, inſtead of taking an active part in quelling the tumults, had rather ſeemed to countenance and encourage them, it was evident, that the loſs of their liberties, and the humiliation to which they were reduced by the edict of 1782, had abſorbed every ſentiment of affection and reverence for an adminiſtration, which, however juſt and reaſonable in its meaſures and conduct, was founded on the principles of deſpotiſm, and ſupported by force. Impreſſed with theſe conſiderations, and finding by experience that a military government was both inexpedient and ineffectual, the chiefs of the ariſtocratical party ſuddenly changed the ſyſtem, by which they had been hitherto guided, and renounced, by a very extraordinary revolution in their ſentiments, that line of conduct to which they had before ſo obſtinately adhered. They now felt, that in ſo ſmall a republic, and with

with ſuch few objects of ambition, the only permanent recompence of their political labours could be drawn from the eſteem, attachment, and confidence of their fellow-citizens; they felt alſo, that, acting from that principle, the wiſeſt conduct to be adopted on the preſent occaſion was, to change a conſtitution which had been proved to be eſſentially defective; and which, while it abridged or annihilated the deareſt rights and privileges of a freeborn ſubject, was ineffectual in maintaining itſelf by the uſual companion of deſpotiſm, the terror of a military force. When, therefore, the Solicitor General, in the name of the citizens and burghers, ſolicited the recovery of their antient liberties, the permiſſion of bearing arms, the re-eſtabliſhment of the militia, and of their circles or political clubs; the removal of the garriſon from the barracks; and the recall of the Repreſentants, who were baniſhed in 1782; ſuch moderate demands were received with complacency, and even ſatisfaction.

The two parties, fatigued with paſt diſſenſions, and anxious to reunite in the common cauſe, conſented to ſacrifice ſomething of their reſpective claims, and to uſe the power reſerved to them in 1782, by the guarantees, of amending and changing the laws, by a majority of three-fourths. The preliminaries were ſettled without difficulty; a committee was appointed to reviſe and amend the edict of 1782; the new edict of pacification, under the title of *Modifications à l'Edit de* 1782, were approved by the Senate, Great Council, and General Council. Such was the almoſt general unanimity with which this buſineſs was tranſacted, that in the aſſembly of

of the General Council which met on the 10th of February, the *modifications* were carried by 1321 ſuffrages againſt 52. The publication of the new edict was followed by the loudeſt acclamations and general rejoicings; and the conſent of the three guaranties is ſolicited, and expected with great impatience.

The edict of 1782 is valid in all the articles which are not repealed or amended by the preſent *modifications*; or, to uſe the words of the preſent amendments, "The edict of the 21ſt of November 1782, with the modifications introduced by the preſent edict, and the political code publiſhed on the 1 th of June 1783, ſhall be the fundamental law of the ſtate, and ſhall form the complete collection of its political ſtatutes."

The conſtitution is now wiſely modelled into a mean between the too popular form eſtabliſhed in 1768, and the too ariſtocratical form eſtabliſhed in 1782.

The magiſtrates have conſented to repeal the moſt obnoxious articles in the edict of 1782; which may be principally reduced to the following heads:

1. The garriſon is ſubject, as before the edict, of 1782, to the orders of the Senate, of the Syndic of the Guard, and of the members of the Great Council; and is to be no longer quartered in barracks. The garriſon is to be gradually reduced to 600 men; but to be increaſed to 720, at the will of the Great Council. The officers are to be choſen by the Great Council, from the citizens, burghers, and natives.

2. The militia to be re-embodied, and the military exerciſes to be renewed. A regiment of

of volunteers to be formed from the citizens, burghers, natives, and inhabitants, under the orders of the Senate and Syndic of the Guard.

3. All citizens, burghers, natives, inhabitants, and ſubjects, are permitted to bear arms; all other perſons dwelling in the city are prohibited from carrying fire-arms without permiſſion.

4. The circles, or political clubs, are reeſtabliſhed; but they are forbidden to deliberate or vote on the affairs of ſtate or the operations of government.

5. Some additional powers are granted to the thirty-ſix adjuncts, which increaſe their importance, and conſequently the weight of their repreſentations.

6. All perſons baniſhed by the edict of 1782 are to be recalled, if the conſent of the three powers can be obtained; and thoſe, who were deprived of their burgherſhip on account of refuſing to take the oath of allegiance to the government eſtabliſhed in 1782, are to be reinſtated in their rights.

In return for theſe conceſſions on the part of the magiſtrates, the popular party conſent to the articles in the edict of 1782, which aboliſhed the right of re-election, and transferred the right of repreſentation to the thirty-ſix adjuncts.

They have acted wiſely in renouncing the right of re-election, that ſpecies of oſtraciſm, and ſource of ſo much jealouſy and ſuſpicion, which principally occaſioned the troubles that preceded the revolution of 1782. They have no leſs prudently conſented to aboliſh the right of repreſentation, as it was veſted, before the edict, in every

every citizen and burgher. The uſe, or rather the abuſe of this right, occaſioned frequent tumults and ſeditions, by the promiſcuous aſſembling of a large number without order; and it was found to be a dangerous expedient to employ a multitude as an engine for political purpoſes.

By the edict of 1782 it was ſtipulated, in favour of the natives, that during the term of ten years five natives, and after the expiration of the ſaid term, three natives, ſhould be annually choſen burghers. On the preſent occaſion a farther clauſe was added in their favour; that the burgherſhip ſhould be conferred on all natives of the fourth generation, when they ſhall have attained the proper age.

Time only can diſcover whether the preſent form of government will be more permanent than the former conſtitution; or whether a few years may not bring about another revolution. It bears, however, ſtrong marks and characters of permanency, if we may augur from the preſent temper and diſpoſition of the parties.

The alterations are juſt, reaſonable, and even neceſſary.

It is the firſt time that all the orders of the ſtate freely, and as it were unanimouſly, conſented, and that ſcarcely the leaſt diſaffection or murmurs have followed. The revolution of 1768 was the triumph of the popular over the ariſtocratical party; and of 1782, the ſtill greater triumph of the ariſtocratical over the popular party. But the preſent change of the government was accompanied and followed by the triumph of neither party. It was formed by the coalition

coalition of both; it was the general ſenſe of the whole republic united, in order to repeal what experience had ſhewn to be defective and inconſiſtent with republican freedom in the edict of 1782; and to retain what experience had ſhewn to be expedient and analogous to the ſpirit and principles of the conſtitution.

The pacification was inſtantly followed by marks of cordiality and attention, between the individuals of two parties, never before experienced. The ſons of the principal Negatives have frequented the circles of the burghers; the magiſtrates, who could not be reproached with any abuſe of their power ſince the edict of 1782, have obtained the confidence of the people from the moment that they renounced the ſupport of a foreign garriſon quartered in barracks, and expreſſed their reſolution of entruſting the preſervation of the ſtate to the citizens, burghers, and natives.

No monument of that military force, ſo odious and yet ſo uſeleſs, will remain. The barracks of the town-houſe are already evacuated, and will be converted into a public library; the new barracks, built at an enormous expence, and more calculated for the garriſon of a powerful and deſpotic kingdom than for a ſmall and free commonwealth, will be converted into a building for the univerſity. The reformation of the ſtudies, which have ſcarcely received any alteration ſince the time of Calvin, is now in agitation. In a word, all things ſeem at preſent to conſpire for the general good; and it is to be hoped that both parties, ſhocked at the recollection of paſt troubles, will continue on as friendly

friendly terms as the jealous nature of a free conſtitution will admit; and not exhibit any more civil diſſenſions of ſuch notoriety as to endanger the ruin of the republic; diſſenſions which have been hitherto, perhaps, almoſt unavoidable, but which, if renewed in future, will ſtamp indelible diſgrace on the Genevans, as reſtleſs and unquiet ſpirits.

FAUNULA HELVETICA:

OR,

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

Quadrupeds, Birds, Amphibia, Fiſhes, and Teſtaceous Animals of SWITZERLAND.

Arranged and denominated according to the Syſtem of LINNÆUS.

With References to Mr. PENNANT's Britiſh Zoology, Mr. BRISSON's Works, and other Authors.

IN no part of Europe does nature invite the naturaliſt with ſtronger attractions, than in Switzerland; a country ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed, by ſublime alps, ſtupendous glaciers, beautiful mountains, vallies, and lakes, and affording a moſt comprehenſive ſcope for variety, in the vegetable world, in the mineral kingdom, and in animal life: nor have the ingenious and learned of this nation neglected to avail themſelves of their peculiar ſituation. Let the genius of the Geſners, the names of Haller, of Sauſſure, and many others, bear teſtimony to this truth. Nevertheleſs, of theſe various branches of knowledge, Zoology ſeems to have made leſs progreſs among this ingenious people, than any other natural ſcience, if compared with its advancement in ſeveral other parts of Europe; ſince there is yet no complete *Fauna*, or deſcription of the animals of this country. It is true, the writings of the indefatigable Conrad Geſner, contain a great number of valuable obſervations on the animals of Switzerland; but ſo diffuſed throughout his works, that they are of little uſe to ſuch as wiſh for a connected view of its animal productions. Neither can the ſcanty and vague accounts of Wagner, gratify the accuracy of the modern zoologiſt.

The induſtry, however, and ingenuity of ſeveral naturaliſts, have of late been employed in accurate inveſtigations of the reſpective parts of Switzerland regarding the animal kingdom; and their kindneſs has enabled me to lay before the Engliſh naturaliſt the following *Faunula Helvetica.*

The reader is, however, originally indebted to Thomas Pennant, Eſq; for this catalogue. That ingenious naturaliſt, having communicated to me a liſt of the Swiſs birds drawn from Mr. Sprungli's * much-admired cabinet, adviſed me to obtain from the collector himſelf an account of ſuch additional birds as he had procured ſince 1776, the year in which Mr. Pennant viſited Switzerland. I accordingly applied to Mr. Sprungli, who obligingly gave me an accurate catalogue of the Swiſs birds and fiſhes, drawn up in the Linnæan method, illuſtrated with obſervations and remarks.

On returning from my travels, Mr. Pennant, at my requeſt, favoured me with the Engliſh names of the ſaid birds, and with references to the Britiſh Zoology, Linnæus, and Briſſon, which are preſerved in the following catalogue.

On a ſubſequent expedition to Switzerland in 1786, I endeavoured to obtain a catalogue of the quadrupeds and amphibia, for the purpoſe of forming a *Faunula Helvetica*, a great deſideratum in the natural hiſtory of Switzerland.

From the Rev. Mr. Wyttenbach †, the ſame gentleman to whom I was already indebted for a deſcription of the Alps and hills ſeen from

* Letter 58. † Letter 59.

Berne, I received a liſt of the quadrupeds and amphibia; and from M. Van Berchem *, of Lauſanne, whom I have mentioned in my account of the bouquetin, a catalogue of the fiſhes found in the lake of Neuchatel, and of the amphibia, which agreed with thoſe communicated to me by Mr. Wyttenbach.

To the obliging communication of Mr. Studer, miniſter of the great hoſpital at Berne, I owe the remaining part of this *Faunula*. As no marine ſpecies of ſhells could enter into this liſt, it will be an ample proof of the diligence and ingenuity of the collector, that his cabinet actually contains all the land and freſh water ſhells here enumerated; among which are many totally unnoticed by former writers.

Mr. Studer, having collected all theſe ſpecies in the recent ſtate, with a view to deſcribe the animal, as well as its covering, was hence led to arrange them, not by the ſyſtem of Linnæus, which is adapted rather to the ſhell than to the inhabitant of it, but by that of the late learned and indefatigable Mr. Muller, publiſhed under the following title, "*Vermium terreſtrium et fluviatilium ſeu Animalium infuſoriorum, Helminthicorum, et Teſtaceorum, non marinorum, ſuccincta Hiſtoria. Auctore Oth. Frid.* MULLER. Hauniæ & Lipſ. 1773. 4°." The French names he has taken from M. Geoffry's work "on the Teſtaceous Animals of the Environs of Paris;" the German, from the Berlin Magazine conducted by Dr. Martini, and from the works of Mr. Schroeter. To the new ſpecies he has himſelf given trivial names; and propoſes

* Letter 41.

ſhortly

ſhortly to publiſh an ample deſcription of his cabinet.

The *Faunula*, in the order in which it now ſtands, was arranged and digeſted by Dr. Pulteney, who collected the Engliſh names, and references to Linnæus, Pennant, and Briſſon, in the catalogues of the quadrupeds and amphibia. He alſo ſubjoined to the liſt of birds ſeveral references and illuſtrations, in addition to thoſe communicated by Mr. Pennant; and Mr. Sprungli, having reviewed the birds and fiſh ſince theſe additions were made, has expreſſed his entire approbation of them.

I cannot conclude without expreſſing my obligation to thoſe gentlemen, who have thus enabled me to give the firſt connected, though brief, account of the Swiſs zoology.

FAUNULA

FAUNULA HELVETICA:

OR,

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

QUADRUPEDS, BIRDS, AMPHIBIA, FISHES, and TESTACEOUS ANIMALS, of *SWITZERLAND;*

Arranged and denominated according to the Syſtem of

LINNÆUS:

With References to Mr. PENNANT's Britiſh Zoology, Mr. BRISSON's Works, and other Authors.

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V. Pipiſtrellus?
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C. Lupus. *Lin.* 58.
Le Loup. L. Vulgaris. *Briſſ.* 170.
The WOLF. *Br. Zool.* 8°, 1. p. 75. t. 5. *Penn. Hiſt. Quad.* N° 137.
Not uncommon in the Vallais; but rare in the mountains of Geſſenay. In the mountains of Savoy, and on the Jura.

C. Vulpes. *Lin.* 59.
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The Fox. *Br. Zool.* N° 11.

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FELIS. *Lin.* 60.

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WILD CAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 12.

F. Lynx. *Lin.* 62.
Le Loup-Cervier. Lynx. *Briſſ.* 200.
The LYNX. *Hiſt. Quad.* N° 170.
On the mountains near the Alps, and in Faucigny. Often

Often ſeen in the bailliage of Interlachen, and in the land of Haſli.

MUSTELA. *Lin.* 66.

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M. Furo. *Lin.* 68.
Le Furet. Viverra. *Briſſ.* 177.
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M. Vulgaris.
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COMMON WEESEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 17.

M. Erminea. *Lin.* 68.
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The STOAT, or ERMINE. *Br. Zool.* N° 18. t. 7. Rare in Switzerland.

M. Lutra. *Lin.* 66.
L'Outre. Lutra. *Briſſ.* 201.
The OTTER. *Br. Zuol.* N° 19 t. 8.
In the brooks and rivulets on the mountains: rarely in the plains.

URSUS. *Lin.* 69.

U. Arctos. *Lin.* 69. Niger α.
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—Sometimes ſeen; but rarely.

— — Fuſcus β.
BROWN BEAR.
Not a native, but frequently ſtrays from Burgundy into Switzerland.

— — Albus γ.
WHITE BEAR.—Rare.

U. Meles.

U. Meles. *Lin.* 70.
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TALPA. *Lin.* 73.

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La Taupe. T. Vulgaris. *Briſſ.* 204.
The MOLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 34.

Alba. β.
Taupe Blanche. Talpa alba. *Briſſ.* 205.
WHITE MOLE.—Rare.

SOREX. *Lin.* 73.

S. Araneus. *Lin.* 74.
Muſaraigne. Muſaraneus. *Briſſ.* 126.
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Common in the Plains.

S. Daubentonii. *Hiſt. de l'Acad.* an. 1756. p. 11.
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WATER SHREW. *Br. Zool.* N° 33.
Rare in Switzerland.

ERINACEUS. *Lin.* 75.

E. Europæus. *Lin.* 75.
L'Heriſſon. Erinaceus. *Briſſ.* 128.
The URCHIN, or HEDGE-HOG. *Br. Zool.* N° 35.

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LEPUS. *Lin.* 77.

L. Timidus α. *Lin.* 77.
Le Livre commun. Lepus. *Briſſ.* 94.
The COMMON HARE. *Br. Zool.* N° 20.
Very common.

Le Lievre blanc. Lepus variabilis, apice aurium atro, cauda concolore alba. *Pallas Nov. Spec.* 1.
VARYING, or ALPINE HARE. *Br. Zool.* N° 21. t. 8. *Hiſt. Quad.* N° 242.
There is great reaſon to believe this to be a diſtinct ſpecies. Both are found on the mountains, but the White Hare never deſcends into the plains, keeping on the borders of the Glaciers and on the Alps; and the chaſſeurs in Switzerland aſſure us, as does Mr. Pennant, that it does not mix with the Common Hare, neither is the fleſh ſo palatable as that of the common kind. *Mr. Wittenbach.*

CASTOR. *Lin.* 78.

C. Fiber. *Lin.* 78.
Le Caſtor, ou le Bievre. C. ſive Fiber. *Briſſ.* 90.
The BEAVER. *Br. Zool.* 1. 8°. p. 96. *Hiſt Quad.* N° 251.
This animal was formerly found in the Aar, and in the lake of Brientz, but I believe it is now extinct in Switzerland.

MUS. *Lin.* 79.

Mus Marmota. *Lin.* 81.
Glis Marmota. *Wittenb.*
La Marmotte, Marmota Alpina. *Briſſ.* 117.
The MARMOT. *Hiſt. Quad.* N° 258.
Common on the ſlopes of the Alps, where graſs is to be found. It makes a whiſtling or hiſſing noiſe on the approach of the chaſſeurs. The fleſh is eaten, and the fat ſold to the apothecaries, who make an ointment with it, which is in repute for burns.

M. Cricetus. *Lin.* 82.
Le Hamſter. Marmota Argentoratenſis. *Briſſ.* 117.
The HAMSTER RAT. *Hiſt. Quad.* N° 324.
I have been informed that this ſpecies has been ſeen, though rarely, about the Aar, and in the canton of Berne.

M. Rattus. *Lin.* 83.
Le Rat commun. Rattus. *Briſſ.* 118.
BLACK RAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 25.

M. Amphibius. *Lin.* 82.
Le Rat d'Eau. M. Aquaticus. *Briſſ.* 124.
WATER RAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 27.

M. Syl-

M. Sylvaticus. *Lin.* 84.
La Mulot. M. Agrorum. *Briſſ.* 123.
Field Mouse. *Br. Zool.* N° 28.
Very common, not in fields only, but in the woods.

M. Muſculus. *Lin.* 83.
La Souris. Sorex. *Briſſ.* 119.
Mouse. *Br. Zool.* N° 30.
Very common in houſes.

M. Terreſtris. *Lin.* 82.
Le Campagnol. M. Campeſtris Minor. *Briſſ.* 129.
Short-tailed Mouse. *Br. Zool.* N° 31.
Common.

M. Œconomus. *Pallas.* Cauda ſubſeſquiunciali, auriculis nudis, vellere molli, latentibus palmis ſubtetradactylis, corpore fuſco. Tab. 14. A. *Pallas. Pen. Hiſt. Quad.* N° 313.
This animal is known in the *Pais de Vaud* by the name of the *Mole*, and is common both on the mountains and the plains of that diſtrict. M. *Van Berchem* was the firſt who diſcovered it to be the *M. œconomus* of Pallas. It was alſo found, by M. Amſtein, in the country of the Griſons.

Sciurus. *Lin.* 86.

S. Vulgaris. *Lin.* 86.
L'Ecureuil. S. Vulgaris. *Briſſ.* 104.
Common Squirrel. *Br. Zool.* N° 23.
Two varieties are found in Switzerland; the common red ſquirrel with a white belly, and another black, with a white belly. The latter is larger, and leſs frequent than the red ſquirrel.

S. Glis. *Lin.* 87.
Le Loir. Glis. *Briſſ.* 113.
Fat Dormouse. *Hiſt. Quad.* N° 287.

S. Avellanarius. Mus avellanarius. *Lin.* 83.
Muſcardine. M. avellanarum minor. *Briſſ.* 115.
The Dormouse. *Br. Zool.* N° 24.

S. Quercinus. Mus quercinus. *Lin.* 84.
Le Lerot. Rat blanc. M. Avellanarum major. *Briſſ.* 114.
Garden Dormouse. *Hiſt. Quad.* N° 288.
This is very rare.

Ordo

Ordo V. PECORA.

Cervus. *Lin.* 92.

C. Elaphus. *Lin.* 93.
Le Cerf. Cervus. *Briſſ.* 58.
The Stag. *Br. Zool.* N° 6.
This is rare in the Pais de Vaud, but more frequent in the plains and mountains of the German diſtrict of the canton of Berne.

C. Capreolus. *Lin.* 94.
Le Chevreuil. Capreolus. *Briſſ.* 61.
The Roe-buck. *Br. Zool.* N° 8. t. 4.
On the lower parts of mount Jura, and elſewhere in the plains.

Capra. *Lin.* 94.

Antilope Rupicapra. *Pallas Miſcell. Faſc.* 1. p. 7. & *Faſc.* 12. p. 12.
Capra Rupicapra. *Lin.* 95.
Le Chamois. Rupicapra. *Briſſ.* 41.
Chamois Antilope. *Hiſt. Quad.* N° 17.
Only on the higheſt Alps; deſcending in winter to the lower mountains.

C. Hircus. *Lin.* 94.
Le Bouc. Le Chevre domeſtique. Hircus et Capra domeſtica. *Briſſ.* 38.
Domestic Goat. *Br. Zool.* N° 5.
There is a variety with four horns, found on the Alps in the canton of Berne.

C. Ibex. *Lin.* p. 95.
Le Bouc Eſtain. Ibex. *Briſſ.* 39.
Wild Goat, Ibex Goat. *Hiſt. Quad.* N° 13.
Extremely rare now in Switzerland.
Bouquetin. *Buffon. Hiſt. Nat.* xii. p. 136. t. 13. 14.

Ordo IV. BELLUÆ.

Equus. *Lin.* 100.

E. Caballus. *Lin.* 100.
Le Cheval. Equus. *Briſſ.* 69.
The Horse.

E. Aſinus.

E. Aſinus. *Lin.* 100.
L'Ane. Aſinus. *Briſſ.* 70.
The Ass.

Aſinus Mulus β. *Lin.* 101.
Le Mulet. Mulus. *Briſſ.* 71.
The Mule. *Br. Zool.* N° 8.

Sus. *Lin.* 102.

S. Scrofa. Aper. *Lin.* 102.
Le Sanglier. Aper. *Briſſ.* 75.
The Wild Hog. *Hiſt Quad.* N° 61.
On mount Jura, and in the adjacent country.

Scrofa. Sus. *Lin.* 102.
Le Cochon domeſtique. Sus domeſticus. *Briſſ.* 74.
Tame Hog. *Br. Zool.* N° 9.

CLASS

CLASS II.

AVES.

Ordo I. ACCIPITRES. Rapacious.

Vultur. *Lin.* 121. Vulture.

Vultur Barbatus. *Lin.* 121.
Aureus. *Geſner. Av.* edit. 8620. p. 708.
V. barbu. *Briſſon.* 6. *App.* p. 26.
Bearded Vulture. *. *Edwards.* t. 106.

This bird frequents the Pennine, Rhætian, and Tyroleſe Alps. It is found alſo in Corſica, Sardinia, and probably in Barbary, as well as on mount Caucaſus and in Dauria, or the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Siberia. It connects the Vultures with the Eagles. In the form of the beak and of the body it reſembles the Vulture, but differs from that genus in having the head, like that of the Eagles, covered with feathers. It is now ſo well defined, eſpecially by M. Sprungli, that it can no longer be miſtaken. See Letter 58. The German peaſants of Switzerland name this bird, by way of eminence, the *Lammer-geyer*, and relate incredible tales of its ſize and voraciouſneſs: The peaſants of the French diſtrict frequently call it *Le Vautour Jaune.*

* Since I ſent to the preſs the account of the Bearded Vulture, Letter 58, I find that Mr. Latham, in his Supplement to the General Synopſis of Birds, p. 1. ſeems alſo to adopt the conjecture of Buffon, in claſſing the Lammer-geyer and Condor under the ſame ſpecies; though he confeſſes, that "it ſtill remains dubious, whether the Lammergeyer be the ſame with the Condor, or a mere variety of the Bearded Vulture." He adds alſo, with a candour which does him honour, "It is much to be feared, that other authors, as well as myſelf, have greatly confounded the ſpecies of Vultures; for being, like the Falcon tribe, long lived, their plumage puts on a great variety of dreſs, ſufficient to deceive thoſe who have hitherto attempted to diſcriminate them."

Falco.

FALCO. *Lin.* p. 124. FALCON.

F. Offifragus. *Lin.* 124.
Le Grand Aigle de Mer. Aquila offifraga. *Briff.* 1. p. 437.
SEA EAGLE. *Pen. Br. Zool.* N° 44. t. 17.
Frequent about the lakes.

F. Chryfaëtos. *Lin.* 125.
L'Aigle doré. feu Aq. aurea. *Briff.* 1. 431.
GOLDEN EAGLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 42. t. 16. frontifpiece.
On Mount Jura.

F. Fulvus. *Lin.* 125.
L'Aigle. Aquila. *Briff.* 1. 419.
BLACK EAGLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 43.
The peafants of Switzerland call this bird the *Lammergeyer brun*, to diftinguifh it from the *Vautour Jaune*. Mr. Pennant informs us, on the authority of Mr. Oedman, that this bird is only the young of Linnæus's F. Melanætus, p. 124. See Supp. to *Arctic Zoology*, p. 57.

F. Haliætus. *Lin.* 129.
L'Aigle de Mer. feu Aquila Marina. *Briff.* 1. 440. t. 34.
The OSPREY. *Br. Zool.* N° 46. *Flor. Scot.* 17. t. 1.

F.* Pygargus. *Lin.* 126.
La Soubufe. Le Faucon à Collier. Falco torquatus. *Briff.* 1. 345.?
RING-TAILED FALCON.
Very rare.

F. Milvus. *Lin.* 126.
Le Milan Royal. Milvus regalis. *Briff.* 1. 414. t. 33.
The KITE. *Br. Zool.* N° 53.

F. Subbuteo. *Lin.* 127.
Le Hobreau. Dendrofalco. *Briff.* 1. 375.
The HOBBY. *Br. Zool.* N° 61.

F. Buteo. *Lin.* 127.
La Bufe. Buteo. *Briff.* 1. 406.
The BUZZARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 55. t. 25.
Very common.

F. Tin-

F. Tinnunculus. *Lin.* 127.
La Creffelle. Tinnunculus. *Briff.* 1. 393.
The KESTRIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 60.

F. *Lanarius. *Lin.* 129.
Le Lanier. Lanarius. *Briff.* 1. 363.
The LANNER. *Br. Zool.* N° 51. t. 22.

F. Apivorus. *Lin.* 130.
La Boudrée. Buteo apivorus f. veficivorus. *Briff.* 1. 410.
HONEY BUZZARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 56.

F. Palumbarius. *Lin.* 130.
L'Autour. Aftur. *Briff.* 1. 317.
GOSHAWK. *Br. Zool.* N° 52. t. 24.

F. Nifus. *Lin.* 130.
L'Epervier. Accipiter. *Briff.* 1. 310.
SPARROW HAWK. *Br. Zool.* N° 62.

F. Lithofalco. Le Faucon de Roche, ou Rochier. *Briff.* 1. 349.
STONE FALCON. *Latham.* 1. p. 92.

F. Leucocephalus. Le Faucon a tete blanche. *Briff.* 1. 325. Var. C. et Le Faucon patu. F. pedibus pennatis. ejufd. 6 *App.* 22. t. 1.
ROUGH-LEGGED FALCON. *Br. Zool. App.* 623. t. ●?

F. *Circus rufus. Le Buzard roux. *Briff.* 1. p. 404.
HARPY FALCON. *Latham.* 1. p. 51.

F. Peregrinus. Le Faucon pelerin. *Briff.* 1. 341.
PEREGRINE FALCON. *Br. Zool.* N° 48. t. 20.

F. Æfalon. *Buffon.*
L'Emerillon. *Briff.* 1. 382.
The MERLIN. *Br. Zool. fol.* XV.

STRIX. *Lin.* 131. OWL.

S. Bubo. *Lin.* 131.
Le Grand Duc. Bubo. *Briff.* 1. 477.
EAGLE OWL. *Br. Zool.* N° 64.
Frequent among the rocks on the mountains.

S. Otus. *Lin.* 132.
Le Moyen Duc, ou le Hibou. Afio. *Briff.* 1. 486.
LONG-EARED HORN OWL. *Br. Zool.* N° 65. t. 30.

S. Scops. *Lin.* 132.
Le petit Duc. Scops. *Briſſ.* 1. 495. t. 37. f. 1.
Scops, or Little Horn Owl. *Latham.* 1. p. 129.

S. Aluco. *Lin.* 132.
La Hulotte. Ulula. *Br. Zool.* 1. 507.
Brown Owl? or Aluco? *Latham* 1. p. 140.

S. Flammea. *Lin.* 133.
L'Effraie, ou la Fraiſage. Le petit Chathuant. Aluco. *Briſſ.* 1. 503
White Owl, or Barn Owl. *Br. Zool.* N° 67.

S. Stridula. *Lin.* 133.
Le Chathuant. Strix. *Briſſ.* 1. 500.
Tawny Owl. *Br. Zool.* N° 68.

S. Ulula. *Lin.* 133.
La Choutte, ou La grande Cheveche. Noctua Major. *Briſſ.* 1. 511.
Brown Owl. *Br. Zool.* N° 69. t. 32.

S. Paſſerina. *Lin.* 133.
La Chevache. Noctua minor. *Briſſ.* 1. 514.
Little Owl. *Br. Zool.* N° 70.

Lanius. *Lin.* 134. Shrike.

L. Excubitor. *Lin.* 134.
La Pie-grieche griſe. Lanius cinereus. *Briſſ.* 2. 141.
Great Shrike. *Br. Zool.* N° 71. t. 33.

L. Collurio. *Lin.* 136.
L'Ecorcheur. Collurio. *Briſſ.* 2. 151.
Red-backed Shrike. *Br. Zool.* N° 72.

L. Rufus. La Pie Grieche rouſſe. *Briſſ.* 2. 147.
Eadem cum priori ex ſententia *Linnæi.*
Wood-chat Shrike. *Br. Zool.* N° 73. *Latham.* 1. p. 169.

Ordo II. PICÆ. Pies.

Corvus. *Lin.* 155. Crow.

C. Corax. *Lin.* 155.
Le Corbeau. Corvus. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 8.
The Raven. *Br. Zool.* N° 74.

C. Corone. *Lin.* 155.
La Corneille. Cornix. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 12.
Carrion Crow. *Br. Zool* N° 75. t. 34.

C. Fru-

C. Frugilegus. *Lin.* 156.
Le Freux. Le Corneille moiſonneuſe. Cornix frugilega. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 16.
The Rook. *Br. Zool.* N° 76.

C. Cornix. *Lin.* 156.
La Corneille moutillé. Cornix cinerea. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 19.
Hooded Crow. *Br. Zool.* N° 77. *Flor. Scot.* t. 2.
Rarely ſeen, and only in winter.

C. Monedula. *Lin.* 156.
Le Choucas. Monedula ſ. Lupus. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 24.
The Jack-daw. *Br. Zool.* N° 81.

C. Glandarius. *Lin.* 156.
Le Geay. Garrulus. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 47.
The Jay. *Br. Zool.* N° 79.

C. Caryocatactes. *Lin.* 157.
Le Caſſe-noix. Nucifraga. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 59. t. 5. f. 1.
Nut-breaker. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* 531. t. 3.
Common in the woods.

C. Pica. *Lin.* 157.
La Pie. Pica varia ſ. caudata. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 35.
The Magpie. *Br. Zool.* N° 78.

C. Pyrrhocorax. *Lin.* 158.
Le Choucas des Alpes. Pyrrhocorax. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 30. t. 1. f. 2.
Alpine Crow. *Latham* 1. 381.
Frequent in the Alps.

C. Graculus. *Lin.* 158.
Le Coracias. Coracia. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 3. t. 1. f. 1.
Red-legged Crow. *Latham* 1. p. 401. *Br. Zool.* N° 80. t. 35.
In the Alps, but leſs frequent than the foregoing ſpecies.

C. Eremita. *Lin.* 159.
Le Coracias hupé. Coracia criſtata. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 6.
Hermit Crow. *Latham.* 1. p. 403.
This bird is entirely unknown to M. Sprungli, though ſaid to be a native of the Swiſs mountains He took great pains to diſcover it, but in vain; and ſuſpects, after all, that if it does really exiſt, it is only a variety of the preceding.

CORACIAS. *Lin.* 159. ROLLER.

C. Garrula. *Lin.* 159.
Le Rollier. Galgulus. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 64. t. 5. f. 2.
The ROLLER. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* p. 624. t. 2.
Rare, and only ſeen in the ſummer ſeaſon.

ORIOLUS. *Lin.* 160. ORIOLE.

O. Galbula. *Lin.* 160.
Le Loriot. Oriolus. *Briſſ.* 2. p. 320.
The ORIOLE. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* p. 626. t. 4.
Uncommon in Switzerland.

CUCULUS. *Lin.* 168. CUCKOW.

C. Canorus. *Lin.* 168.
Le Coucou. Cuculus. *Briſſ.* 4. p. 105.
The CUCKOO. *Br. Zool.* N° 82. t. 36.

JYNX. *Lin.* 172. WRYNECK.

J. Torquilla. *Lin.* 172.
Le Torcol. Torquilla. *Briſſ.* 4. p. 2. t. 1. f. 1.
The WRYNECK. *Br. Zool.* N° 83. t. 36.

PICUS. *Lin.* 173. WOODPECKER.

P. Martius. *Lin.* 173.
Pic noir. Picus niger. *Briſſ.* 4. 21.
BLACK WOODPECKER. *Pen. Arct. Zool.* p. 276. *Latham.* 1. p. 552.
Common in the woods abounding in fir-trees.

P. Viridis. *Lin.* 175.
Pic verd. P. viridis. *Briſſ.* 4. p. 9.
GREEN WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 84.

P. Norwegicus.
Le Pic verd de Norwege. *Briſſ.* 4. p. 19.
Grey-headed green Woodpecker. *Edw.* t. 65.
GREY-HEADED WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* p. 277. *Latham.* 1. p. 583.—On the mountains.

P. Major. *Lin.* 176.
Le grand Pic varié. P. varius major. *Briſſ.* 4. 34.
GREAT-SPOTTED WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 85.

P. Medius. *Lin.* 176.
Le Pic varié. Picus varius. *Briſſ.* 4. 38.
MIDDLE-SPOTTED WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 86. t. 37.

P. Minor. *Lin.* 176.
Le petit Pic varié. P. varius minor. *Briſſ.* 4. 41.
LEAST-SPOTTED WOODPECKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 87. t. 37.

P. Tridactylus. *Lin.* 177.
THREE-TOED WOODPECKER. *Edw.* t. 114. *Pen. Arct. Zool.* p. 275. *Latham.* 1. p. 600.
Very common in the mountainous part of the canton of Berne.

SITTA. *Lin.* 177. NUTHATCH.

S. Europæa. *Lin.* 177.
Le Torche-pot. Sitta, ſ. Picus cinereus. *Briſſ.* 3. 588. t. 28. f. 3.
The NUTHATCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 89. t. 38.

ALCEDO. *Lin.* p. 178. KINGFISHER.

A. Iſpida. *Lin.* 178.
Le Martin Peſcheur. Iſpida. *Briſſ.* 4. 471.
KINGFISHER. *Br. Zool.* N° 88. t. 38.
Frequent in Switzerland, particularly about fish-ponds.

MEROPS. *Lin.* 182. BEE-EATER.

M. Apiaſter. *Lin.* 182.
Le Guaſpier. Apiaſter. *Briſſ.* 4. 532.
BEE-EATER. *Latham.* 1. p. 667.

CERTHIA. *Lin.* 184. CREEPER.

C. Familiaris. *Lin.* 184.
Le Grimpereau. Certhia. *Briſſ.* 3. 603.
The CREEPER. *Br. Zool.* N° 91. t. 39.

C. Muraria. *Lin.* 184.
Le Grimpereau de muraille. C. muralis. *Briſſ.* 3. 607. t. 30. f. 1.

WALL-CREEPER. *Latham.* 1. 730. *Edw.* t. 361.
Common, in ſummer, on the mountains; in winter, about towns and villages.

UPUPA. *Lin.* 183. HOOPEE.

U. Epops. *Lin.* 183.
La Hupe, ou Puput. Upapa. *Briſſ.* 2. 455. t. 43. f. 1.
The HOOPEE. *Br. Zool.* N° 90. t. 39.
Common in the ſummer.

ORDO III. ANSERES. WEB-FOOTED.

ANAS. *Lin.* 194. DUCK.

A. Cygnus *ferus*. *Lin.* 194.
La Cygne ſauvage. C. ferus. *Briſſ.* 6. 292. t. 28.
WILD SWAN. *Br. Zool.* N° 264.
Viſits Switzerland only in very ſevere winters.

A. Anſer *ferus*. *Lin.* 197.
L'oye Sauvage. Anſer ſylveſtris. *Briſſ.* 6. 265.
GREY LAG GOOSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 266. *Latham.* 3. 459.

A. Clypeata. *Lin.* 200.
Le Souchet. A. Clypeata. *Briſſ.* 6. 329. t. 32. f. 1.
The SHOVELER. *Br. Zool.* N° 280.

A. Strepera. *Lin.* 200.
Le Chipau. A. Strepera. *Briſſ* 6. 339. t. 33. f. 1.
The GODWALL. *Br. Zool.* N° 288.

A. Clangula. *Lin.* 201.
Le Garrot. A. Clangula. *Briſſ.* 6. 416. t. 37. f. 2.
GOLDEN-EYE DUCK. *Br. Zool.* N° 276.

A. Acuta. *Lin.* 202.
Le Canard à longue queue. A. Longicanda. *Briſſ.* 6. 369. t. 34. f. 1. 2.
PINTAIL DUCK. *Br. Zool.* N° 282.

A. Ferina.

A. Ferina. *Lin.* p. 203.
Le Millouin. Penelope. *Briſſ.* 6. 384. t. 33. f. 1.
The POCHARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 284.

A. Penelops. *Lin.* 202.
Le Canard ſiffleur. A. ſiſtularis. *Briſſ.* 6. 391. t. 35. f. 2.
The WIGEON. *Br. Zool.* N° 286.

A. Fiſtularis criſtata.
Le Canard ſiffleur hupé. *Briſſ.* 6. 398. *Pl. Enlum.* N° N° 928.
RED-CRESTED DUCK. *Latham.* 3. 544.

A. Querquedula. *Lin.* 203.
La Sarcelle. Querquedula. *Briſſ.* 6. 427. t. 39. f. 1. 2.
The GARGANEY. *Br. Zool.* N°. 289. t. 101.

A. Crecca. *Lin.* 204.
La Petite Sarcelle. Querquedula Minor. *Briſſ.* 6. 436. t. 40. f. 1.
The TEAL. *Br. Zool.* N°. 290.

A. Boſchas. *Lin.* 288.
Le Canard Sauvage. A. fera. *Briſſ.* 6. 318.
The MALLARD. *Br. Zool.* N°. 274.

A. Fuligula. *Lin.* 207.
Le Petit Morillon. Glaucium Minus. *Briſſ.* 411. t. 37. f. 1.
TUFTED DUCK. *Br. Zool.* N°. 274.

MERGUS. *Lin.* 207. MERGANSER.

M. Merganſer. *Lin.* 208.
L'Harle. Merganſer. *Briſſ.* 6. 231. t. 22.
The GOOSEANDER. *Br. Zool.* N° 260. t. 92.

M. Serrator. *Lin.* 208.
L'Harle hupé. M. criſtatus. *Briſſ.* 6. 237. t. 23.
RED-BREASTED MERGANSER. *Br. Zool.* N°. 261. t. 93.

M. Caſtor. *Lin.* 209.
Le Bievre, ou le Harle cendrée. M. cinereus. *Briſſ.* 6. 254. t. 25.
DUN DIVER, variety A. *Latham.* 3. 421.

M. Al-

M. Albellus. *Lin.* 209.
La Piette, ou Le Petit Harle hupé. M. criſtatus Minor. *Briſſ.* 6. 243. t. 24. f. 1, 2.
The SMEW. *Br. Zool.* N°. 262.
The M. Minutus *Lin.* is the female Smew.

PELECANUS *Lin.* 215. PELICAN.

P.* Onocratalus. *Lin.* 215.
Le Pelican. Onocratalus. *Briſſ.* 6. 519.
GREAT WHITE PELICAN. *Latham.* 3. 575. *Pen. Arct. Zool.* p. 578. *Edw.* t. 92.
This bird rarely viſits Switzerland.

P. Carbo. *Lin.* 216.
Le Cormorant. Phalacrocorax. *Briſſ.* 6. 511. t. 45.
The CORMORANT. *Br. Zool.* N°. 291.

P. *Graculus. *Lin.* 217.
Le Petit Cormoran. Phalacrocorax Minor. *Briſſ.* 6. 516.
The SHAG. *Br. Zool.* N°. 292. t. 102.

COLYMBUS. *Lin.* 220. DIVER.

C. Immer. *Lin.* 222.
Le grand Plongeon. Mergus Major. *Briſſ.* 6. 105. t. 10. f. 1.
The IMBER DIVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 238. t. 84.
Sometimes ſeen in the winter Seaſon.

C. Mergus *Minor.* Le Petit. Plongeon. *Briſſ.* 6. 108. t. 10. f. 2.
SPECKLED DIVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 239. *Latham.* 3. 343.

C. *Arcticus. *Lin.* 221.
Le Plongeon à gorge noire. Mergus gutture Nigro. *Briſſ.* 615.
BLACK-THROATED DIVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 241. t. 85. *Latham.* 3. p. 341.—Very rare.

C. Criſtatus. *Lin.* 221.
La Grebe cornue. Colymbus cornutus. *Briſſ.* 6. 45. t. 5. 1.
GREAT-CRESTED GREBE. *Br. Zool.* N° 223.

C. Auritus

C. Auritus α. *Lin.* 222.
La Petite Grebe cornue. C. cornutus Minor. *Briſſ.* 6. 50.
EARED DOBCHICK. *Br. Zool.* N° 224. t. 79.
Le Grebe d'Eſclavonie. *Pl. Enlum.* t. 404. 2. *Latham.* 3. p. 288.

Auritus β. La Grebe a Oreilles. C. auritus. *Briſſ.* 6. 54.
EARED GREBE. *Latham.* 3. 285.
This appears to be a different ſpecies from the *Auritus* α.

Auritus γ. La Grebe de Riviere. C. fluviatilis. *Briſſ.* 6. 59.
This bird has ſtill more the appearance of a different ſpecies.

C. Urinator. *Lin.* 223.
La Grebe. Colymbus. *Briſſ.* 6. 34. t. 3. f. 1.
TIPPET GREBE. *Br. Zool.* N° 222. t. 88.

C. Griſeus. La Grebe à joues griſes, ou le Jougris. *Buff. Oiſ.* 8. 242. *Pl. Enlum.* 931.
RED-NECKED GREBE. *Arct. Zool.* p. 499. C. *Suppl.* p. 69. *Latham.* 3. 288.

C. Minor. La Petit Grebe. *Briſſ.* 6. p. 56.
Grebion à yeux rouges, *Pl. Enlum.* 942.
DUSKY GREBE. N° 225. *Latham.* 3. p. 286.

LARUS. *Lin.* 224. GULL.

L. Tridactylus. *Lin.* 224.
La Mouette d'Hiver. Gavia hyberna. *Briſſ.* 6. 189.
WINTER MEW. *Latham.* 3. 384.

L. Canus. *Lin.* 224.
La Mouette cendrée. Gavia cinerea. *Briſſ.* 6. 175. t. 16. f. 1.
COMMON GULL. *Br. Zool.* N° 249. t. 89.

L. Cinerarius. *Lin.* 224.
La Petite Mouette cendrée. *Briſſ.* 6. 178. t. 17. f. 1.
RED-LEGGED GULL. *Latham.* 3. p. 381. *Br. Zool.* Variety. p. 542.

L. Fuſcus.

L. Fuſcus. *Lin.* 225.
Le Goeland gris. L. griſeus. *Briſſ.* 6. 162.
Herring Gull. *Br. Zool.* N° 246. t. 88.

L. Atricilla. *Lin.* 225.
La Moutte rieuſe. Gavia ridibunda. *Briſſ.* 6. 192. t. 18. f. 1.
Laughing Gull. *Cateſby.* 1. t. 89. *Latham.* 383. *Pen. Arct. Zool.* p. 528.

L. Paraſiticus. *Lin.* 226.
Le Stercoraire. Stercorarius longicaudatus. *Briſſ.* 6. p. 155. & p. 150.
Arctic Gull. *Latham.* 3. p. 389. *Br. Zool.* N° 245. t. 87.
This appears only in winter.

L. Varius, ſive Skua. Le Goiland varié, ou le Griſard. *Briſſ.* 6. 167. t. 15. bona.
Wagel Gull. *Latham.* 3. 375. *Br. Zool.* N° 247.

L. Cinereus minor, rectricibus albis, remigibus omnibus cinereis, apice albis. L. cinereus minor, ſeu ſecundus. *Aldrovand.* iii. p. 35.

Sterna. *Lin.* 227. Tern.

S. Hirundo. *Lin.* 227.
La grande Hirondelle de mer. Sterna major. *Briſſ.* 6. 203. t. 19. f. 1.
Great Tern. *Br. Zool.* N° 254. t. 90.

S. Fiſſipes. *Lin.* 228.
L'Hirondelle de mer noire, ou Le Epouvantail. S. nigra. *Briſſ.* 6. 211. t. 20. f. 1.
Black Tern. *Br. Zool.* N° 256.

S. Nævia. *Lin.* 228.
L'Hirondelle de mer tachettée. S. nævia. *Briſſ.* 6. 216. t. 20. f. 2.
Sandwich Tern. Variety A. *Latham.* p. 358?

Ordo

Ordo IV. Grallæ. Waders.

Platalea. *Lin.* 231. Spoonbill.

P. Leucorodia. *Lin.* 231.
La Spatule. Platea. *Briſſ.* 5. 352.
Spoonbill. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* 634. t. 9.
Now and then ſeen in the marſhes.

Ardea. *Lin.* 233. Crane.

A. Grus. *Lin.* 234.
La Grue. Grus. *Briſſ.* 5. 374. t. 33.
The Crane. *Br. Zool. App.* 629. t. 6.
Only ſeen in the ſpring in its migration.

A. Ciconia. *Lin.* 235.
La Cigogne Blanche. Ciconia alba. *Briſſ.* 5. 365. t. 32.
The Stork. *Latham.* 3. 47. *Pen. Arct. Zool.* p. 455.
Common in the marſhes and low grounds.

A. Nigra. *Lin.* 235.
La Cigogne Brune. Ciconia fuſca. *Briſſ.* 5. 362. t. 31.
Black Stork. *Latham.* 3. p. 50. *Arct. Zool.* p. 456.
Leſs common than the foregoing.

A. Nycticorax. *Lin.* 235.
Le Bihoreau. Nycticorax. *Briſſ.* 5. 493. t. 39.
Ash-coloured Crane, or, Night Raven, male. *Latham.* 3. 52. *Arct. Zool.* p. 450.

A. Purpurea. *Lin.* 236.
Le Heron pourpre hupé. A. criſtata purpuraſcens. *Briſſ.* 5. t. 36. f. 2.
Crested Purple Heron. *Latham.* 3. p. 95.

A. Major. *Lin.* 236.
Le Heron hupé. A. criſtata. *Briſſ.* 5. 396. t. 35.
Common Heron, male. *Latham.* 3. 83. *Br. Zool.* N° 173. t. 61.

A. Cinerea. *Lin.* 236.
Le Heron. Ardea. *Briſſ.* 5. 392. t. 34. et Le Heron cendrée. p. 403.

Common

COMMON HERON, female. *Latham.* ib. *Br. Zool.* ib.
Very common in Switzerland.

A. Garzetta. *Lin.* 237.
L'Aigrette. Egretta. *Briſſ.* 5. 431.
The LITTLE EGRET. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* p. 631. t. 7. *Latham.* 3. 90.

A. Stellaris. *Lin.* 239.
Le Butor. Botaurus. *Briſſ.* 5. 444. t. 37. f. 1.
The BITTERN. *Br. Zool.* N° 174.

A. Albr. *Lin.* 239.
Le Heron Blanc. A. candida. *Briſſ.* 5. 428.
WHITE HERON. *Br. Zool.* N° 175.
Very rarely ſeen.

A. Minuta β. *Lin.* 240.
Le Blongios. Ardeola. *Briſſ.* 497. t. 40. f. 1.
LITTLE BITTERN. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* 633. t. 8.
Common.

A. Griſea. *Lin.* 239.
Le Heron gris. A. griſea. *Briſſ.* 5. 412. t. 36. f. 1.
ASH-COLOURED CRANE, or Night Raven, female. *Latham.* 3. 53.

A. Huppé de Mahon. *Pl. Enlum.* t. 348.
MAHON HERON.

TANTALUS. *Lin.* 240. IBIS.

T. Falcinellas. *Lin.* 241.
Le Courly verd. Numenius viridis. *Briſſ.* 5. 326. t. 37. f. 2.
BAY IBIS. *Latham.* 3. 213. *Arct. Zool.* p. 460.
A few of theſe birds are ſeen every year in Switzerland.

SCOLOPAX. *Lin.* 242. CURLEW.

S. Arquata. *Lin.* 242.
Le Courly. Numenius. *Briſſ.* 5. 311.
The CURLEW. *Br. Zool.* N° 176. t. 63.

S. Phæopus. *Lin.* 243.
Demi Courly. Le Petit Courly, ou le Corlieu. *Briſſ.* 5. 317. t. 37. f. 1. Numenius minor.
The WHIMBRIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 177. t. 64.

S. Ruſti-

S. Ruſticola. *Lin.* 243.
La Beccaſſe. Scolopax. *Briſſ.* 5. 292.
WOODCOCK. *Br. Zool.* N° 178. t. 65.
It breeds in the Alpine mountains.

S. Gallinago. *Lin.* 244.
La Beccaſine. Gallinago. *Briſſ.* 5. 298. t. 26. f. 1.
COMMON SNIPE. *Br. Zool.* N° 187. t. 68.

S. Gallinula. *Lin.* 244.
La Petite Beccaſine. Gallinago minor. *Briſſ.* 5. 303. t. 26. f. 2.
JACK SNIPE. *Br. Zool.* N° 189. t. 68.

S. Glottis. *Lin.* 245.
La grande Barge griſe. Limoſa griſea major. *Briſſ.* 5. 273. t. 24. f. 2.
GREEN SHANK. *Br. Zool.* N° 183.

S. Limoſa. *Lin.* 245.
Le Barge. Limoſa. *Briſſ.* 5. 262.
LESSER GODWIT. *Br. Zool.* N° 182.

S. Totanus. *Lin.* 245.
La Barge griſe. Limoſa griſea. *Briſſ.* 5. 267. t. 23. f. 1.
SPOTTED SNIPE. *Latham.* 3. 148. *Br. Zool.* N° 186.

S. Calidris. *Lin.* 245.
Le Chevalier. Totanus. *Briſſ.* 5. 188. t. 17. f. 1.
RED SHANK. *Br. Zool.* N° 184. t. 65.

S. Fuſca. *Lin.* 243?
La Barge brune. Limoſa fuſca. *Briſſ.* 276. t. 23. f. 2.
DUSKY SNIPE. *Latham.* 3. 155. *Arct. Zool.* p. 471?

TRINGA. *Lin.* 247. SANDPIPER.

T. Pugnax. *Lin.* 247.
Le Combattant, ou Paon de Mers. Pugnax. *Briſſ.* 5. p. 240. t. 22. f. 1. 2.
The RUFFE. *Br. Zool.* N° 192. t. 69.

T. Vanellus. Lin. 248.
Le Vanneau. Vanellus. *Briſſ.* 5. 94. t. 8. f. 1.
The LAPWING. *Br. Zool.* N° 190.

T. In-

T. Interpres. *Lin.* 248.
Le Coulon chaud. Arenaria. *Briſſ.* 5. 132.
HEBRIDAL SANDPIPER. *Br. Zool.* N° 200 *Fl. Scot.* t. 3.

T. Morinella. *Lin.* 249.
Le Coulon-chaud cendré. Arenaria cinerea. *Briſſ.* 5. 137. t. 11. f. 2.
The TURNSTONE. *Br. Zool.* N° 199.

T. Lobata. *Lin.* 249.
Le Phalarope. Phalaropus. *Briſſ.* 6. p. 12.
GREY PHALAROPE. *Latham.* 3. 272. *Br. Zool.* N° 218. t. 86.

T. Alpina. *Lin.* 249.
L'Alouette de Mer à Collier. Cinclus torquatus. *Briſſ.* 5. 216. t. 19. f. 2.
The DUNLIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 205. *Latham.* 3. 185.

T. Cinclus. *Lin.* 251.
L'Alouette de Mer. Cinclus. *Briſſ.* 5. 211. t. 19. f. 1.
The PURRE. *Br. Zool.* N° 206. t. 71.

T. Helvetica. *Lin.* 250.
Le Vanneau de Suiſſe. Vanellus Helveticus. *Briſſ.* 5. 106. t. 10. f. 1.
SWISS SANDPIPER. *Arct. Zool.* p. 478.
It is not common in Switzerland.

T. Ocrophus. *Lin.* 250.
Le Beccaſſeau, ou Cul blanc. Tringa. *Briſſ.* 5. 177. t. 16. f. 1.
GREEN SANDPIPER. *Br. Zool.* N° 201.

T. Hypoleucos. *Lin.* 250.
La Guignette. Guinetta. *Briſſ.* 5. 183. t. 16. f. 2.
COMMON SANDPIPER. *Br. Zool.* N° 204.

T. Arenaria. *Lin.* 251.
La Petite Maubeuche griſe. Calidris griſea minor. *Briſſ.* 5. 236. t. 20. f. 2.
SANDERLING PLOVER. *Latham.* 3. p. 197. *Br. Zool.* N° 212. t. 73.

T. Calidris.

T. Calidris. *Lin.* 252.
La Maubeche. Calidris. *Briſſ.* 5. 226. t. 20. f. 1.
DUSKY SNIPE. *Latham.* 3. 174.

T. Calidris griſea. La Maubeche griſe. *Briſſ.* 5. 233. t. 21. f. 2. *Pl. Enlum.* 366.
GRISLED SANDPIPER. *Latham.* 3. 175.

T. Cinclus Minor. La Petite Alouette de Mer. A. *Briſſ.* 3. 215.
A variety of the T. Cinclus. *Lin.* or Purre (*Br. Zool.* N° 106.) called in Switzerland GRILLET.

T. Striata. *Lin.* 248.
Le Chevalier rayé. Totanus ſtriatus. *Briſſ.* 5. 196. t. 18. f. 1.
STRIATED SANDPIPER. *Arct. Zool.* p. 472. *Latham.* 3. 176.

T. Squatarola. *Lin.* 252.
Le Vanneau gris. Vanellus griſeus. *Briſſ.* 5. 100. t. 9. f. 1.
GREY PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 191.

CHARADRIUS. *Lin.* 253. PLOVER.

C. Hiaticula. *Lin.* 253.
Le petit Pluvier à Collier. Pluvialis torquata. *Briſſ.* 5. 63. t. 5. f. 2.
RINGED PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 211.

C. *Morinellus. *Lin.* 254.
Le Guignard. Morinellus. *Briſſ.* 5. 54. t. 4. f. 2.
The DOTTEREL PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 210. t. 73.

C. Apricarius. *Lin.* 254.
Le Pluvier doré a ventre noir. Pluvialis aurea Freti Hudſonis. *Briſſ.* 5. 51.
ALWARGRIM PLOVER. *Arct. Zool.* p. 483. *Latham.* 3. p. 198. Spotted P. *Edw.* t. 140.

C. Pluvialis. *Lin.* 254.
Le Pluvier dore. P. aurea. *Briſſ.* 5. 43. t. 4. f. 1.
GOLDEN PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 208. t. 72.

C. Oedic-

C. Oedicnemus. *Lin.* 255.
Le grand Pluvier, ou Courly de Terre Pluvialis Major. *Briſſ* 5. 77. t. 7. f. 1.
THICK-KNEED BUSTARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 100.

C. Himantopus. *Lin.* 255.
L'Echaſſe. Himantopus. *Briſſ.* 5. 33. t. 3. f. 1.
LONG-LEGGED PLOVER. *Br. Zool.* N° 209. *Fl. Scot.* 35. t. 4.
Rarely ſeen in Switzerland.

C. Pluvialis Morinellus flaveſcens. *Gerini ornithol. à Florence.* t. 474. Courvite. *Pl. Enlum.* 795.
CREAM-COLOURED PLOVER. *Latham.* 3. 217.
Very rare.

RECURVIROSTRA. *Lin.* 256. AVOSET.

R. Avocetta. *Lin.* 256.
L'Avocette. Avocetta. *Briſſ.* 6. 538. t. 47. f. 2.
SCOOPING AVOSET. *Br. Zool.* N° 228. t. 80.

HÆMATOPUS. *Lin.* 257. OYSTER-CATCHER.

H. Oſtralegus. *Lin.* 257.
L'Huitrier, ou Pic marine. Oſtralega. *Briſſ.* 5. 38. t. 3. f. 2.
PIED OYSTER-CATCHER. *Br. Zool.* N°. 213. t. 74.

FULICA. *Lin.* 257. COOT.

F. Fuſca. *Lin.* 257.
La Petite Poule d'Eau. Gallinula Minor. *Briſſ.* 6. p. 6.
BROWN GALLINULE. *Latham.* 3. 260.

F. Atra. *Lin.* 257.
La Foulque, ou Morelle. *Briſſ* 6. 23. t. 2. f. 1.
COMMON COOT. *Br. Zool.* N° 220. t. 77.

F. Aterrima. *Lin.* 258.
La grande Foulque, ou la Macroule. F. Major. *Briſſ.* 3. 28. t. 2. f. 2.
GREAT COOT. *Br. Zool.* N° 221.

F. Chloropus.

F. Chloropus. *Lin.* 258.
La Poule d'Eau. Gallinula. *Briſſ.* 6. p. 3. t. 1. f. 1, 2.
COMMON GALLINULE, or WATER HEN. *Br. Zool.* N° 217. t. 77.

RALLUS. *Lin.* 261. RAIL.

R. Crex. *Lin.* 261.
Le Roi de Caille. Rallas Geniſtarum. ſ. Ortygometra. *Briſſ.* 5. 159. t 13. f. 2.
The CRAKE GALLINULE. *Br. Zool.* N° 216. t. 85.

R. Aquaticus. *Lin.* 262.
Le Roſle d'Eau. Rallus aquaticus. *Briſſ.* 5. 151. t. 12. f. 2.
WATER RAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 214. t. 75.

R. Porzana. *Lin.* 262.
La Marouette. Rallus aquaticus minor. ſ. Maruetta. *Briſſ.* 5. 155. t. 13. f. 2.
SPOTTED GALLINULE. *Br. Zool.* N° 215.

GLAREOLA. *Briſſ.* V. p. 141. Genus 73.
PRATINCOLE.

G. Pratincola. La Perdrix de Mer. Glareola. *Briſſ.* 5. 141. t. 12. f. 1.
Hirundo Pratincola. *Lin.* 345.
AUSTRIAN PRATINCOLE *Latham.* 3. p. 222. t. 85.

OTIS. *Lin.* 264. BUSTARD.

O. Tarda. *Lin.* 264.
L'Outarde. Otis. *Briſſ.* 5. 18. *Edw.* t. 73. 74.
GREAT BUSTARD. *Br. Zool.* N° 98. t. 44.
Sometimes viſits Switzerland in winter.

ORDO V. GALLINÆ. GALLINACEOUS.

TETRAO. *Lin.* 273.

T. Urogallus. *Lin.* 273.
Le grand Coque de Bruyeres, Urogallus Major. *Briſſ.* 1. 182.
WOOD GROUS. *Br. Zool.* N° 92. t. 40. 41.

T. Tetrix. *Lin.* 274.
Le petit Coque de Bruyeres, à queue forchue. *Briſſ.* 1. 186.
BLACK GAME, or GROUS. *Br. Zool.* N° 93. t. 42.

T. Lagopus. *Lin.* 274.
Le Perdrix de Niege. La Gelinotte blanche. Lagopus. *Briſſ.* 1. 216.
PTARMIGAN. *Br. Zool.* N° 95.

T. Bonaſia. *Lin.* 275.
La Gelinotte. Bonaſa. *Briſſ.* 1. 191.
HASEL GROUS. *Latham.* 2. 744. *Arct. Zool.* p. 317.

T.* Attagen. La Gelinotte huppée. *Briſſ.* 1. 209.
RED GROUS. *Latham.* 2. 746. *Br. Zool.* N° 94.

T. Rufus. *Lin.* 276.
La Bartavelle. Perdix græca. *Briſſ.* 1. 241. t. 23. f. 1.
GREEK PARTRIDGE. *Latham.* 2. 767.
Frequent in alpine ſituations.

T. Perdix rubra. La Perdrix rouge. *Briſſ.* 1. 236.
GUERNSEY PARTRIDGE. *Latham.* 2. 768.
An? Varietas rufæ, quærit *Linnæus.*

T. Perdix. *Lin.* 276.
Perdrix griſe. Cinerea. *Briſſ.* 1. 219.
COMMON PARTRIDGE. *Br. Zool.* N° 274.

T. Coturnix. *Lin.* 278.
La Caille. Coturnix. *Briſſ.* 1. 247.
The QUAIL. *Br. Zool. Br. Zool.* N° 97.

ORDO VI. PASSERES. PASSERINE.

COLUMBA. *Lin.* 279. PIGEON.

C. Oenas. *Lin.* 279.
Le Pigeon Sauvage. Oenas ſ. Vinago. *Briſſ.* 1. 86.
COMMON WILD PIGEON. *Br. Zool.* N° 101. t. 45.

C. Palumbus. *Lin.* 282.
Le Pigeon ramier. Palumbus. *Briſſ.* 1. 89.
RING DOVE. *Br. Zool.* N° 102.

C. Turtur. *Lin.* 284.
La Tourterelle. Turtur. *Briſſ.* 1. 92.
TURTLE DOVE. *Latham.* 2. 644.

ALAUDA. *Lin.* 287. LARK.

A. Arvenſis. *Lin.* 287.
L'Alouette. Alauda. *Briſſ.* 3. 335.
SKY-LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 136. t. 35.

A. Pratenſis. *Lin.* 287.
L'Alouette de pres. Forlouſe. A. Pratenſis. *Briſſ* 3. 343.
TIT-LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 138.

A. Arborea. *Lin.* 287.
L'Alouette de Bois. A. arborea. *Briſſ.* 3. 340. t. 20. f. 1.
WOOD-LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 137.

A. Campeſtris. *Lin.* 288.
Alouette de Champs. A. campeſtris. *Briſſ.* 3. 349.
MEADOW LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 378.

A.* Criſtata? *Lin.* 288.
L'Alouette hupée ou le Cochevis. A. criſtata. *Briſſ.* 3. 357.
CRESTED LARK. *Latham.* 2. 389.

A. Trivialis. *Lin.* 288.
L'Alouette de Buiſon. A. ſepiaria. *Briſſ.* 3. 347.
GRASSHOPPER LARK. *Br. Zool.* N° 156. hue ſpectat.

A. Curruca griſea nævia. La Fauvette griſe tachettee. *Briſſ. Suppl.* 112. t. 5. f. 2.
Alauda minima Locuſtæ voce Locuſtella. D. Johnſon. *Raii. Av.* p. 70. N° 7. *Latham.* 2. 429.

STURNUS. *Lin.* 290. STARLING.

S. Vulgaris. *Lin.* 290.
L'Etourneau. Sturnus. *Briſſ.* 2. 439.
The STARLING. *Br. Zool.* N° 104. t. 46.

S. Cinclus. *Lin.* 290.
Le Merle d'eau, ou Merle aquatique. Merula aquatica. *Briſſ.* 5. 252.
WATER OUSEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 111.
Very common.

TURDUS. *Lin.* 291. THRUSH.

T. Viſcivorus. *Lin.* 291.
La groſſe Grive. T. Major. *Briſſ.* 2. 200.
MISSEL THRUSH. *Br. Zool.* N° 105.

T. Pilaris. *Lin.* 291.
La Litorne ou Tourdelle. Pilaris. ſ. Turdula. *Briſſ.* 2. 214.
The FIELD FARE. *Br. Zool.* N° 106.

T. Iliacus. *Lin.* 292.
Le Mauvis. T. Iliacus. *Briſſ.* 2. 208. t. 20. f. 1.
RED-WINGED THRUSH. *Br. Zool.* N° 108.

T. Muſicus. *Lin.* 292.
La petite Grive. T. Minor. *Briſſ.* 2. 205.
The THROSTLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 107.

T. Saxatilis. *Lin.* 294.
Le Merle de Roche, ou Moineau ſolitaire, of the Swiſs. Briſſon's bird is the ſame with the Lanius infauſtus. *Lin.* 138.
ROCK SHRIKE. *Latham.* 1. 176.—Rare.

T.*Roſeus

T.*Roſeus. *Lin.* 294.
Merle couleur de Roſe. Merula roſea. *Briſſ.* 2. 250.
ROSE-COLOURED OUSEL. *Latham.* 2. 50. *Br. Zool.* 2. *App.* 627. t. 5.—Very rare.

T. Merula. *Lin.* 295.
Le Merle. Merula. *Briſſ* 2. 227.
BLACK BIRD. *Br. Zool.* N° 109. t. 47.

T. Torquatus. *Lin.* 296.
Le Merle à collier. M. torquata. *Briſſ.* 2. 235.
RING OUSEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 100. t. 46.
Common on the mountains.

T.*Arundinaceus. *Lin.* 296.
La Rouſſerolle, ou Roucherolle. T. arundinaceus. *Briſſ.* 2. 219. t. 22. f. 1.
REED THRUSH. *Latham.* 2. 32.

AMPELIS. *Lin.* 297. CHATTERER.

A. Garrulus. *Lin.* 297.
Le Jaſſeur de Boheme. Bombicilla bohemica, *Briſſ.* 2. 333.
WAXEN CHATTERER. *Br. Zool.* N° 112. t. 48.
Very common at uncertain periods.

LOXIA. *Lin.* 299. GROSSBEAK.

L. Curviroſtra. *Lin.* 299.
Le Bec croiſſé. Loxia. *Briſſ.* 3. 329. t. 17. f. 3.
CROSS-BILLED GROSSBEAK. *Br. Zool.* N° 115. t. 49.

L. Coccothrauſtes. *Lin.* 299.
Le Groſbec. Coccothrauſtes. *Briſſ.* 3. 219.
HAW GROSSBEAK. *Br. Zool.* N° 113.

L. Pyrhula. *Lin.* 300.
Le Bouvreuil. Pyrrhula. *Briſſ.* 3. 308.
The BULL-FINCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 116.

Le Chloris. *Lin.* 304.
Le verdier. Chloris. *Briſſ.* 3. 190.
GREEN GROSS-BEAK. *Br. Zool.* N° 117.

EMBE-

EMBERIZA. *Lin.* 308. BUNTING.

E. Miliaria. *Lin.* 308.
Le Proyer. Cynchramus. *Briſſ.* 3. 292.
COMMON BUNTING. *Br. Zool.* N° 118.

E.*Hortulanus. *Lin.* 309.
L'Ortolan. Hortulanus. *Briſſ.* 3. 269.
The ORTOLAN. *Latham.* 2. 166. *Arct. Zool.* p. 369.

E. Citrinella. *Lin.* 310.
Le Bruant. Citrinella. *Briſſ.* 3. 258.
YELLOW BUNTING. *Br. Zool.* N° 119. t. 50.

E. Cia. *Lin.* 310.
Le Bruant de pres. E. pratenſis. *Briſſ.* 3. 266.
MEADOW BUNTING, or FOOLISH BUNTING. *Latham.* 2. 191.

E. Cirlus. *Lin.* 311.
Le Bruant de Haye. E. ſepiaria. *Briſſ.* 3. 263.
CIRL BUNTING. *Latham.* 2. 190.

E. Schœniclus. *Lin.* 311.
L'Ortolan de Roſeaux. Hortulanus Arundinaceus. *Briſſ.* 3. 274.
REED BUNTING. *Br. Zool.* N° 120.

FRINGILLA. *Lin.* 317. CHAFFINCH.

F. Cælebs. *Lin.* 318.
Le Pinçon. Fringilla. *Briſſ.* 3. 148.
COMMON CHAFFINCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 125.

F. Montefringilla. *Lin.* 318.
Le Pinçon d'Ardennes. Montifringilla. *Briſſ.* 3. 155.
The BRAMBLING. *Br. Zool.* N° 126.

F. Carduelis. *Lin.* 318.
Le Chardonneret. Carduelis. *Briſſ.* 3. 53.
The GOLDFINCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 124.

F. Serinus. *Lin.* 320.
Le Serin. Serinus. *Briſſ.* 3. 179.
The SERIN FINCH. *Latham.* 2. 296.

F. Citrinella.

F. Citrinella. *Lin.* 320.
Le Serin d'Italie. Serinus Italicus. *Briſſ.* 3. 182.
The CITRIL FINCH. *Latham.* 2. 297.
Common in Switzerland.

F. Spinus. *Lin.* 322.
Le Tarin. Ligurinus. *Briſſ.* 3. 65.
The SISKIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 129. t. 53.

F. Cannabina. *Lin.* 322.
La grande Linotte de Vignes. Linaria rubra major. *Briſſ.* 3. 135.
RED-HEADED LINNET. *Br. Zool.* N° 138. t. 54.

F. Linaria. La Linotte. Linaria. *Briſſ.* 3. 131.
The LINNET. *Br. Zool.* N° 130. *Latham.* 2. p. 302.

F. Linaria. *Lin.* 320.
La petite Linotte de Vignes. L. rubra minor. *Briſſ.* 3. 138.
LESSER RED-HEADED LINNET, or RED-POLE. *Br. Zool.* N° 132. t. 54.

F.*Linaria minima. Le Cabaret. *Briſſ.* 3. 142.
The TWITE. *Latham* 2. 307. *Br. Zool.* N° 133?

F. Petronia. *Lin.* 522.
Le Moineau de Bois. Paſſer ſylveſtris. *Briſſ.* 3. 88. t. 5. f. 1.
RING SPARROW. *Latham.* 2. 254.

F. Montana. *Lin.* 324.
Le Moineau de Montagne. Paſſer Montanus. *Briſſ.* 3. 79.
TREE SPARROW. *Br. Zool.* N° 128. t. 52.

F. Domeſtica. *Lin.* 323.
Le Moineau. P. domeſticus. *Briſſ.* 3. 72.
The HOUSE SPARROW. *Br. Zool.* N° 127. t. 51.

F. Nivalis. *Lin.* 321.
La Niverolle. Paſſer nivalis. *Briſſ.* 3. 162. t. 15. f. 2.
SNOW FINCH. *Latham.* 2. 264.

MUSCICAPA.

MUSCICAPA. *Lin.* 324. FLY-CATCHER.

M. Atricapilla. *Lin.* 326.
Le Gobe-mouche noir. M. nigra. *Briſſ.* 2. 381.
PIED FLY-CATCHER. *Br. Zool.* N° 135.
Very common.

MOTACILLA. *Lin.* 328. WARBLER.

M. Luſcinia. *Lin.* 328.
Le Roſſignol. Luſcinia. *Briſſ.* 3. 397.
The NIGHTINGALE. *Br. Zool.* N° 145.

M. Modularis. *Lin.* 329.
La Fauvette de Haye, ou Paſſe-buſe. Curruca ſepiaria. *Briſſ.* 3. 394.
HEDGE SPARROW. *Br. Zool.* N° 150.

M. Curruca. *Lin.* 329.
La Fauvette babillarde. Curruca Garrula. *Briſſ.* 3. 384.
BABBLING WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 417.

M. Hippolais. *Lin.* 330.
La Fauvette. Curruca. *Briſſ.* 3. 372.
PETTY-CHAPS. *Br. Zool.* N° 149.

M. Salicaria. *Lin.* 330.
La Fauvette de Roſeaux. Curruca Arundinacea. *Briſſ.* 3. 378.
SEDGE BIRD. *Br. Zool.* N° 155. t. 52.

M. Sylvia. *Lin.* 330.
La Fauvette griſe, ou la Griſette. Curruca cinerea ſ. cineraria. *Briſſ.* 3. 376.
WHITE THROAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 160. *Latham.* 2. 428.

M. Alpina. La Fauvette des Alpes. *Buffon. Pl. Enlum.* 668. f. 2.
ALPINE WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 434.
Frequent on the higher mountains, and Alpine ſituations.

M. Alba. *Lin.* 331.
La Lavandière. Motacilla. *Briſſ.* 3. 461.
WHITE WAGTAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 142. t. 55.

M. Flava.

M. Flava. *Lin.* 331.
La Bergeronette du Printems. M. Verna. *Briſſ.* 3. 468.
YELLOW WAGTAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 143. t. 55.

M. Boarola. *Lin. Mant.* p. 527.
La Bergeronette jaune. M. flava. *Briſſ.* 3. 471. t. 23. f. 3.
GREY WAGTAIL. *Br. Zool.* N° 144.

M. Cinerea. La Bergeronette griſe. *Briſſ.* 3. 465. t. 25. f. 1.
CINEREOUS WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 397.

M. Oenanthe. *Lin.* 332.
Le Cul Blanc, ou Vitree. Vitiflora. *Briſſ.* 3. 449.
WHEAT EAR. *Br. Zool.* N° 157.

M. Rubetra. *Lin.* 332.
Le grand Traquet, ou le Tarrier. Rubetra major ſ. Rubicola. *Briſſ.* 3. 432. t. 24. f. 1.
WHIN-CHAT. *Br. Zool.* N° 158.

M. Rubicola. *Lin.* 332.
Le Traquet. Rubetra. *Briſſ.* 3. 428. t. 23. f. 1.
STONE-CHATTER. *Br. Zool.* N° 159.

M. Atricapilla. *Lin.* 332.
La Fauvette à tete noir. Atricapilla. *Briſſ.* 3. 280.
BLACK-CAP. *Br. Zool.* N° 148.

M. Phœnicurus. *Lin.* 335.
Le Roſſignol de Muraille. Ruticilla. *Briſſ.* 3. 403.
RED-START. *Br. Zool.* N° 146.

M. Erithacus. *Lin.* 335.
Le Rouge queve. Phœnicurus. *Briſſ.* 3. 409.
RED-TAILED WARBLER. *Latham* 2. 425.

M. Suecica. *Lin.* 336.
La Gorge-bleue. Syanecula. *Briſſ.* 3. 413.
BLUE-THROATED WARBLER. *Latham.* 2. 444. *Arct. Zool.* p. 417.

M. Rubecula. *Lin.* 337.
La Rouge-gorge. Rubecula. *Briſſ.* 3. 418.
RED-BREAST. *Br. Zool.* N° 147.

M. Tro-

M. Troglodytes. *Lin.* 337.
Le Roitelet. Regulus. *Briſſ.* 3. 428.
The WREN. *Br. Zool.* N° 154.

M. Regulus. *Lin.* 338.
Le Poul, ou Soucy. Calendula. *Briſſ.* 3. 579.
GOLDEN-CRESTED WREN. *Br. Zool.* N° 153.

M. Trochilus. *Lin.* 338.
Le Poillot, ou Chantre. Aſilus. *Briſſ.* 3. 479.
YELLOW WREN. *Br. Zool.* N° 151.

β. Le grand Pouillot. *Briſſ.* 3. 482. A. *Latham.* 2. 514.

PARUS. *Lin.* 340. TITMOUSE.

P. Criſtatus. *Lin.* 340.
Le Méſange hupée. P. criſtatus. *Briſſ.* 3. 558.
CRESTED TITMOUSE. *Latham.* 2. 545. *Arct. Zool.* p. 427.

P. Major. *Lin.* 341.
La groſſe Méſange, ou La Charbonniere. Fringillago. *Briſſ.* 3. 539.
GREAT TITMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 162. t. 57.

P. Cæruleus. *Lin.* 341.
La Méſange bleue. P. cæruleus. *Briſſ.* 3. 544.
BLUE TITMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 163. t. 57.

P. Ater. *Lin.* 341.
La Méſange à tete noir. P. atricapillus. *Briſſ.* 3. 551.
COLEMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 164. t. 57.

P. Paluſtris. *Lin.* 341.
La Méſange de Marais, ou La Nonette cendrée. P. paluſtris. *Briſſ.* 3. 555.
BLACK-CAP, or MARSH TITMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 165. t. 57.

P. Caudatus. *Lin.* 341.
La Méſange à longue queue. P. longicaudatus. *Briſſ.* 3. 570.
LONG-TAILED TITMOUSE. *Br. Zool.* N° 166.

P. Biarmicus. *Lin.* 342.
La Méſange barbue, ou Le Mouſtache. P. barbatus. *Briſſ.* 3. 567.

HIRUNDO.

HIRUNDO. *Lin.* 343. SWALLOW.

H. Ruſtica. *Lin.* 343.
Le Hirondelle de Cheminée. H. domeſtica. *Briſſ.* 2. 486.
CHIMNEY SWALLOW. *Br. Zool.* N° 168. t. 58.

H. Urbica. *Lin.* 344.
Le Martinet à cul blanc. H. minor, ſ. ruſtica. *Briſſ.* 2. 490.
The MARTIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 169.

H. Riparia. *Lin.* 344.
L'Hirondelle de Rivage. H. riparia, ſive Drepanis. *Briſſ.* 2. 506.
SAND MARTIN. *Br. Zool.* N° 170.

H. Apus. *Lin.* 344.
Le Martinet. H. Apos. *Briſſ.* 2. 512.
The SWIFT. *Br. Zool.* N° 171. t. 58.

H. Melba. *Lin.* 345.
La grande Hirondelle d'Eſpagne. H. major. Hiſpanica. *Briſſ.* 2. 504.
WHITE-BELLIED SWIFT. *Latham.* 2. 586. *Edw.* t. 27.

CAPRIMULGUS. *Lin.* 346. GOATSUCKER.

C. Europæus. *Lin.* 346.
La tete-chevre, ou Crapaud volant. Caprimulgus. *Briſſ.* 2. 470. t. 44.
NOCTURNAL GOAT-SUCKER. *Br. Zool.* N° 170 t. 59.

CLASS

CLASS III.

AMPHIBIA.

Ordo I. REPTILES.

Rana. *Lin.* 354.

R. Bufo. *Lin.* 354.
Rubeta ſive Phymrum. *Geſ. aquat.* p. 807. Le Craupaud.
The Toad. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 4.

R. Rubeta. *Lin.* 355.
Natter Jack. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 5.

R. Bombina. *Lin.* 355.
Black-backed Frog.

R. Temporaria. *Lin.* 357.
Aquatica innoxia. *Geſ. Quad. ovip.* p. 46. *aquat.* p. 805.
Common Frog. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 2.

R. Verrucoſa. Dorſo ſubangulato, palmis tetradactylis fiſſis, plantis hexadactylis palmatis tuberculatis. *Nova Species.*

It very much reſembles the foregoing. It was diſcovered in the *Pais de Vaud* by *Count Razomoſſky*, who will deſcribe it particularly in his *Hiſtoire Naturelle de Jorat:* a work which will very ſoon appear.

R. Eſculenta. *Lin.* 357.
Rana ſive Rubeta gibboſa. *Geſ. Quad. ovip.* p. 63. *aquat.* 4. 5. p. 809.
Edible Frog. *Br. Zool.* N° 3.

R. Arborea.

R. Arborea. *Lin.* 357.
Ranunculus viridis ſ. Rana Calamite aut Dryopeta. *Geſ. Quad. ovip.* 60. *aquat.* 800.
Tree Frog. *La Raine Grenouille de St Martin.*

Lacerta. *Lin.* 359.

L. Agilis. *Lin.* 363. *Le Sauteur.*
The Eft, or Swift.

L. *Varia.* Cauda verticillata longa, ſubter lutea, ſupra viridi cinerea, ex nigro, albo, cæruleoque varia. *Nova.*

This is nearly allied to the *agilis*, and will be deſcribed alſo in the abovementioned work by Count *Razomoſſky*.

L. Vulgaris. *Lin.* 370.
Lacerta vulgaris. *Raii Quad.* 294.
Salamandre de Terre. Brown Lizard. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 9.
The Newt.

L. Aquatica. *Lin.* 370.
Lacertus Aquaticus. *Geſ. ovip.* 31.
Salamandre d'Eau.

L. Paluſtris. *Lin.* 370.
Salamandra aquatica. *Raii Quad.* 273.
The Water Eft, or Newt.

L. Salamandra. *Lin.* 371.
Salamandra. *Geſ. Quad. ovip.* 80.
Salamandre fluvine.

Ordo.

Ordo II. SERPENTES.

Coluber. *Lin.* 357.

C. Berus. *Lin.* 377.
Vipera. *Gesn. Serp.* p. 124. *Raii Quad.* 285.
La Vipere ordinaire.
The Viper. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 12. t. 4.

C. Natrix. *Lin.* 380.
Natrix torquata. *Gesn. Serp.* 110. *Raii Quad.* p. 334.
Couleuvre à Collier.
The Snake. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 13. t. 4.

Anguis. *Lin.* 390.

A. Fragilis. *Lin.* 392.
Cæcilia s. Typhlops. *Gesn. Serp.* 60. *Raii Quad.* 289.
Orvert.
The Blindworm. *Br. Zool.* 3. N° 36. t. 4.

Ordo III. NANTES.

Petromyzon. *Lin.* 394. Lamprey.

P. Marinus. *Lin.* 394. Lampret. Meerneurauge.
Lampetra. *Raii Pisc.* p. 35.
Sea Lamprey. *Br. Zool.* vol. 3. N° 27. t. 8.
This comes up the Rhine as high as Basle; sometimes higher, but not frequently.

P. Fluviatilis. *Lin.* 304. Das *Neunauge.* Ger. Perce Pierre. Lamprillon. *Fr.*
Lampetræ medium Genus. *Ray.* p. 35.
Lesser Lamprey. *Br. Zool.* N° 28. t. 8.
Sometimes caught in the Rhine. In the lake of Neuchatel. Mr. Van Berchem.

P. Bran-

P. Branchialis. *Lin.* 394. Der *Querder.*
Lampetra parva et fluviatilis. *Ray.* 35.
Pride Lamprey. *Br. Zool.* N° 29. t. 8.
In rivers and brooks not unfrequently.

Acipenser. *Lin.* 403. Sturgeon.

A. Sturio. *Lin.* 403. *Der Stoer.*
Sturio. *Ray* 112.
The Sturgeon. *Br. Zool.* N° 53. t. 19.
It has sometimes reached up the Rhine as high as Basle, but rarely.

CLASS

CLASS IV.

PISCES.

ORDO I. APODES. APODAL.

MURÆNA. *Lin.* 425. EEL.

M. Anguilla. *Lin.* 426. *Der. Aal.* Ger. L'Anguille. *Fr.*
Anguilla. *Ray.* 37.
The EEL. *Br. Zool.* N° 53.
Common in almoſt all the lakes. In the lake of Neuchatel. Mr. V. Berchem.

ORDO II. JUGULARES. JUGULAR.

GADUS. *Lin.* 435. CODFISH.

G. Lota. *Lin.* 440. Die *Quappe. Treiſchen. Aalraupe.* Ger. Lotte. *Fr.*
Muſtela fluviatilis. *Ray.* 67.
The BURBOT. *Br. Zool.* N° 86.
Very common in the lakes, and ſometimes grows to the weight of eighteen pounds. Lake of Neuchatel.

ORDO III. THORACICI. THORACIC.

COTTUS. *Lin.* 451. BULL-HEAD.

C. Gobio. *Lin.* 452. Der *Kaulkopf Gropp.* Ger. Chaſſot. *Fr.*
Gobius fluviatilis. *Ray.* 76.
RIVER BULL-HEAD. *Br. Zool.* N° 97. t. 39.
In the rivers and brooks, very common. Lake of Neuchatel. B.

PERCA. *Lin.* 481. PERCH.

P. Fluviatilis. *Lin.* 481. Der *Barſch. Egli.* Ger. Perche. *Fr.*
Perca fluviatilis. *Ray.* 97.
The PERCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 124. t. 48.
In the lake of Neuchatel.

GASTEROSTEUS. *Lin.* 489. STICKLEBACK.

G. Aculeatus. *Lin.* 489. Der *Stichling.*
Piſciculus aculeatus. *Ray.* 145.
THREE-SPINED STICKLEBACK. *Br. Zool.* N° 129. t. 50.

G. Pungitius. *Lin.* 491.
P. aculeatus minor. *Ray.* 145.
TEN-SPINED STICKLEBACK. *Br. Zool.* N° 130. t. 50.
Both theſe common in the brooks and rivulets.

ORDO IV. ABDOMINALES. ABDOMINAL.

COBITIS. *Lin.* 499. LOACH.

C. Barbatula. *Lin.* 499. Die *Schmerk.*
Cobitis fluviatilis barbatala. *Ray.* 124.
BEARDED LOACH. *Br. Zool.* N° 142. t. 58.
Common in all the brooks.

C. Tænia. *Lin.* 499. Der *Steinpizger.*
C. barbatula aculeata. *Ray* 124.
The SMERLIN LOACH.

C. Foſſilis. *Lin.* 500. Der *Schlampizger Meergrundel.*
Miſgurn ſeu Fiſgurn, Piſcis Lampetriformis. *Ray.* 70.
LAMPREY LOACH. *Phil. Tranſ.* vol. 44. p. 451. t. 2. f. 1.
In the Rhine.

Silurus. *Lin.* 501. Sheat-fish.

S. Glanis. *Lin.* 501. Der *Wells*. Ger. Le Salut. *Fr.*
Silurus. *Ray.* p. 70.
The Sheat-fish.
In ſome of the lakes of Switzerland. In that of Neuchatel.

Salmo. *Lin.* 509. Salmon.

S. Salar. *Lin.* 506. Der *Lachs*. Le Saulmon. *Fr.*
Salmo. *Ray.* 63. In the ſpring it is called *Dalm*.
The Salmon. *Br. Zool.* N° 143. t. 58.
It comes up the Rhine into the rivers of Switzerland in the ſpring, and is taken in large quantities at Baſle.

S. Trutta. *Lin.* 509. Truitte. *Fr.*
Trutta Salmonata. *Ray.* 63.
Salmon Trout. Sea Trout. *Br. Zool.* N° 145.
In the lake of Neuchatel. *M. Berchem.*

S. Lacuſtris. *Lin.* 510. Der *Rhein*-oder *Ilanken*.
Trutta lacuſtris magna. *Geſn. Piſc.* p. 1003. *Ray.* p. 64. *ſub.* N° 4.
Lake Salmon.
Common in the lakes; ſometimes weighing ſixty pounds.

S. Fario. *Lin.* 509. Die *Bachforelle*.
Trutta fluviatilis. *Ray.* 65.
The Trout. *Br. Zool.* N° 146. t. 59.
In almoſt all the rivers, brooks, and torrents.

S. Umbla. *Lin.* 511. Der *Ritter*. Ger. L'Ombre chevalier, *Fr.*
Umbla prior. *Ray.* 64.
The Umble.
In the lake of Geneva it grows to twenty pounds weight and upwards. In the lake of Neuchatel.

S. Alpinus. *Lin.* 510. Das *Roteli*.
Umbla minor. *Ray.* 65.
The Charr. *Br. Zool.* N° 149. t. 60.
Common in the lakes: that of the lake Zug excels in flavour. In the lake of Neuchatel.

S. Thy-

S. Thymallus. *Lin.* 512. Die *Aeſche*. Ger. Ombre. *Fr.*
Thymallus. *Ray.* 62.
The Grayling. *Br. Zool.* N° 150. t. 61.

S. Lavaretus. *Lin.* 512. La Pallée. *Fr.*
Lavarettus Allobrogum. *Ray.* 61.
The Gwiniad. *Br. Zool.* N° 152. t. 62.
Linnæus comprehends ſeveral varieties under this ſpecies. I am as yet uncertain whether the following are ſpecifically different or not. In the lake of Neuchatel.
α. *Adelfelch.* In the lake of Conſtance.
β. Der *Gangfiſch*. In the ſame lake.
γ. Albula cærulea. *Blauling. Allbok.*

S. Albula. *Lin.* 512. *Hagling.*
Albula minima. *Ray.* 61. *Geſn. Piſc.* p. 34.
The Herring Salmon.

Esox. *Lin.* 515. Pike.

Eſox Lucius. *Lin.* 516. Der *Hecht*. Ger. Brochette. *Fr.*
Lucius. *Ray.* 12.
The Pike. *Br. Zool.* N° 153. t. 63.
Very common. In the lakes of Zug and Geneva they grow to fifty pounds; and in that of Zuric an inſtance occurred of one that weighed ſeventy pounds. The beſt are caught in the lake of Joux. In the lake of Neuchatel. B.

Cyprinus. *Lin.* 525. Carp.

C. Carpio. *Lin.* 525. Die *Karpfe*, Ger. Carpe. *Fr.*
Cyprinus. *Ray.* 1115.
The Carp. *Br. Zool.* N° 165. t. 70.
Common in the lake of Zug, where they reach the weight of from fifty to ſeventy pounds. In the lake of Neuchatel.

C. Barbus. 528. Die *Barbe*. Ger. Barbiau. *Fr.*
Barbus. *Ray.* 121.
The Barbel. *Br. Zool.* N° 166. t. 71.
Frequent in the rivers of Switzerland. At Zurich they are taken from ten to twelve pounds weight. In the lake of Neuchatel.

C. Gobio. *Lin.* 526. Der *Grundling.* Ger. Gougeon. *Fr.*
Gobius fluviatilis Geſneri. *Ray.* 123.
The GUDGEON. *Br. Zool.* N° 163.
Plentiful in the lakes and rivers; but not much eſteemed at the table. In the lake of Neuchatel.

C. Tinca. *Lin.* 326. Die *Schleye.* Ger. Tanche. *Fr.*
Tinca. *Ray.* 117.
The TENCH. *Br. Zool.* N° 167.
Common in the lakes. In that of Geneva they are caught of three pounds weight. In that of Neuchatel.

C. Cephalus. *Lin.* 527. Der *Aland.* Ger. Chevenore. *Fr.*
Capito ſive Cephalus. *Ray.* 119.
The CHUB. *Br. Zool.* N° 175. t. 73.
In many of the rivers and lakes of Switzerland. In the lake of Neuchatel. M. Van *Berchem.*

C. Naſus. *Lin.* 530. Die *Naſe.* Ger. Nazoz. *Fr.*
Naſus Alberti. *Ray.* 119.
The NASE.
So plentiful in the rivers, that in the month of April ſometimes an hundred thouſand have been caught in the Birs. In the lake of Neuchatel.

C. Brama. *Lin.* 531. Der *Bley.*
Coprinus latus ſive Brama *Ray.* 116.
The BREAM. *Br. Zool.* N° 169. t. 70.

C. Ballerus. *Lin.* 532. Die *Guſter.*
Ballerus. *Ray.* 117.
The BREAM BLEAK, or BALLER.
Common in the lakes.

C. Dobula. *Lin.* 528. Der *Doebel.*
Mugilis vel Cephali fluviatilis Species minor. *Ray.* 122.
The HASLER.—Frequent in the rivers.

C. Leuciſcus. *Lin.* 528. Der *Lauben.*
Leuciſcus. *Ray.* 121.
The DACE. *Br. Zool.* N° 173.—Common in the lakes.

C. Griſ-

C. Griſlagine. *Lin.* 529.
Griſlagine Anguſtæ dictus Gobii fluviatilis Species. *Ray.* 123.
Greſling. *Germ.* Vaugeron. *Fr.*
In the lake of Neuchatel. M. *Berchem.*

C. Rutilus. *Lin.* 529. Das *Rothauge.* Ger. Rotte. *Fr.*
Rutilus ſ. Rubellus fluviatilis. *Ray.* 122.
The ROACH. *Br. Zool.* N° 172. figure in frontiſpiece.
Plentiful both in the lakes and rivers. In the lake of Neuchatel.

C. Alburnus. *Lin.* 531. Der *Ukeley. Weiſs-fiſch.* Ger. Able *Fr.*
Alburnus Auſonii. *Ray.* 123.
The BLEAK. *Br. Zool.* N° 176. t. 73.
This is among the moſt common of all our fiſhes.

C. Bipunctatus. Die *Alandbleke.* Bloch. tab. 8. f. a. bené.

C. Erythrophtalmus. *Lin.* 530. Die *Ulgete.* Bloch. tab. 1.
Rutilus latior, ſ. Rubellio fluviatilis. *Ray.* 118.
The RUD. *Br. Zool.* N° 170. t. 72.
Common in the rivers.

C. Phoxinus. *Lin.* 528. Die *Elrize.* Bambele.
Varius ſeu Phoxinus lævis. *Ray.* 125.
The MINNOW, or PINK. *Br. Zool.* N° 177. t. 5. f. 6.
Frequent in the rivers and brooks.

To the three following fiſhes Mr. Van *Berchem* has not yet been able to affix the ſynonyms.
Boudelles.
Cormontant.
Zizes. *

CLASS

* Claſs V. Inſecta, is omitted in this Faunula; firſt, on account of its magnitude; and ſecondly, becauſe I can furniſh the entomologiſt with no other information than what is contained in books. I would refer the curious reader to Johann Caſpar Fueſslin's *Verzeichnis der ihm bekannten Schweitzeriſchen Inſecten.* Zurich, 1775, with a copper-plate; or

CLASS VI.

VERMES.

Ordo III. TESTACEA.

UNIVALVIA.

HELIX. Muller. Vermium. *Gen.* 23. vol. ii. p. 12.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis quatuor linearibus; oculis apice majorum.

H. Chryſtallina. Muller. N° 223. Chryſtal Snail.

H. Lapicida. Mull. 240. Lin. *Syſt. Nat.* N° 656. List. *Syn.* t. 69. f. 68.
La Lampe. *Fr.* Die Lampe. *Ger.* Lamp Snail. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 55. t. 4. f. 9. Pen. *Zool.* t. 83. f. 121.

H. Rotundata. Mull. 231. Argen. *Conch.* 2. t. 9. f. 10.
Le Bouton. *Fr.* Der Knopf. *Ger.* The Button Snail.

or John Gaſpar Fueſsli's Catalogue of the Swiſs Inſects. This Catalogue makes mention of 1200 ſpecies, claſſed in 152 genera; ſcarcely half of the inſects which are known to be natives of Switzerland. Wherever it is poſſible, the German name is mentioned; the place in which it was found; and if it is rare. Since this publication, the author has collected various obſervations and additions, which are given in his *Entomologiſchen Magazinen*; or Entomological Magazine. The deficiency of this work is in a great meaſure ſupplied by Joh. Henrick Sultzer's *Abekuertze Geſchichte der Inſecten, nach dem Linnæiſchen Syſtem.* Winterthur, 1776, 2 vols. large 4to. with many coloured engravings of inſects; or an abridged Account of Inſects according to the Linnæan Syſtem, by Henry Sultzer. This work chiefly enumerates the Swiſs Inſects, deſcribed by Sultzer, and engraved and coloured by Fueſsli; and contains many curious and inſtructive obſervations.
The learned Author is a phyſician of Winterthur.

H. Minuta.

H. Minuta. A new ſpecies.

H. Iſognomoſtomos. Schroeter. 2. p. 194.

H. Obvoluta. Mull. 229. Gualt. *teſt.* t. 2. f. 5.
La Veloutée à bouche triangulaire. *Fr.* Die Sammet Schnecke mit Dreyeckigtem munde. *Ger.* Triangular-mouthed Snail.

H. Coſtata. Mull. 233. Serpentuli exigui. Berlin. *Mag?* 4. B? Ribbed Snail.

H. Pulchella. Mull. 232. Geofr. *Conch.* 6.
La petite Striée. *Fr.* Die Kleine geſtreifte Schneke. *Ger.* Small White Snail.

H. Nitida. Mull. 234. Petiv. *Gaz.* t. 93. f. 14. Arg. t. 28. 4.
La Luiſante. *Fr.* Die glanzende Wieſen. *Ger.* Shining Snail.

H. Villoſa. A new ſpecies.

H. Ericetorum. Mull. 236. δ. Alba faſcus novem. Gualt. t. 2. L.
Le Ruban plat. *Fr.* Der groſſe Bund. *Ger.* Heath Snail.

H. Striatula. Mull. A new ſpecies. Not the Striatula of *Muller*, p. 24.

H. Hiſpida. Mull. 268. Lin. *Syſt.* 675. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 12.
La Veloutée. Die Samtſchneke. *Ger.* Briſtly Snail. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 58. t. 5. f. 10.

H. Succinea. A new ſpecies. Not the Succinea of *Muller*, p. 97.

H. Incarnata. Mull. 259. Schroeter, p. 174. t. 2. f. 18. Carnation-mouthed Snail.

H. Fruticum. Mull. 267. Schroeter, p. 178. t. 2. f. 19. Buſh Snail.

H. Hortenſis. Mull. 247. Garden Snail.

H. Nemoralis. Mull. 246. Lin. *Syſt.* 691. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 3.

La Livrée. *Fr.* Die Waldſchneke. *Ger.* Wood Snail. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 76. t. 5. f. 2.—8. 14. 19. Penn. *Zool.* N° 131.

H. Montana. A new ſpecies.

H. Arbuſtorum. Mull. 248. Lin. *Syſt.* 680. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 4. Hedge Snail. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 75. t. 75. f. 6. Penn. *Zool.* N° 130. t. 85.

H. Aſperſa. Mull. 253. Arg. 1. t. 28. f. 11.

Le Jardinier. *Fr.* Die Gartenſchneke. *Ger.* Speckled Snail.

H. Pomatia. Mull. 253. Lin. *Syſt.* 677.

Le Vigneron. *Fr.* Die Weinbergs Schneke. *Ger.* Edible Snail. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 67. t. 4. f. 14. Penn. *Zool.* N° 128. t. 84.

H. Fulva. Mull. 249. Topaz Snail.

H. Sericea. Mull. 258. Silky Snail.

H. Aculeata. Mull. 279. Prickly Snail.

H. Rupeſtris. A new ſpecies.

H. Muſcorum. Mull. 304. Lin. *Syſt.* 651. Turbo Muſcorum.

Le petit Barillet. *Fr.* Das Kleine Faſchen. *Ger.* List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 6. Moſs Snail. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 89. t. 5. 16. Penn. *Zool.* t. 82. N° 118.

H. Coronata. Geoffroy. Par. N° 19.

Le grand Barillet. *Fr.* Das groſſe Faſſchen. *Ger.* Rundlet Snail.

H. Quadridens. Mull. 306. List. *Syn.* t. 40. f. 38.

L'Anti Barillet. *Fr.* Das Linuſgedrehte Faſchen. *Ger.* Four-toothed Snail.

H. Cochlea. A new ſpecies.

H. Exigua. A new ſpecies.

H. Lubrica. Mull. 303. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 7.

La

La Brillante. *Fr.* Das glanzende Spitzſchneke, *Ger.* Gloſſy Snail.

H. Obſcura. Mull. 302. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 8?

Le grain d'Orge. *Fr.* Das Gerſtenkorn. *Ger.*

H. Sylveſtris. A new ſpecies.

H. Detrita. Mull. 300. Gualt. *Teſt.* t. 5. N.

H. Cylindrica. Geofr. N° 16.

Le grain d'Avoine. *Fr.* Das Haferkorn. *Ger.* Cylindrical Snail.

H. Bidens. Mull. 315. Lin. *Syſt.* 649. List. *Syn.* t. 41. A.

Die glatte Eedſchraube. *Ger.* Bidentated Snail. Penn. *Zool.* N° 117. t. 81. ſine numero.

H. Muſcoſa. A new ſpecies.

H. Roſcida. A new ſpecies.

H. Perverſa. Mull. 316. Turbo perverſus. Lin. *Syſt.* 650. List. *Ang.* t. 10. f. 10. *Syn.* t. 41. f. 39.

La nonpareille. *Fr.* Die geſtrikte Erdſchraube. *Ger.* Contrary-mouthed Snail. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 107. t. 5. f. 15. Penn. *Zool.* t. 18. N° 116.

H. Muralis. A new ſpecies.

H. Parvula. A new ſpecies.

H. Acicula. Geofr. N° 21.

L'Aiguillette. *Fr.* Der Senkel die Nadel. *Ger.* Needle Snail.

H. Pellucida. Mull. 215.

La tranſparente. *Fr.* Die Durchſichtige Schneke. *Ger.* Pellucid Snail.

H. Vireſcens. A new ſpecies.

H. Impura. A new ſpecies.

H. Putris. Mull. 296. Lin. *Syſt.* 705. List. *Ang.* 140. t. 2. f. 24.

L'Amphibie:

L'Amphibie: L'Ambrée. *Fr.* Die Beydlebege. Kahufchneke. *Ger.* Amphibious Snail. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 92. t. 53. f. 13. Penn. *Zool.* t. 86. N° 137.

H. Elongata. New ſpecies.

H. Anguſt. New ſpecies.

POMATIAS. Studer. ms.

Vermis cochleatus, tentaculis duobus linearibus, oculis ad baſin externe.

P. Elegans. Nerita elegans. Mull. 363. List. *Ang* t. 2. f. 5. *Syn.* t. 27. f. 25.
L'Eegante Striée. *Fr.* Die Feingeſtreichte Deckelſchenke. *Ger.* Nerite-Pomatias.

P. Variegatus. A new ſpecies.

VERTIGO. Muller. *Gen.* 24. p. 124.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis duobus linearibus, apice oculatis.

V. 8-dentata. New ſpecies.

V. 5-dentata. New ſpecies.

V. 6 dentata. New ſpecies.

CARYCHIUM. Muller. *Gen.* 25. p. 125.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis duobus truncatis, oculis ad baſin poſtice.

C. Minimum. Mull. 321.

ANCYLUS.

ANCYLUS. Muller. *Gen.* 30. p. 199.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis binis truncatis; oculis ad baſin interne.

A. Lacuſtris. Mull. 385. Patella lacuſtris. Lin. *Syſt.* 769. Arg. 1. t. 27. 1.
Ancille; Patelle. *Fr.* Die Schüſſel, Napfmuſchell. *Ger.* Lake Limpet. Da Costa. *Conch.* p. 1. t. 2. f. 8.

A. Fluviatilis. Mull. 386. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 32.
Patelle a bec. *Fr.* Die Dragonet. Mutze. *Ger.* River Limpet.

BUCCINUM. Muller. *Gen.* 26. p. 126.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis duobus triangularibus, oculis ad baſin interne.

B. Papilla, Uncertain.

B. Auricula. Mull. 322. Helix Auricularia. Lin. *Syſt.* 708. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 23.
Le Radix. *Fr.* Die Wurzel. *Ger.* Widemouthed Snail; or Buccinum. Da Cota. *Br. Conch.* p. 95. t. 5. f. 17. Penn. *Zool.* t. 86. N° 138.

B. Foſſarum. Uncertain.

B. Medium. Mull. 324?

B. Rivale. Uncertain.

B. Lacuſtre. Uncertain.

B. Fragile. Uncertain.

B. Albidum. Uncertain.

B. Stagnale. Mull. 327. Helix Stagnalis. Lin. *Syſt.* 703. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 21.
Le grand Buccin. *Fr.* Das groſs Spizhorn. *Ger.* Lake Buccinum; or Helix. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.*

Conch. p. 93. t. 5. f. 11. Penn. *Zool.* t. 86. N° 136.

B. Paluſtre. Mull. 326. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 22.
Le Petit Buccinum. *Fr.* Das Kleine Spizhorn, Der Raab. Marſh Buccinum, or Helix.

B. Truncatulum. Mull. 325?

PLANORBIS. Muller. *Gen.* 27. p. 152.

Vermis cochleatus, Tentaculis binis ſetaceis, oculis ad baſin interne.

P. Turritus. Mull. 354.

P. Bulla. Mull. 353. Bulla fontinalis. Lin. *Syſt.* 386. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 25.
La Bulle aquatique. *Fr.* Die Waſſerblaſe. *Ger.* Lake Bulla, or Plane-orb. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 96. t. 5. f. 6.

P. Contortus. Mull. 248. Helix contorta. Lin. *Syſt.* 673. Petiv. *Gaz.* t. 92. f. 8.
Le Petit Planorbe. *Fr.* Die Kleine Tellerſchneke. *Ger.* Lunated Plane-orb, or Helix.

P. Purpura? Mull. 343. Helix cornea. Lin. *Syſt.* 671. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 26.
Le grand Planorbe. *Fr.* Das Vertiefte Poſthorn. *Ger.* Horny Helix, or Plane-orb. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 60. t. 4. f. 13. Penn. *Zool.* t. 83. N° 126.

P. Albus. Mull. 350. Petiv. *Gaz.* t. 92. f. 7. Small white Plane-orb.

P. Spirorbis. Mull. 347. Helix Spirorbis. Lin. *Syſt.* 672. Concave Plane-orb.

P. Nitidus. Mull. 349. Berlin. *Magaz.* 4. B. p. 262. Shining Plane-orb.

P. Imbricatus.

P. Imbricatus. Mull. 351. Turbo Nautileus. Lin. *Syſt.* 654.
Le Planorbe tuile. *Fr.* Die Ziegelformize Teller ſchenecke. *Ger.* Imbricated Plane-orb.

P. Tenellus. Mull. 345? Sive Vortex. Helix Vortex. Lin. *Syſt.* 667? List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 28. Whirl Plane-orb. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 65. t. 4. f. 12. Penn. *Zool.* t. 83. N° 124.

P. Complanatus. Mull. 346? ſive umbilicatus. Helix complantata. Lin. *Syſt.* 663. Umbilicated Plane-orb. An? Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 66. t. 4. f. 11.

P. Carinatus. Mull. 344. Helix Planorbis. Lin *Syſt.* 662. List. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 27. Carinated Plane-orb. Da Costa. *Br. Conch.* p. 63. t. 4. f. 10. & t. 8. f. 8. Penn. *Zool.* t. 83. N° 123.

VALVATA. Muller. *Gen.* 29. p. 198.

Vermis cochleatus, tentaculis binis ſetaceis, oculis ad baſin poſtice.

V. Criſtata. Mull. 384. Creſted Valvate: or feathered Nerite.

V. Pulchella. Geofr. Ner. 4.
Le Port Plumet. *Fr.* Der Federbuſchatra-ger. *Ger.*

NERITA. Muller. *Gen.* 28. p. 170.

Vermis cochleatus, tentaculis binis ſetaceis, oculis ad baſin externe.

N. Obtuſa. Mull. 358. ſive Piſcinalis. Obtuſe Nerite.

N. Jaculator.

N. Jaculator. MULL. 372. Helix Tentaculata. LIN. *Syſt.* 707. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 19.
La Petite Operculee. *Fr.* Der Thürhüter. *Ger.* Bomb Nerite, or Helix. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 91. t. 5. f. 12. PENN. *Zool.* t. 86. N° 140.

BIVALVIA.

TELLINA. MULLER. *Gen.* 31. p. 202.

Vermis conchaceus, ſiphone duplici longo.

T. Cornea. MULL. 387. LIN. *Syſt.* 72. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 31.
Came de Ruiſſeaux. *Fr.* Die Kliene Breitmuſchel. *Ger.* Horny Tellen. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 173. t. 13. f. 2. PENN. *Zool.* t. 49. N° 36.

T. Amnica. MULL. 389.

T. Minima. A new ſpecies.

MYTILUS. MULLER. *Gen.* 32. p. 207.

Vermis conchaceus, ſiphone duplici brevi.

M. Cygneus. MULL. 394. LIN. *Syſt.* 257.
Le Moule d'Etang. *Fr.* Die groſſe grüne Teichmuſchel. *Ger.* Great Pond Muſcle.

M. Anatinus. MULL. 393. LIN. *Syſt.* 258. Common River Muſcle.

MYA. MULLER. *Gen.* 33. p. 210.

Vermis conchaceus, ſiphone nullo.

M. Pictorum. MULL. 397. β. Teſta elongata craſſa fuſca GUALT. *teſt.* t. 7. E. Long Painter's Muſcle.

M. Ovata. MULL. 397. γ? Teſta craſſa radiata flavo-virente. LIST. *Syn.* t. 146. 1. 147. 3. 147. 2. Oval Mya.

M. Rivorum.

M. Rivorum. MULL. 397. α. Teſta craſſa rudi fuſca. Mya Pictorum. LIN. *Syſt.* 28. LIST. *Ang.* t. 2. f. 30. Painter's Muſcle, or Mya. DA COSTA. *Br. Conch.* p. 228. t. 15. f. 4. PENN. *Zool.* t. 43. f. 17.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

A Catalogue of the principal books occaſionally conſulted in the courſe of this publication.

A.

Remarks on ſeveral Parts of Italy and Switzerland. By J. Addiſon. 8vo. London.

Francois Joſeph Nicholas d'Alt de Tiefenthal *Hiſtoire des Helveti ns.* 10 vols. 8vo. Friburgh, 1750—1753.

Aporta's *Hiſtoria Reformationis Eccleſiarum Rhæticarum.* 2 vols. 4to. Curiæ Rætorum 1771, 1777.

Andreà's *Briefe aus der Schweitz nach Hanover geſchrieben.* 4to. Zurich and Winterthur, 1776.

B.

Tableaux Topographiques, Pittoreſques, Phyſiques, Hiſtoriques, Moraux, Politiques, et Literaires de la Suiſſe. Par M. de la Borde. Fol. Paris. 216 plates. The text is chiefly written by Baron Zurlaben of Zug.

Manuel pour les Savans et les Curieux qui voyagent en Suiſſe; par M. Beſſon. Lauſanne. 2 vols. 8vo. 1786.

Memoires Critiques pour ſervir d'Eclairciſſements ſur divers Points de l'Hiſtoire ancienne de la Suiſſe, &c.; par Charles Guill. Loys de Bochat Lauſanne. 3 vols. 4to. 1747—1749.

Nouvelle Deſcription Générale et particuliere des Glacieres, vallées de Glace, et Glaciers qui forment la grande chaine des Alpes. Par M. Bourrit. 3 vols. 8vo. Geneve. 1785.

Some Letters containing an Account of what ſeemed moſt remarkable in Switzerland and Italy, &c. Written by G. Burnet. 8vo. London. 1686.

D & F.

Dictionaire de la Suiſſe. 2 vols. 8vo. Tranſlated into German, and greatly augmented, under the following title: *Hiſtoriſche, Geographiſche, und Phyſicaliſche Beſchreibung des Schweitzerlandes.* 3 vols. 8vo. Bern, 1782.

Johan Conrad Faeſis Pfarrers der Gemeinde Uetikon *Staats und Erdbeſchreibung der Schweiteriſchen Eidgenoſſchaft*; durch. Joh. Conrad Fueſslin. 4 vols. 8vo. Zuric, 1768.

Joh. Caſpar Fueſslin's *Geſchichte der Beſten Kuenſtler in der Schweitz.* 5 vols. 8vo. Zuric, 1769.

Staats und Erdbeſchreibung der Schweitzeriſchen Eidgenoſchaft; durch Joh. Conrad Fueſslin. 4 vols. 8vo. Zurich, 1770.

G.

Hiſtoire abregée des Officiers Suiſſes qui ſe ſont diſtingués aux Services Etrangers dans des grades ſuperieurs. Par l'Abbé Francois Girard. 3 vols. 8vo. Fribourg, 1781, 1782.

Die Eiſgebuerge des Schweitzerlandes beſchrieben von Gottlieb Sigmund Gruner. Bern, 3 vols. 8vo. 1760.

Rætia Das-iſt Auſsfucliche und warrahfte Beſchreibung der dreyen loeblichen Grawen Buendten und anderer Retiſchen Voelker. Durch Johannen Guler von Weineck. Fol. Coira, 1616.

H.

Hacquet's *Phyſikaliche Politiſche Reiſe aus den Dinariſchen Rhætiſchen in die Noriſchen Alpen, in Jahre 1781 und 1783 unternommen.* 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig, 1785.

Gottlieb Emanuel von Haller, &c. *Bibliothek der Schweitzer Geſchichte und aller Theile ſo dahin Bezzghaben.* 6 vols. 8vo. Bern, 1785—1788. A ſeventh volume, contains a general index.

Helvetiſche Bibliothek. 6 vols. 8vo. Zuric, 1735—1741.

Briefe ueber die Schweitz. Von C. C. L. Hirſchfeld. 2 vols. 12mo. Leipzig, 1776, 1785.

K.

A ſhort Account of the Ancient Hiſtory, preſent Government, and Laws, of the Republic of Geneva; by G. Keate, Eſq. 8vo. London, 1761.

Kuetner's *Briefe eines Sachſens aus der Schweitz an ſeinem Freund en Leipzig.* 3 vols. 8vo. Leipzig, 178— 1786.

L.

Jacob Lauffer's Profeſſ. Eloq. et Hiſt. *Genaue und Umſtaendliche Beſchreibung Helvetiſcher Geſchichte*, &c. 18 vols. 8vo. Zuric, 1736—1739.

Leu's *Allgemeines Helvetiſches Eydgenoſſiſches oder Schweitzeriſches Lexicon.* Zuric. 20 vols. 4to. 1747—1765. Supplement, 2 vols. 4to.

Memorie Iſtoriche della Valtelina, da Pietro Angelo Lavizzari. 4to. Coira. 1716.

M.

Meiner's *Briefe ueber die Schweitz.* 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin. 1784, 1785.

Leonard Meiſter's *Helvetiens Beruehmte Maenner.* 2 vols. 8vo. Zuric. 1782, 1786.

——— *Beruehmte Zeuricher.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1782.

——— *Kleine Reiſe durch einige Schweitzer Cantone.* 8vo. Baſel, 1782.

——— *Hauptſzenen der Helvetiſchen Geſchichte.* 8vo. 2 vols. 1784.

——— *Helvetiſche Szenen der neuern Schwarmerey und Intoleranz.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1785.

——— *Geſhichte von Zuric.* 8vo. Zuric. 1786.

——— *Abriſs*

——— *Abriſs des Eydgenoſſiſchen Staatreſchtes.* 8vo. St. Gallen. 1786.

Geſchichte Schweitzeriſcher Eydgenoſſchaft. Durch Johannes Mueller. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 1786.

P.

Helvetia Antiqua et Nova Operâ et ſtudio Joh. Bapt. Plantini. 8vo. Bermæ. 1656; alſo Tig. Helvet. 1737.

Q.

Diſſertationi Criticho-ſtoriche intorno alla Rezia di qua delle Alpi oggi della Valtelina d'all Abbate Franceſco Xaverio Quadri. 3 vols. 4to. Milano, 1755—1756.

R.

Voyages Mineralogiques en Suiſſe. Par M. le Comte Gregorie de Razomofſki. 8vo. Lauſanne, 1783, 1784.

Hiſtoire la Reformation de la Suiſſe. Par M. Abraham Rochat. 6 vols. 8vo. Geneve 1727—1728.

——— *Delices de la Suiſſe.* 8vo. 4 vols. Leide. 1714. Firſt publiſhed by M. Rochat under the fictitious name of *Gottlieb Kypſeler.* Republiſhed ſeveral times. Improved edition in 2 vols. 4to. Neuchatel. 1778.

S. *Voyages*

S.

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T.

Tcharner's *Hiſtorie der Eydgenoſſen.* 2 vols. 8vo. Bern. 1756—1768.

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——————— *Chronicon Helveticum,* &c. Herauſgegaben von Johann Rudolf Iſelin. 2 vols. Fol. Baſel 1734, 1736.

Theſaurus Hiſtoriæ Helveticæ. Fol. Tiguri. 1735.

Statuti della Valtelina, &c. *Della Latina nella volgar Lingua tradotta.* Par M. Giorgio Traverſo. 4to. Coira. 1737.

W. *Hiſtoria*

W.

Hiſtoria Naturalis Helvetiæ curioſa, in VII *Sectiones digeſta. Auctore* Jo. Jacob Wagnero. 12mo. Tiguri. 1680.

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Baron de Zurlauben's *Hiſtoire Militaire des Suiſſes au Service de la France avec des pieces juſticatives.* 8 vols. in 12mo. Paris 1751—1753.

——————— *Code Militaire des Suiſſes pour ſervir de ſuite à l'Hiſtoire Militaire des Suiſſes au ſervice de la France.* 4 vols. in 12mo. Paris. 1758—1764.

No.

No. 1.

THE following TABLE exhibits the preſent order of the THIRTEEN CANTONS, and the æra of their reception into the Helvetic confederacy:

The eight antient cantons.	Zuric	Reformed religion	1350
	Berne	Reformed	1352
	Lucerne	Catholic	1332
	Uri	Catholic	1315
	Schweitz	Catholic	1315
	Underwalden	Catholic	1315
	Zug	Catholic	1352
	Glarus	Mixed	1351
The five new cantons.	Baſle	Reformed	1501
	Friburgh	Catholic	1481
	Soleure	Catholic	1481
	Schaffhauſen	Reformed	1501
	Appenzel	Mixed	1513

The

The quota of troops to be furniſhed by each canton in caſe of war, will appear from the following diſtribution, which was fixed in 1668, in order to form a confederate army of 9,600 men. The ſame proportion to be obſerved, if an augmentation of troops might be thought neceſſary:

Zuric	1,400
Berne	2,000
Lucerne	1,200
Uri	400
Schweitz	600
Underwalden	400
Zug	400
Glarus	400
Baſle	400
Friburgh	800
Soleure	600
Schaffhauſen	400
Appenzel	600
	9,600

No. 2.

I USED my utmoſt endeavours to render the General Map of Switzerland, which accompanies this work, as complete as poſſible; and as there was no accurate delineation of the whole country yet given to the public, I collected the beſt maps of the various parts of Switzerland, which I was able to procure. From theſe authorities, which are here enumerated, Meſſrs. Palmer and Baker compiled the preſent engraving; and to their merit the public is indebted for, what I hope, will be deemed, the beſt general map of Switzerland yet extant.

1. *Carte de la Suiſſe Romande qui comprend le Pays de Vaud et le Gouvernement d' Aigle, dépendant du Canton de Berne, diviſés en leurs Bailliages. Où l'on a diſtingué ceux qui appartiennent au Canton de Fribourg et ceux qui ſont poſſedés en commun par ces deux Republiques, ainſi que les Etats et Pays adjacents. Levée Géometriquement, Sous la Permiſſion du Soverain.* Par le S. H. Mallet, *Ingénieur Géographe.* 1781. 4 ſheets. A moſt excellent and correct map.

2. *Canton Baſel.* Daniel Bruckner Auctor, Emanuel Büchel Délinéavit. *Gravé a Bâle*, par P. L. Auvray, Pariſien. *Sous les Soins de* M. de Mechel. 1766. A very correct map.

3. *Carte Chorographique de la partie occidentale de l'Oberland ou le Comté de Gruyéres diviſé en quatre Bailliages ou Gouvernements Aſſavoir Gruyéres. Sanen. Ober Sibenthal. et Nider Sibenthal.*

ou

ou ſe Trouve le Gouvernement d'Aigle, et le Bailliage de Vevay. Avec les Frontieres de la Republique de Walais, et des Pays Circonvoiſins. Obſervée ſur les Lieux et dreſſée ſur le Manuſcrit de Samuel Loup de Rougemont. A Londres; *Publié par Acte du Parlement.* 1754. Tolerably correct.

a. *Topographiſce Tabelle des untern. Amtes der Lucerneriſchen Vogtei Entilbuch Samt dem Markt zu Wolhauſen begreiffend die Pfarreien Entilbuch, Romos, Haſli, Dopliſchwand, und Theils. Wolhauſen und Malters,* 1782.

b. *Topographiſche Tabelle der beiden Entlibucher-Æmter Schupfheim und Eſchliſmatt in Canton Lucern.*

c. *Carte de la Partie ſuperieure de l'Entlibuch.*

d. *Beſondere Vorſtellung der ganzen Landſchaft Entlibuch, ſamt einem Theil des benachbahrten Obwalden und Brienzerlandes.* Theſe accurate maps of the ſmall diſtrict of the Entlibuch were publiſhed at Lucerne by the Rev. M. Schnider, author of the *Geſchichte der Entlibucher*, or Hiſtory of Entlibuch.

5. *Charte des Vier Walſtätter Sees* ; publiſhed without date or name of place in 1785: repreſenting the Lake of Lucerne, parts of the cantons of Schweitz and Underwalden, and of the diſtrict of Engelberg. This little map, printed with moveable types, appears to me correct.

6. *Canton Solothurn, ſive Pagus Helvetiæ Solodurenſis cum confinibus recenter delineatus per Gabrielem Walſerum, V. D. M. edentibus Homann Heredib. Norimbergæ.* 1766. C. P. S. C. M. The

The errors of this map, which is extremely imperfect, have been as much as poſſible corrected.

7. *Route de Bale à Bienne par la Vallée de Moutier et Pierre Pertuis dans l'Eveché de Bâle.* 1788. Very correct.

8. *Nouvelle Carte du pays de Griſons, avec ſes dependances la Valteline, le Comté de Chiavenne et Bormio.*

Rhætia Fœderata cum ſubditis ei terris. Amſtelodami Joannis Simen. A° 1711. Johannes van Lugtenburg Geographi. Deline. et Sculp. During my travels through the Griſons, I found this map tolerably correct.

9. *Mappa della Linea e dei Termini di Confini tirata fra lo Stato di Milano e Dominio Rheto* 1764. Very correct.

10. *Carti delli Baliaggii Suizzeri. di Lugano e di Mendriſio, Deſſia di G. Conr. Finſter di Zurigo.* Gravé par Clauſner a Zug 1786. In Schintz Beytraege zur naehern Kenntniſs des Schweitzerlandes.

11. *Die Landſchaft-Livenen Valle Leventina J. H. Meyer del.* 1784. Clauſner Sculp. in Zug. In Schintz Beytraege. Having never viſited theſe parts delineated on theſe maps, I cannot pretend to aſſert from my own knowledge that they are exact; but have every reaſon to pronounce that they are not incorrect.

12. *Helvetiæ Pagi ſeu Cantones* 13, &c. *Nova Helvetiæ Tabula Geographica*, &c. a Joh. Jacobo Scheuchzero Tigurino Med. D. Math. Prof. 1712. Four ſheets. For the north-eaſtern parts of Switzerland.

This

This map, although imperfect in many parts, was neceſſarily followed, in order to complete the whole, and particularly for the north-eaſtern parts, for which it is allowed to be the beſt map extant.

13. *Carte Topographique d'Allemagne*, fait par J. W. Iaeger à Francfort ſur le Mein ſe vend chez l'auteur avec P. de S. M. I. In many ſheets.

The whole has been corrected as much as poſſible from my journals, and from the obſervations which I made during my ſucceſſive travels in Switzerland.

No. 3.

ITINERARIES of four tours through Switzerland, in 1776, 1779, 1785, and 1786; with the diſtances marked in leagues and Engliſh miles. It may be neceſſary to appriſe the traveller, that although I ſpared no pains in order to aſcertain the reſpective diſtances, yet in many places, and particularly in the mountainous diſtricts, it was impoſſible to obtain that degree of accuracy which I could have deſired. For in thoſe parts, the diſtances being not meaſured, can only be conjectured from the time employed in traverſing them.

TOUR

Dates.	TOUR in 1776.	Diſtances. Leagues.	Miles.
JULY	*ENTERED Switzerland from* STRASBURGH		
20.	*and Doneſchingen*		
21.	*at* SCHAFFHAUSEN -		
	Lauffen - -	1	3¼
	to the Cataract - -		
	SCHAFFHAUSEN -	1	3¼
23.	Dieſſenhoffen -	2	6½
	Stein - -	2	6½
	by water to the Iſle of		
	Reichenau - -	4½	14¾
	CONSTANCE -	1½	5
24.	*I. of Meinau* -	5	16½
	CONSTANCE -	5	16½
	Roſbach - -	9	30
	by land to		
25.	ST. GALLEN -	2⅛	7
	Tuffen - -	1¼	4
26.	Appenzel -	2½	8¼
	Oberried - -	3	10
27.	*Saletz* - -	3	10
	Werdenberg -	2	6½
	Trivabach -	3	10
	Sargans - -	1	3¼
28.	Wallenſtadt -	3	10
	by water to		
	Weſen - -	4	13
	by land to		
29.	GLARUS - -	2	6½
	Schwanden -	1½	5
	to the Panten-Bruck -	2¾	9
30.	GLARUS - -	4¼	14
	Bilten - -	2¾	9

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
JULY			
	Sibnen - -	1½	5
31.	Einſidlin - -	4¼	14
AUG. 1.	Rapperſchwyl -	4	13
	by water to		
2.	ZURIC - -	7½	25
	by land to		
4.	*Albis* - -	2½	8¼
	Cappel - -	1½	5
	ZUG - -	1½	5
	by water to		
	Immenſee - -	2	6½
	by land to		
	Kuſſnacht - -	½	1½
	by water to		
	LUCERNE -	3	10
5.	*Fluelen* - -	8½	28
	by land to		
	ALTDORF -	½	1½
7.	*Am Steg* - -	2½	8¼
8.	*Waſen* - -	2	6½
	Devils Bridge -	1½	5
9.	*to Spital on St. Gothard*	2¾	9
	Hoſpital - -	2	6½
	Realp - -	1¾	5¾
	over the Furca		
	Obergeſtelen -	4½	14¾
10.	*Munſter* - -	1½	5
	Obergeſtelen -	1½	5
11.	*Spital on the Grimſel*	2½	8¼
	Handeck - -	2	6½
12.	Meyringen -	4	13
13.	*Grindelwald* -	4½	14¾
14.	*Lauterbrunnen* -	3	10
	Leiſingen - -	3	10
	Æſchi - -	1	3¼

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST			
16.	*Frutigen* - -	2¼	7½
	Kanderſteg - -	3	10
	Winteregg - -	2	6½
	over the Gemmi		
17.	*Baths of Leuk* -	3⅝	12¼
	Leuk - -	3	10
	Siders - -	3	10
	St. Leonard -	2	6½
19.	SION - -	1½	5
	Ridda - -	2	6¾
	Martigny - -	2½	8¼
20.	St. Maurice -	2¼	7½
	to Bex - -	1	3¼
	Martigny - -	3¼	10½
22.	*Trient* - -	2½	8¼
	Valorſine - -	1¾	5¾
23.	*the Priory in the*		
	Valley of Chamouny -	3	10
	Salenche - -	4	13
25.	*Cluſe* - -	3	10
	Bonneville -	3	10
	Arthas - -	2	6½
	Chene - -	2	6½
26.	GENEVA -	½	1½
	Verſoi - -	1¾	5¾
SEPT.	Copet - -	¾	2½
1.	*Craſſi* - -	1½	5
	Nyon - -	1¼	4
	Rolle - -	2¼	7¼
	Morges - -	2¾	9
2.	LAUSANNE -	2¼	7½
	Lutri - -	1	3¼
	Cuilli - -	¾	2½
	Vevay - -	2	6½
	LAUSANNE -	3¾	12¼

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.			
	Coſſonex -	3	10
6.	*Abbaye* - -	3½	11½
	Romain-motier -	3	10
	Orbe - -	1¼	4
8.	Yverdun - -	2¼	7½
	to Clendy - -	¼	¾
	Granſon - -	1	3¼
	St. Aubin - -	3	10
	Boudri -	1⅜	4½
9.	NEUCHATEL -	1½	5
	Vallengin - -	1	3¼
	Chaux de Fond -	2¼	7½
10.	*Locle* - -	1¾	5¾
11.	NEUCHATEL -	3¼	10½
	Thielle - -	1¾	5¾
	Anet - -	1	3¼
	Walperſchwyl -	2½	8¼
	Morat - -	4	13
13.	Avenches -	1½	5
14.	FRIBURGH -	2¾	9
	Neunec - -	3	10
15.	BERNE - -	2¾	9
	Worb - -	1½	5
	Signau - -	3	10
18.	*to Langênau* -	1½	5
20.	BERNE - -	6	20
	Riederen -	1¼	4
	Gimmenen - -	1¾	5¾
	Morat - -	2	6½
	Avenches -	1½	5
21.	Payerne - -	2	6½
	Marnaw - -	1½	5
	Moudon - -	2⅝	8½
	Montpreveires -	2⅜	7¾
22.	LAUSANNE -	2	6½

Dates.		Distances	
		Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.			
	Morges - -	2¼	7½
	Rolle - -	2¾	9
	Nyon - -	2¼	7½
23.	*Craſſi* - -	1¼	4
	Copet - -	1½	5
	Genthod - -	1⅛	3¾
24.	GENEVA - -	1⅜	4½
	to AVIGNON.—*Returned to*		
OCT. 21.	GENEVA - -		
	Copet - -	2½	8¼
	Craſſi - -	1½	5
23.	Nyon - -	1¼	4
	Rolle - -	2¼	7½
	Morges - -	2¾	9
	LAUSANNE - -	2¼	7½
	Echalens - -	2⅞	9½
24.	Yverdun - -	3¼	10½
	Granſon - -	1	3¼
	St. Aubin - -	3	10
	Boudri - -	1⅜	4½
25.	NEUCHATEL -	1½	5
	St. Blaiſe - -	1	3¼
	Neuville - -	1⅞	6¼
26.	BIENNE - -	3	10
	Grenche - -	2½	8¼
27.	SOLEURE - -	2¼	7½
	Wietliſbach -	2	6½
	Balſtal - -	2	6½
	Waldenburg -	2½	8¼
	Leichſtall - -	2⅞	9½
	to Augſt - -	1¾	5¾
29.	BASLE - -	2	6½

TOUR in 1779.

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
JULY	ENTERED Switzerland from MILAN,		
	COMO	8	26
	Mendrisio	2¼	7½
	COMO	2¼	7½
	by water to		
	Pliniana	1¼	4
19.	*Clarice*	2¼	7½
	Domasio	2¾	9
	Colico	¾	2½
	by land to		
	Fort Fuentes	¾	2½
	by water to		
	Riva	2¼	7½
	by land to		
20.	Chiavenna	2	6½
	Bondo	2¼	7½
	Casaccia	2½	8¼
	to Siglio	2	6½
31.	*to St. Morezzo*	1½	5
	Selva Piana	¾	2½
	Julian Columns	2½	8¼
	to Bivio	1½	5
	St. Morezzo	4¾	15½
AUGUST	*Bevers*	1¼	4
1.	Zutz	1½	5
2.	*Scampf*	½	1¼
4.	*Cernetz*	2¾	9
	Lavin	1¾	5¾
	Ardetz	1½	5
5.	*Scuol*	1½	5
	Remus	1¼	4
	Nauders	3¼	10½

Dates.		Distances Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST			
6.	*Craun*	2¼	7½
	Lat	2¼	7½
	St. Maria	2⅛	7
	over the Bralio		
7.	Bormio	4½	14¾
	Sondalo	2¼	7½
	Tirano	3	10
	Teglio	1¾	5¾
	Sondrio	2¾	9
	P. St. Piedro	1½	5
	Morbegno	2¼	7½
	to Dalebio	1¼	4
	Morbegno	1¼	4
	Sondrio	4¼	14
	Chiesa	1¾	5¾
	Casaucia	5	16½
SEPT.	*Bondo*	2½	8¼
17.	Chiavenna	2¼	7½
	Isola	3	10
18.	*Splugen*	3⅜	11
	Andeer	2¾	9
19.	Tusis	2½	8¼
	Reichenau	2¾	9
20.	COIRE	1¾	5¾
	to Haldenstein	⅝	2
	COIRE	⅝	2
	Churwalden	1¾	5¾
	Fatzserol	2¼	7½
24.	*Alvenew*	1¾	5¾
	An der Wiesen	1½	5
	Glaris	1⅝	5
25.	*Davos*	1⅜	4½
	Laret	1	3¼
	Kublis	3¼	10½

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.	*Schiers* - -	2½	8¼
26.	*Malans* - -	2¼	7½
	Pfeffers - -	1½	5
	to the Baths - -	¾	2½
	Pfeffers - -	¾	2½
	Zitzers - -	1½	5
27.	COIRE - -	1½	5
	Reichenau - -	1¾	5¾
	Trins - -	1	3¼
	Ilantz - -	3	10
28.	*Truns* - -	2⅞	9½
29.	*Disentis* - -	2¼	7½
	Ciamut - -	3¼	10½
30.	*Urseren* - -	2¾	9
	Wasen - -	1¾	5¾
OCT.	*Am Steg* - -	2	6½
1.	ALTDORF -	2½	8¼
	Fluelen - -	½	1½
	by water to		
	Brunnen - -	2¼	7½
	by land to		
	SCHWEITZ - -	1	3¼
	Brunnen - -	1	3¼
	by water to		
2.	Gerisau - -	1½	5
	Buochs - -	1¼	4
	by land to		
	STANTZ - -	1¼	4
	Stantzstad - -	½	1½
	by water to		
3.	LUCERNE - -	2¼	7½
	by land to		
	Honau - -	2½	8¼
	Knonau - -	2¾	9

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
OCT.	*Albis* - -	2¼	7½
4.	ZURIC - -	2½	8¼
	Basserstorf - -	2¼	7½
	Winterthur - -	1¾	5¾
5.	*to* Frauenfield - -	3¼	10½
6.	ZURIC - -	7¼	24
	Dieticon - -	2¼	7½
	BADEN - -	2⅛	7
	Konigsfelden -	1¾	5¾
	to the Baths of Schintznach	1	3¼
	Hapsburgh - -	¼	¾
	Bruck - -	½	1½
	Stille - -	⅞	2¾
	Klingnau - -	2	6½
7.	Waldshut - -	1	3¼

TOUR in 1785.

JULY			
	ENTERED Switzerland from MUNICH,		
18.	*at* SCHAFFHAUSEN -		
9.	*to the Cataract at Lauffen* -	1	3¼
	SCHAFFHAUSEN -	1	3¼
	Lotstetten - -	2¾	9
	Eglisau - -	2¼	7½
	Bulach - -	1¼	4
	Kloten - -	2	6½
20.	ZURIC - -	1¾	5¾
	Meile - -	2	6½
	by water to		
	Weddenschweil -	1½	5

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
JULY	*by land to*		
24.	*Richliſwick* - -	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	by water to		
	I. of Ufnau -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Rapperſchwyl -	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	by land to		
	Grunengen -	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$
25.	*Uſtar* - -	$2\frac{7}{8}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to		
	Falanden - -	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	by land to		
26.	ZURIC - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Regenſberg -	3	10
	to the top of the		
	Lagerberg - -	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
AUG. 2.	ZURIC - -	4	13
	by water to		
	BADEN - -	4	13
	by land to		
	Windiſh - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Konigsfelden -	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
	to the Baths of Schintznach	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Hapſburgh - -	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
4.	Bruck - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	by water to		
	Lauffenburgh -	8	26
5.	BASLE - -	$6\frac{3}{4}$	21
6.	*to* STRASBURGH.—*Returned to*		
12.	BASLE - -		
	by land to		
	Arleſheim - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	BASLE - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST	*Reinach* - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Grellingen - -	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Lauffen - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Delmont - -	3	10
	Corrandelin - -	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Munſter - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
15.	*Molleray* - -	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
	Pierre Pertuis -	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	Reuchnete - -	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	BIENNE - -	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	Grenche - -	$2\frac{1}{5}$	7
16.	SOLEURE - -	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
	Kilchberg - -	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Hindelbank - -	$1\frac{1}{4}$	4
18.	BERNE - -	$2\frac{3}{4}$	9
	Worb - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Signau - -	3	10
	Langenau - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	Eſchliſmat - -	3	10
	Shuepfen - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
21.	Entlibuch - -	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$
	Wolhauſen - -	$2\frac{1}{8}$	7
	Malters - -	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
22.	LUCERNE - -	$2\frac{1}{8}$	7
	Winke - -	1	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	by water to		
	Alpnach - -	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	by land to		
	Sarne - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
	by water to		
	Saxelen - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	by land to		
	Kernwald - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5
24.	STANTZ - -	2	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	Graffenort - -	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
AUGUST			
25.	Engelberg	2	6½
	over the Suren Alps to		
26.	ALTDORF	5	16½
	Am Steg	2½	8¼
	Waſen	2	6½
	Urſeren	1¾	5¾
27.	*Hoſpital*	1	3¼
	to Spital on St. Gothard	1¾	5¾
28.	*Hoſpital*	2	6½
	Realp	1¾	5¾
	over the Furca and Grimſel		
29.	*to Spital*	5½	18
	Handeck	2	6½
30.	Meyringen	4	13
31.	*Grindelwald*	4½	14¾
SEPT. 1.	*Lauterbrunnen*	3	10
	Leiſingen	3	10
	Æſchi	1	3¼
3.	*Frutigen*	2¼	7½
	Kanderſteg	3	10
	Winteregg	2	6½
	over the Gemmi to		
4.	*Baths of Leuk*	3¾	12¼
	Siders	3	16½
	St. Leonard	2	6½
5.	SION	1½	5
	Ridda	2	6½
	Martigny	2½	8¼
6.	*Trient*	2½	8¼
7.	*the Priory*	3¾	21¼
8.	*aſcended Montanvert*		
	Valorſine	3	10
	Trient	1¾	5¾
10.	Martigny	2½	8¼
	St. Maurice	2¼	7½

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.			
	Bex	1	3¼
	to Bevieux	½	1½
11.	Bex	½	1½
	Aigle	1½	5
	Villeneuve	2⅛	7
	Vevay	2⅛	7
	by water to		
12.	*Meillerie*	2¼	7½
	Ouchy	2¾	9
	by land to		
13.	LAUSANNE	¼	¾
	Morges	2¼	7½
	Rolle	2¾	9
	Nyon	2¼	7½
	Copet	1¾	5¾
16.	GENEVA	2½	8¼
27.	*to* LYONS.—*Returned to*		
OCT. 6.	PONTARLIER		
	St. Pierre	1	3¼
	Verrieres	1¾	5¾
	Motiers	2¾	9
	Travers	1	3¼
	Rochefort	2¼	7½
7.	NEUCHATEL	1¾	5¾
	Thielle	1¾	5¾
	Anet	1	3¼
8.	*Walperſchwyl*	2½	8¼
	Morat	4	13
9.	FRIBURGH	4	13
	Motier	4	13
	Greng	½	1½
	by water to		
	Motier	⅝	2
	to Mount Vuilly	½	1½
	Greng	¾	2½

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
OCTOBER	*by land to*		
12.	*Coujouvaux*	½	1½
	Morat	½	1½
	Arberg	3½	11½
	Nidau	1¾	5¾
13.	BIENNE	⅜	1¼
	Reuchnete	2	6½
	Pierre Pertuis	2	6½
	Tavannes	½	1½
	Belelay	1½	5
	Glovillier	3	10
14.	PORENTRU	4	13
	Grandvillard	3	10
	Beffort	2¼	7½
	Altkirch	6¼	20½
15.	BASLE	6	20
	Blotzheim	2¾	9
	MULHAUSEN	3⅜	11

TOUR in 1786.

Sept.		Leagues.	Miles.
	ENTERED *Switzerland from* PARIS *and* DIJON, *through*		
	PONTARLIER		
	St. Pierre	1	3¼
	Joigne	2¾	9
18.	Orbe	3⅜	11
19.	*St. Barthelemi*	2¾	9
20.	Morges	3⅝	12
	Rolle	2¾	9
	Nyon	2¼	7½
	Copet	1¾	5¾

Dates.		Distances. Leagues.	Miles.
SEPT.			
23.	*to* GENEVA	2½	8¼
	Copet	2½	8¼
	Nyon	1¾	5¾
	Rolle	2¼	7½
29.	Morges	2¾	9
30.	*St. Barthelemi*	3⅝	12
OCT. 1.	Orbe	2¾	9
	Yverdon	2¼	7½
	Granſon	1	3¼
	St. Aubin	3	10
2.	Boudri	1⅜	4½
3.	NEUCHATEL	1½	5
	St. Blaiſe	1	3¼
	Neuville	1⅞	6¼
	by water to		
	L. St. Peter	1¼	4
	Neuville	1¼	4
	by land to		
4.	NEUCHATEL	2¾	9
	Thielle	1¾	5¾
	Anet	1	3¼
	Walperſchwyl	2½	8¼
	Morat	4	13
	to Villars	½	1½
	Morat	½	1½
5.	*Greng*	½	1½
	by water to		
	Motier	⅝	2
	Greng	⅝	2
	by land to		
	Coujouvaux	¼	¾
9.	*to* FRIBURGH	3⅝	12
11.	*Greng*	4	13
	Morat	½	1½
	Gimmenen	2	6½

Dates.		Distances.	
		Leagues.	Miles.
OCTOBER			
	Riederen - -	1 3/4	5 3/4
13.	BERNE - -	1 1/4	4
	Maſſic - -	2 1/2	8 1/4
17.	*to* Thun - -	3 1/2	11 1/2
	Maſſic - -	3 1/2	11 1/2
	Worb - -	1 3/4	5 3/4
18.	BERNE - -	1 1/2	5
	Hindelbank - -	2 3/4	9
	Kilchberg - -	1 1/4	4
	Burberg - -	3 3/4	12 1/4
	Murgenthal -	1 1/2	5
19.	Zoffingen - -	2 1/4	7 1/2
	Tagmerſellen -	2	6 1/2
	Surſee - -	1 3/4	5 3/4
	Adelwil - -	2 3/4	9
20.	LUCERNE - -	2 1/4	7 1/2
	Honau - -	2 1/2	8 1/4
	Knonau - -	2 3/4	9
	Albis - -	2 1/4	7 1/2
21.	ZURIC - -	2 1/2	8 1/4
	Baſſerſtorf - -	2 1/4	7 1/2
	Winterthur - -	1 3/4	5 3/4
	Iſlikon - -	2 1/4	7 1/2
24.	Frauenfield -	1	3 1/4
	Mulheim - -	2	6 1/2
	CONSTANCE -	3 1/2	11 1/2
	Zell - - -	5 1/2	18
25.	SCHAFFHAUSEN -	5 1/2	18
	Neunkirch - -	2	6 1/2
	Lauchingen -	3	10
26.	Waldſhut - -	3	10
	Lauffenburgh -	3	10
	Seckingen -	1 1/2	5
	Rheinfelden -	2	6 1/2
28.	BASLE - -	3	10

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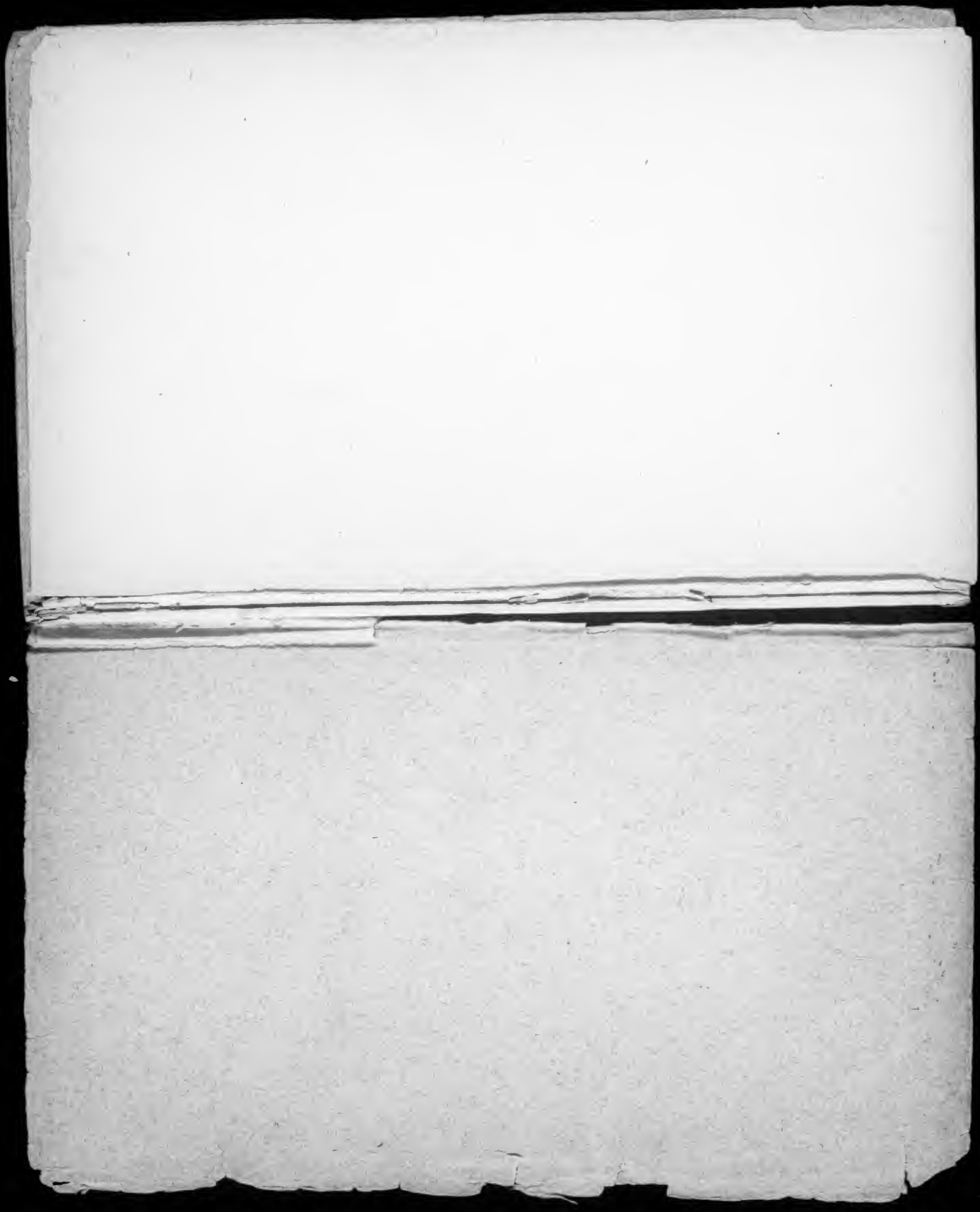
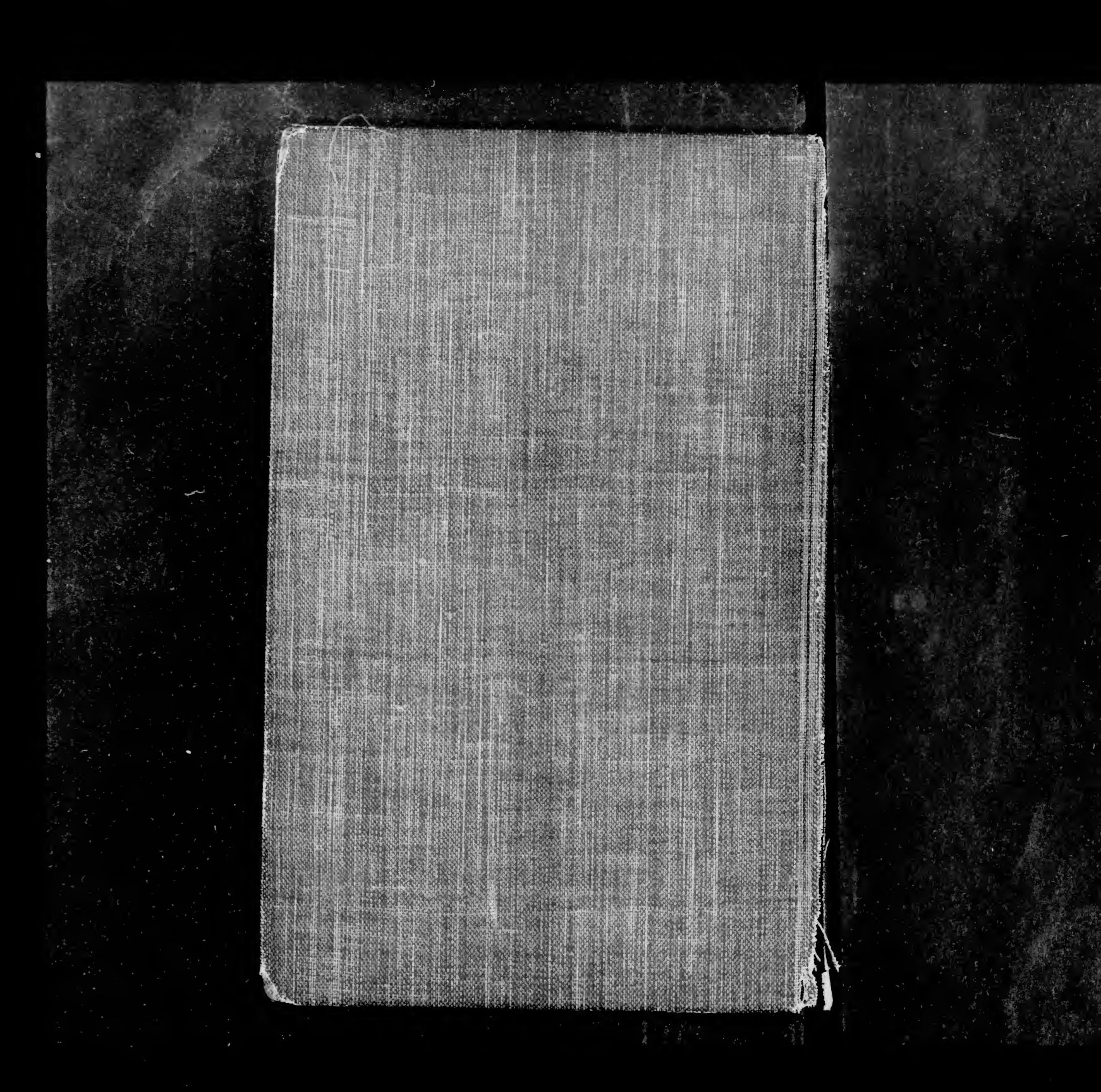
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